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University Scholarship and the Education of Teachers

Israel Scheffler
Harvard University

What are the ingredients of a teacher's education? The question is old and controversial, surely not to be settled in a single discourse. Yet certain of its philosophical aspects may perhaps profitably be explored in brief compass, and it is such aspects that I wish here to treat, especially as they relate to the general role of university scholarship in the preparation of teachers.

This latter theme has, I believe, been relatively underplayed in contemporary treatments of the question. Recent educational reforms have largely addressed themselves to the proper structuring of subject-matter and its articulation in the teaching process. Discussion of the teacher's education has tended accordingly to concern itself, not with the general strengthening of his powers through scholarly studies, but rather with improving his grasp of the particular subject to be taught and providing him with practical experience in its classroom presentation.

In earlier days, there was also, to be sure, much confident talk of a putative science of education. The first annual convention of American normal-school principals in 1859, for example, passed a resolution proclaiming that "education is a science." Richard Edwards, later president of Illinois Normal University, protested in vain on that occasion that sciences are built not by proclamation but by research.¹ Yet even he was convinced that research would yield such a science, of fundamental importance in the training of teachers. In 1865, he declared:

It is not, I trust, necessary, at this late day, to assure you that there is here as noble a science as ever engaged the thought of man. There are immutable principles here, that ought to be studied and comprehended by every young

Professor Scheffler is a philosopher, widely known for his work in educational philosophy and for such books as THE LANGUAGE OF EDUCATION and CONDITIONS OF KNOWLEDGE. Conceiving teachers as "free men and women with a special dedication to the values of the intellect and the enhancement of the critical powers of the young," he proposes that there be a greater concern for scholarly studies and theoretical analysis in teacher education programs. His hope is to see gains in rational insight, and an increasing consideration of questions relating to the conditions and larger goals of educational practice. Dr. Scheffler treats the philosophic aspects of the problem. Doing so, he sheds considerable light on the role of the teacher free enough to teach free men.

1 See Merle L. Borrowman, *Teacher Education in America: A Documentary History*. New York: Teachers College Press, 1965.

person entering upon the work of teaching. There is, in the nature of things, a foundation for a profession of teachers.²

The development of a distinctive science of education has not, however, come about, and with increasing rejection of the idea of such a science in recent years,³ there has been a growing tendency to exalt either specific subject-matter competence or classroom practice into a position of primacy in the preparation of teachers, with moderates striving, as ever, for an even balance between the two.

My own view is that the whole framework of this latter discussion has been too constricted, and that the preparation of teachers in a university setting, in particular, offers the special opportunity to develop a broader conception. Beyond a teacher's knowledge of his subject and his practice in the art of teaching under supervision, he needs to be helped, I am convinced, to relate his work in suitable manner to the family of scholarly and research disciplines represented by the university at large.⁴

No Science of Education Nor does such a conviction imply a return to the fruitless quest for a distinctive science of education, as a foundation for the teaching profession. There is indeed, I believe, little to support the faith that such a distinctive science will one day be developed. The belief that the profession requires such a science as its foundation is, however, misguided. For if there be no distinctive science or special discipline of education, there are surely multiple modes of analyzing educational problems in a scientific spirit and a disciplined manner.⁵ The teacher's preparation should lead him to relate his own tasks to such modes, and teacher education should thus be an integral undertaking of the whole university.

The underlying point was well put by the American philosopher Josiah Royce, in 1891. Arguing against the conception of education as a science, Royce insisted nevertheless that "the undertakings of pedagogy" are "capable of scientific and general discussion."⁶ Indeed, there is, he wrote, "no science of education. But what there is, is the world of science furnishing material for the educator to study," offering "aid from the scientific spirit and counsel from

2 Richard Edwards, "Normal Schools in the United States," 1865. Reprinted in Borrowman, *op. cit.*

3 See John Walton and James L. Kuethe, Eds., *The Discipline of Education*. Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1963.

4 See *The Graduate Study of Education: Report of the Harvard Committee*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966.

5 See I. Scheffler, "Is Education a Discipline?" in Walton and Kuethe, *op. cit.*

6 Josiah Royce, "Is There a Science of Education?" Reprinted in Borrowman, *op. cit.*

scientific inductions."⁷ It is, I suggest, the family of university studies, representing the world of science and the material of general discussion, that needs to be brought to bear on the teacher's work. I am, of course, not arguing for some particular administrative arrangement. Alternative arrangements are compatible with the general idea of initiating the teacher into disciplined perspectives, scholarly and humanistic, from which his professional work may be viewed.

Towards Disciplined Perspectives To set forth such a general idea is in itself, however, hardly to persuade. Indeed, doubts are encountered almost immediately upon reflection. What is the point of a scholarly emphasis in the education of teachers?, asks the skeptic in each of us. Can an initiation into disciplined analyses of education really be thought necessary for effective teaching? What is the use of theoretical sophistication that is not translatable into subject-matter competence or strengthened practical skills? Have we not all known teachers of power and resourcefulness, innocent of educational history and philosophy, ignorant of psychology and the social sciences, and yet capable of transmitting their subjects effectively to the minds of their students? Is not the emphasis on scholarly disciplines then merely an eccentricity natural to scholars or, worse still, a fraudulent attempt to give education the aura of professionalism? So speaks the skeptic, and he deserves a serious answer, for he raises questions fundamental to any philosophy of teaching. Let me, then, sketch the sort of reply I am myself inclined to give to his challenge.

In general, though I hold the skeptic's doubts to be searching and important, I believe they flow from faulty reasoning. Consider his stress on what is necessary for effective teaching, indeed his appeal to such presumed necessity as a criterion for evaluating the education of teachers. By this criterion, he implies, we must admit the importance of subject matter competence and practical training. For, surely, without a knowledge of the subject to be taught, and without practical classroom procedures mastered through experience, a man cannot teach effectively; justification is thus conceded to these ingredients in the preparation of teachers. However, continues the skeptic, application of the same necessity criterion serves to exclude the ingredient of scholarly sophistications, since effective teaching may perfectly well proceed without an initiation into critical and disciplined approaches to the educational process. Such approaches, he concludes, therefore have no justification in the preparation of teachers.

7 *Ibid.*

The Limits of Necessity From the reasonable premise that whatever is necessary for effective teaching is thereby justified as an element of training, the skeptic has invalidly concluded that *only* what is thus necessary can be justified. He has, in effect, exalted necessity into a unique position and ruled out all other principles of justification. Such exclusion is, however, quite vulnerable on general grounds. For by parallel reasoning one might argue, for example, that shock absorbers and automatic transmissions ought to be done away with since they are not essential to effective transportation, that carpets and paintings have no legitimate place in the home because they do not contribute to effective shelter, that literature and the fine arts are unjustified as civilized pursuits because they are unnecessary to sustain life.

Surely, the skeptic's attitude is too reductive. Justification is not, as he supposes, simply a matter of minimal necessity. It is, rather, a matter of desirability, and a thing may be desirable not because it is something we could not do without, but because it transforms and enhances the quality of what we do and how we live. If a justification is needed for the teacher's scholarly and theoretical sophistication regarding his work, it is not that, lacking it he cannot manage to teach, but that having it, the quality of his effort and role is likely to be enhanced. It is a maximal rather than a minimal interpretation of the teacher's work that is thus relevant to a philosophical assessment of his education.

In what, however, does such an enhancement of quality as has been mentioned consist? What are its concrete manifestations? How, specifically, does it show itself if, while inessential to mastery of the subject to be taught, it is also, by hypothesis, not transmuted into practical skill or improved maxims of classroom procedure? Does not theory, in general, refine the operations of craft through developing its technology? Is not a theoretical study of education therefore exposed as utterly irrelevant to the practice of teaching if it fails to foster new devices and specialized procedures for the conduct of schooling? Here is a further, and a persuasive, challenge of the skeptic.

Arguments from Technology It should first be noted, however, that an important concession underlies this new challenge. The earlier complaint against a theoretical ingredient in the teacher's education was that it was not required for effective teaching. Now it seems to be allowed that such an ingredient might be independently justified, after all, as advancing the technology of education. Though the individual teacher does not require theoretical sophistication in order to perform his own work effectively, such sophistication may, it is now suggested, facilitate the invention of new methods and techniques, with a resultant improvement in the general

state of the art. The skeptic therefore implicitly grants a place to theory provided it promises to yield technological improvements in educational practice. Against all other theory he is adamant.

One difficulty in this new position of the skeptic is that there is no sure way of telling in advance if, when, or how a bit of theoretical sophistication will transform practice. If he interprets his new doctrine so liberally as to admit all basic theory that might conceivably yield practical change, he virtually abandons his opposition altogether. On the other hand, if he is to maintain effective opposition to specified bodies of theoretical content on the ground that they do not presently seem to him technologically promising, he cannot provide a principled basis for his judgment that will be generally acceptable to others, and he runs the real risk, moreover, of excluding technologically fruitful material. In sum, if the skeptic's present criterion is to avoid being simply vacuous, it must run the risk of being applied in a manner that is arbitrary and short-sighted, even from a technological point of view.

There is, however, a more fundamental reply that needs to be made to the present challenge of the skeptic. For he may argue that, although there is no generally acceptable, principled basis for estimating technological promise in advance, there is at least a rough intuitive ranking of theories that can be made, with respect to their relative promise. And he may add that, while some risk is admittedly involved in excluding theories beyond a certain designated point in the ranking, such a risk is inevitable in all estimation, and is well worth taking, here as elsewhere, in order to facilitate the making of practical decisions.

The more fundamental reply hinges then, not on the problem of applying the skeptic's present criterion, but rather on its basic concept of technological promise. For he construes the import of theory in education as consisting wholly in its power to transform the technology of teaching through providing new maxims of procedure. Educational improvement is seen as consisting altogether in a refinement of the teacher's operations in the pursuit of his craft. It is this implicit assimilation of educational improvement to technological development that I believe to be inappropriate, for the reduction of the teacher's role to the set of operations performed by him is, in fact, impossible.

Teacher vs. Technician It has, indeed, become increasingly fashionable in recent years to construe the teacher's work as that of "a minor technician within an industrial process, the overall goals... [of which are to be]... set in advance in terms of national needs, the curricular materials pre-packaged by the disciplinary experts, the methods developed by educational engineers—and the teacher's job... just to supervise the last

operational stage, the methodical insertion of ordered facts into the student's mind."⁸ The trouble with this picture is that it is radically wrong, both normatively and descriptively. The teacher, in a free society at least, is not just a technician, but also one of the shapers of the educational process. Moreover, he influences students not only through his activity, but by his identity.

In the paradigmatic case of industrial design and manufacture, the technician operates upon inert materials; he does things to these materials under the guidance of rules improvable through investigation and experiment. These materials are shaped by what he thus does; they are not responsive to what he is. They react to what is done to them by the technician but they do not enter into communication with him. They do not, in the process of their own shaping into output, question his judgments and beliefs, his perspectives and purposes. They present him with no new centers of personal experience, by relating to which his own meanings may be engaged and transformed.

Teaching is, in every crucial respect, vastly different. Although the teacher's procedures are also subject to improvement through scientific research and experiment, the student is not mere inert material to be worked on by rule. He enters into communication with the teacher and, through the teacher, with the heritage of culture common to both. Such communication broadens and refines the student's initial outlook, and thereby increases his understanding.

But the process is not one-sided, for in the student's efforts to understand, he questions and explores, doubts and evaluates. And he thus responds not only to the explicit material of the lesson but to its larger ramifications, not only to what the teacher does, but also to what he intends and represents. He is, in short, alive not simply to the content of classroom activities but to the manner in which they are carried out, the standards and convictions they reflect, and the larger rationale that underlies them. The teacher is, moreover, committed to honoring the student's quest for understanding by providing him with honest answers, that is to say, answers he himself finds genuinely compelling. The teacher is thus called upon to reveal, and hence to risk, his own judgments and loyalties in the process of teaching others. In embracing this risk, the teacher is himself forced to a heightened self-awareness, and a more reflective attitude toward his own presuppositions; his own outlook is thereby broadened and refined.

For the teacher to conceive his role after the analogy of industrial production is thus, I believe, a distorting fallacy of far-reaching consequence. His

⁸ I. Scheffler, "Concepts of Education: Some Philosophical Reflections on the Current Scene," in Edward Landy and Paul A. Perry, Editors, *Guidance in American Education: Backgrounds and Prospects*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963.

role is not reducible to the operations he performs; it draws heavily upon his capacities for insight into his own principles and allegiances. And it demands an ability to reflect critically on these principles and allegiances in the face of the searching curiosity of the young.

Quickening Critical Powers His preparation for teaching is thus strengthened not simply through an increased mastery of procedures, but through a development of his resources for carrying on a significant conversation with the young, that is to say, through a widening of his intellectual perspectives, a quickening of his imaginative and critical powers, and a deepening of insight into his purposes as a teacher and the nature of the setting in which these purposes are pursued. Do not scholarly and theoretical studies of educational problems find sufficient justification in the rich opportunities they offer for such a strengthening of the teacher's resources?

But perhaps, it will be thought, the skeptic rejects any such appeal to "cognitive" rather than "operational" notions, in the process of justification. Being a skeptic, he is after all professionally hard-headed; he does not look with favor upon concepts of insight, reflection, and intellectual perspective, nor does he relish elusive references to a strengthening of the teacher's resources. He recognizes the importance of mastery of the subject to be taught, and the significance of reliable classroom procedures. But any appeal to a notion of latent intellectual power he finds obscure and therefore unacceptable.

To this line of thought there are, it seems to me, two replies. The skeptic's general aversion to non-operational concepts is, in the first place, not decisive in countering the specific arguments previously offered. If these arguments are sound, they cast doubt on the operational bias motivating the very aversion in question. To insist that the arguments must be wrong simply because they clash with the aversion would be to beg the question.

In the second place, the skeptic must himself acknowledge a principle of justification that ranges beyond what can be reflected in operational maxims of the classroom. For, let us remind him, he has spoken glibly of the necessity of knowledge of a subject for effective teaching. And what, we may ask him, is a subject? Is history, for example, a subject? Surely, effective teaching of a given history lesson or course does not require a general knowledge of history, as such. Nor does effective teaching of a particular topic in mathematics require a knowledge of mathematics, taken as a whole. Nor, finally, does effective teaching of a particular English poem or literary period require a comprehensive mastery of English literature. The boundaries of the subject in every case reach far beyond the scope of the teacher's actual classroom work. If knowledge of the subject is nevertheless justified in the skeptic's eyes, he has

implicitly, and despite his vaunted hard-headedness, granted the importance of a non-operational ingredient in the teacher's preparation.

Now it may, perhaps, be objected that this latter reply to the skeptic takes for granted the standard everyday concept of a subject. Subject matter rubrics, it will rightly be said, are crude practical devices of grouping that are variable at will. Mathematics need not be construed so expansively as to embrace all mathematical topics, nor should history be interpreted as covering the whole sweep of human events, when we are concerned with the particular problem of specifying the education of teachers. In dealing with this problem we are, in every case, that is, presupposing a narrower conception of the relevant subject to be mastered by the teacher.

This conclusion, though correct, is not, however, sufficient to save the skeptic from implicit appeal to a non-operational component in the teacher's education. For the skeptic, no matter how narrowly he conceives the subject-matter preparation of the teacher, does not, in practice, construe any subject so narrowly as to collapse it into the single course nor, certainly, into the single lesson being taught for the day. Whatever he means by insisting on the necessity of a knowledge of the subject, the subject represents, for him too, a wider circle of materials and instrumentalities surrounding the content to be taught, access to which strengthens the teacher's powers and, in so doing, heightens the possibilities of his art. Though it does not translate itself uniformly into technological improvement, it is acknowledged, even by the skeptic, to be justified as an ingredient of the teacher's education.

Subjects Reconceived And once such a notion

is admitted, can we put bounds to it? Can we say: This much surrounding matter represents an important teaching resource, but beyond this nothing significant is to be found? How difficult such a position would be! Indeed, to recognize that the ordinary notion of a subject is artificial should lead us rather to break its pervasive hold over our educational conceptions. Subjects should be taken to represent, not hard bounds of necessity which confine the teacher's training, but centers of intellectual capacity and interest, radiating outward without assignable limit. Anything that widens the context of the teacher's performance, whether it extends his mastery of related subject matter or, rather, his grasp of the social and philosophical dimensions of his work, has a potential contribution to make to his training. It is in the latter respects particularly that scholarly and theoretical studies of education find their proper rationale.

Thus far, in replying to the skeptic, I have addressed myself mainly to the notion of justification, the import of theory, and the nature of subjects. A last,

but by no means unimportant, aspect of the skeptic's doctrine that remains to be discussed is his emphasis on effective teaching. For, as we have seen, he considers the effective practice of teaching to constitute a basic focus of relevance in evaluating the teacher's preparation. One question that should, however, be raised concerns the clarity of the general idea. Is teaching effectiveness so clear a notion that it can perform properly in the fundamental evaluative role thus assigned to it?

No matter how we initially understand it, I think we must agree, upon reflection, that evaluating the effectiveness of teaching is not a simple thing. Any serious attempt to assess such effectiveness raises not only difficult practical questions of inquiry and measurement but also fundamental issues concerning reasonable criteria of judgment. What qualities of classroom performance should enter into a judgment of effectiveness, and what influences on the students?

Turning first to classroom performance, it is important to stress the subtlety and delicacy of the teacher's interchange with the student. A crude demand for effectiveness easily translates itself into a disastrous emphasis on externals simply because they are easier to get hold of than the central phenomena of insight and the growth of understanding. In an important essay of 1904,⁹ John Dewey distinguished between the inner and outer attention of children, the inner attention involving the "first-hand and personal play of mental powers" and the external "manifested in certain conventional postures and physical attitudes rather than in the movement of thought." Children, he noted, "acquire great dexterity in exhibiting in conventional and expected ways the *form* of attention to school work." The "supreme mark and criterion of a teacher," according to Dewey, is the ability to bypass externals and to "keep track of [the child's] mental play, to recognize the signs of its presence or absence, to know how it is initiated and maintained, how to test it by results attained, and to test *apparent* results by it." The teacher "plunged prematurely into the pressing and practical problem of keeping order in the schoolroom," Dewey warned, is almost of necessity going "to make supreme the matter of external attention." Without the reflective and free opportunity to develop his theoretical conceptions and his psychological insight, he is likely to "acquire his technique in relation to the outward rather than the inner mode of attention." Effective classroom performance surely needs to be judged in relation to the subtle engagement of this inner mode, difficult as it may be to do so.

⁹ John Dewey, "The Relation of Theory to Practice in Education," in National Society for the Study of Education, *The Relation of Theory to Practice in the Education of Teachers*, Third Yearbook, Part I. Bloomington: Public School Publishing Co., 1904.

Influence on Students Let us look now at the

question of influence on the students, as a component of teaching effectiveness. What sorts of influence are relevant? Is their knowledge of material alone to be considered, or shall we also take into account their problem solving capacity, their attitudes, their propensity for inquiry, the hidden alteration of their perceptions and sensibility which may become manifest, if at all, only long after they have left the classroom? Even the hard knowledge of material is not, despite the confidence of the test-makers, a simple thing to gauge or analyze. William James' comments of nearly eighty years ago are still fresh and instructive on this topic. "We are all too apt," he says,

to measure the gains of our pupils by their proficiency in directly reproducing in a recitation or an examination such matters as they may have learned, and inarticulate power in them is something of which we always underestimate the value. The boy who tells us, "I know the answer, but I can't say what it is," we treat as practically identical with him who knows absolutely nothing about the answer at all. But this is a great mistake. It is but a small part of our experience in life that we are ever able articulately to recall. And yet the whole of it has had its influence in shaping our character and defining our tendencies to judge and act. Although the ready memory is a great blessing to its possessor, the vaguer memory of a subject, of having once had to do with it, of its neighborhood, and of where we may go to recover it again, constitutes in most men and women the chief fruit of their education. This is true even in professional education. The doctor, the lawyer, are seldom able to decide upon a case off-hand. They differ from other men only through the fact that they know how to get at the materials for decision in five minutes or half an hour: whereas the layman is unable to get at the materials at all...

Be patient, then, and sympathetic with the type of mind that cuts a poor figure in examinations. It may, in the long examination which life sets us, come out in the end in better shape than the glib and ready reproducer, its passions being deeper, its purposes more worthy, its combining power less commonplace, and its total mental output consequently more important.¹¹

To take James' words seriously is to realize how complex and subtle is the notion of effectiveness in teaching, how far from providing a firm educational criterion marking an end, rather than an opening, of inquiry and reflection.

The main point to which I would here call attention is, however, a different

11 William James, *Talks to Teachers on Psychology; and to Students on Some of Life's Ideals*. New York: W. W. Norton Company, 1958.

one. It concerns not the clarity of the notion of teaching effectiveness, but rather the implied emphasis on the teaching performance, in contrast with the role of the teacher.

Understanding the Teaching Role How indeed is this role itself to be understood? Is the teacher to be thought of as an intellectual technician, whose teaching performance may be more or less effective by whatever criteria of value and of influence may be chosen, but who has no voice in setting these criteria? Or is he, on the contrary, to be thought of as a man with a calling or vocation committing him to the values of truth, reason, and the enlargement of human powers, dedicated to raising his voice for them, and to shaping the conditions of his work so that these values may flourish? His effectiveness as a teacher, in the light of the latter conception, is quite different from the restricted notion of his effectiveness in classroom performance.

The skeptic's emphasis on effectiveness in teaching is, I should argue, too narrow, for it leads him to conceive teacher training as geared primarily to the refinement of performance, and to underestimate the significance of the teacher's larger role. A society aspiring to be genuinely free cannot afford such a restricted view. It must appreciate, indeed insist on, the fundamental relevance of enlightenment and critical thought in all matters bearing on the nurture of its cultural life. It needs, in particular, to view its teachers not simply as performers professionally equipped to realize effectively any goals that may be set for them. Rather, it should view them as free men and women with a special dedication to the values of the intellect and the enhancement of the critical powers of the young.

In such a role, teachers cannot restrict their attention to the classroom alone, leaving the larger setting and purposes of schooling to be determined by others. They must take active responsibility for the goals to which they are committed, and for the social setting in which these goals may prosper. If they are not to be mere agents of others, of the state, of the military, of the media, of the experts and the bureaucrats, they need to determine their own agency through a critical and continual evaluation of the purposes, the consequences, and the social context of their calling.

If we accordingly conceive of the education of teachers not simply as the training of individual classroom performers, but as the development of a class of intellectuals vital to a free society, we can see more clearly the role of educational scholarship and theoretical analysis in the process. For, though the latter do not directly enhance craftsmanship, they raise continually the sorts of questions that concern the larger goals, setting, and meaning of educational practice. It is these questions that students need continually to have before

them as they develop into mature teachers, if they are indeed to help shape the purposes and conditions of education. To link the preparation of teachers with such questions is the special opportunity of the university.

The family of studies and disciplines represented by the university is not, let us be clear on this, a happy family. It harbors quarrels and nasty feuds as well as sweetness and light. But the contribution it offers to teacher education presupposes neither an unattainable coherence of perspectives nor an artificial consensus on details. It consists rather in an enlargement of the intellectual context within which a teacher views his work. Such an enlargement centers the work within a web of new relationships, altering its familiar outlines and inviting novel perceptions of its import. In so doing, it continually suggests alternatives to encrusted assumptions, generating insistently larger questions of meaning, setting, and purpose. In its shared commitment to critical thought and responsible inquiry, moreover, the family of scholarly studies spurs the teacher's effort to attain a more rational insight into his task. It is the quest for such insight, within ever growing contexts of meaning, that frees the teacher and fits him to teach free men.

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M. A. Eckstein

Queens College

The origins of many of the current problems facing graduate divisions of education departments generally lie in the circumstances which first created their undergraduate programs: the pressing, practical need to staff public school classrooms. Though preparation for teaching used generally to be given in special schools, most of these have today become liberal arts colleges or universities where the preparation of teachers remains one important task amongst many. In other cases, multi-purpose colleges have assumed the task of teacher preparation and established new departments for this purpose. As for graduate studies in education, these tend to have developed at public institutions as extensions of undergraduate programs. Today they usually provide an extra year or two intended to help the beginning teacher survive the first years of professional practice. They also offer in-service or refresher courses and, in many cases, professional training for liberal arts graduates.

In addition, graduate departments now prepare people for specialized posts in school systems, such as guidance personnel, school psychologists, teachers of exceptional children. Such post-Bachelor's degree programs are comparable with those at the undergraduate level in that they stem from characteristically vocational considerations. The job description is an important determinant of

These papers were originally prepared for a symposium at Queens College of the City University of New York during the 1966 Biennial Faculty Conference of the Education Department. Professor Eckstein concentrates on the importance of balancing "the claims of training for teaching and the claims of scholarship and research"; Professor Delany is interested in the bearing of "self-awareness" on interpersonal relations in the classroom; and Professor Nelson is concerned with discrepancies, particularly where "discipline" is involved, between the social system in the college education department and that to be found in the public school. Although the orientation, in each case, is to graduate education as it is carried on in a large city university, the points of view presented hold potential relevance for policy-making in various educational settings.

the course of study; the course of study is a product of the concern to produce better classroom or school functionaries. As a result, particularly in the more effective institutions, field experience and active participation are given considerable prominence. Such activism as "going out into the community" is a mode of operation which education faculties often encourage and even occasionally indulge in. The criterion for judging the worth of the college's offerings and requirements is: do they make teachers (or others) more effective on the job?

The rationale which students use is fairly consistent with this type of concern. They seek help in improving their professional skills and means of enhancing their professional and economic status. "Practical" courses directed at "real" problems and results are at a premium and anything else (often described as "theoretical") is acceptable so long as it adds to the total of thirty or sixty credits required for a salary increment, a promotion or an additional state certificate.

Part-time Faculties As to the faculty which serves these burgeoning graduate programs, it tends to be, at least at the beginning, a faculty which is in many senses *part-time*. Some members teach graduate and undergraduate courses; others, because of the need to keep practical experience close to college classrooms, are expert public school teachers on loan to the college. Some are college faculty participating in the daily activities of elementary or secondary schools or other community agencies. They are part-timers, however, not because of the way in which they distribute their hours of work, nor because their skills and activities are in any sense irrelevant or misused. They are a part-time faculty in the sense that they have contradictory or diffused loyalties: to student "needs," community "needs," college demands and professional requirements. Most notably, however, they are part-timers in their commitment to the field of educational studies, as the terms they use to identify themselves tend to reveal. There are educational psychologists and historians, there are even people in elementary and secondary education, all making reference to an academic discipline from which they have come or a particular level of the educational system in which they are interested. Few, unless pressed, identify themselves simply as educators.

In brief, many education departments find themselves in a very confused situation as they grow beyond a primarily undergraduate set of concerns. Their programs grow, their desire to satisfy the needs (expressed or ascribed) of their clientele—still regarded as largely novice professional workers—remains, their sense of service to the profession and the community continues unabated. Yet the dissatisfactions grow, not only because of increase in the number of stu-

dents, but also because of conflict between loyalties to profession, clientele, community, all variously defined.

Dissatisfactions become voiced in a number of ways. From faculty, both inside and outside education departments, comes the familiar accusation of excessive vocationalism and non-intellectualism. "Hard" studies emphasizing theory and general concepts are neglected, they say, for day-to-day problems of a personal and transitory nature. Students and faculty alike sense a lack of direction, a lack of integration as the graduate programs in which they are involved become more and more piecemeal collections of courses in how to teach slow readers, slum dwellers and the new math, spiced, hopefully, by a required course or two in philosophies of education and learning theory. The Master's degree program seems more and more to give further training to the half-trained, special training for some selected groups, and a hatful of other discrete courses for all in general and no one in particular. The quality of the academic work is questionable, the success of the product is dubious, and the sparks of intellectual fire and excitement are notably absent.

Problems and Dangers It is generally conceded that education as a field of study has both its craft and theory components, that is, its applied and theoretical phases of study. In this, it differs little from many other fields pursued in higher education. However, the burden of this discussion is the belief that the craft considerations which have very properly been recognized and given prominence in the past have come to dominate the thinking of many education departments and have been detrimental in many respects, notably in emerging post-Bachelor's degree programs.

The rationale commonly used to justify courses and programs in education includes two major criteria: will they help teachers or other school functionaries carry out their jobs more effectively? and, will they eventually help pupils and communities? As criteria they are certainly laudable and not altogether irrelevant, but as priorities in thinking about graduate studies in education they are inadequate and possibly even dangerous.

That they are inadequate is suggested by the difficulty of proving that better teachers are produced by a particular kind of preparation. Though we can readily accept the idea that craft and theory are involved, we are less easily convinced that theoretical knowledge is enhanced by craft experience or *vice versa* beyond a certain as yet undefined point. As to the dangers that lie in an excessive and even dogmatic concern with craft considerations, some have already been noted. Of course it is necessary to keep up with new developments connected with technique and to respond to the urgencies of special problems in the schools. In addition, one can hardly be unsympathetic

towards the idea of solving community problems. However, both kinds of priorities may be serious distractions from the work of developing graduate studies in education.

The tendency to develop courses according to the criterion of what students need in order to do a better teaching job leads to *ad hoc* decisions which, though they may or may not solve an emergency staffing problem, certainly give no stable direction for growth of a graduate program nor for the systematic study and expansion of knowledge in the field of education. The tendency towards community action, the melioristic approach, though often highly laudable in intent, is a priority which leads to involvement in non-professional activity: politicking, administering, public relating and confrontation (even conformity) with the extraneous, frustrating and often irrelevant demands of public bodies holding economic or other power. This is not criticized on moral or snobbish grounds, but simply because of its implications for the academic institution. The dangers may not be so great in well-established, relatively independent universities. But especially where a formerly undergraduate department is struggling to devise a satisfactory graduate program, "service to the community" and a vague "theory of needs" may become serious distractions and even excuses for neglecting responsibilities to both the academic community and the profession. Properly defined, the work of education departments or schools includes professional training and services, the clinical or applied considerations. But it also includes the production of scholars, of thinkers and researchers in education. Much attention has been devoted to the former, which still remains a prime concern; far less attention has been devoted to the latter, for the reasons described.

Philanthropy, in other words, is just not enough to solve educational and other human problems, even though it is a highly desirable individual quality. In the long run, however, critical care and understanding are more important than the well-meant desire to help, especially when one seeks, as in this case, to develop guidelines for the development of graduate work in education.

Proposed Strategy A blueprint for development

and improvement can only be devised by an institution according to its own particular situation. But it is possible to state several general principles to serve as strategic priorities. The problem is to find a proper balance between the claims of training for teaching and the claims of scholarship and research. Where the latter have been neglected, the former must be demoted. Developing graduate departments of education must at least for a period of time abandon the idea that their main tasks are to prepare teachers, conform to state certification requirements, and improve schools in a given metropolis. Instead, they

must apply what academic skills they have to identify professional issues and problems, study them, collect data in order to reveal something which has not been revealed before for the benefit of the teaching profession and the academic community at large. This need not necessarily, incidentally, change radically much of the work they engage in from day to day. However, it does provide a consistent focus, a statement of loyalties, some guidelines for judgments.

It is particularly difficult to accept the priority as stated for two major reasons. One is the historical fact that so much teacher preparation as well as other college education has been far removed from the so-called real world and real problems. Anything that smacks of the ivory tower approach is likely to be suspect simply because of the residue of that ethic. Secondly, after many decades of turning their backs on the professors, public institutions and planners are now turning towards them for help. The gap between public school systems and the universities is smaller today than it ever has been and after years of being ignored, men with new research findings and new ideas in education are being actively encouraged to try them out. The effect of this is intoxicating, and to refuse the invitation is very difficult, especially since it is accompanied with powerful inducements—money and status. Yet the experience of many college people who have been drawn into community action programs as directors or active consultants can only be described as seduction of the innocents, an experience which they often heartily enjoyed.

The claims upon the energies of graduate education departments are three-fold: to continue the education of working teachers; to train a number of specialists for the school systems; and to study that complex phenomenon called education. The immediate tasks to be grappled with are also three-fold: to cure the boredom which suffuses so many graduate classes in education; to get students to read and to discuss rather than merely to verbalize; and to attract the best brains possible to the study of education. Whatever strategy may be devised involves acceptance of the stated priorities and an understanding of the functions (and the rather unsatisfactory results in many cases) of graduate education departments.

The implications of such an approach are several, the dangers considerable and the assurances of success no greater than the vision and energy which inspire it. It may involve setting quite new criteria for accepting or rejecting graduate students, staff and courses or programs. For example, a student will not be accepted for graduate study because he needs help in doing a better job of teaching. This might well be the reason for rejecting him. A course in "how to teach . . ." would not be introduced into a graduate program simply because large numbers of beginning teachers need it, but would either be incorporated in the first (usually the undergraduate) stage of preparation for

teaching or rejected because it is a strictly vocational course, distracting faculty and their energies from their main purpose. Students and courses as well as faculty would be accepted on the grounds of offering intellectual superiority and intellectual challenge. This is a major implication of adopting as the primary goal of graduate education the training not of classroom teachers alone, but of more and more skilled investigators into educational phenomena, both theory and function. It involves abandoning, or at least limiting for a period of time, the provision of facilities for teachers to increase their incomes and possibly their professional skills.

Towards New Priorities

It may well be that there are no alternatives to what appears to be a compromise: a bifurcation in graduate studies into one set of programs intended both to make up for the deficiencies of undergraduate teacher preparation and to develop new professional specializations, and another track geared to "theoretical" studies, methods of investigating educational phenomena. This writer, for one, would be unhappy to see such a development as it appears artificially to separate the "craft" and "discipline" components which are held to be complementary. Each part, it is submitted, is enhanced by the other. Yet at this particular time in many institutions, the priorities must be on the "academic" (theory or discipline) side of the coin if the whole enterprise is to be successful. If the "study of education" alternative is preferred over the "preparation of school teachers" priority which currently obtains, better teachers may well be prepared, better in the sense of being more committed to their professional responsibilities, more concerned with and more capable of improving their own efforts as practitioners.

The argument is further supported by the fact that though scholarship has occasionally emerged as a by-product of the traditional teacher training approach, there is little evidence that the prime objective of a competent and efficient cadre of public school teachers has been achieved. A major reason for this, it is submitted, is that educational loyalty and professional expertise in both public school and university people depends upon the growth of a body of communicable, demonstrable and viable theory, of concepts and methods of inquiry, specifically directed at educational issues, problems and data. Whether this is to be found in a specific discipline of education or in a broader, more eclectic realm of "social sciences" is the subject of a separate debate. Nevertheless, without such a basis, craft skills, no matter how valuable, remain just that, craft skills not meriting the attention of advanced workers in any field of study at a university.

The suspicion of theory as a threat to practical concerns has in fact led to a

self-defeating denial of the relevance of theory to education and as a consequence to its neglect in favor of "action," generally meaning "practical" teacher preparation and community involvement. At this point, however, little can be lost by abandoning those priorities which have proved so difficult to attain, so limiting and modest, and substituting another at least as likely to fulfill the same functions. At the same time, the new priority appears so much more appropriate to members of an academic community with claims to specific professional expertise.

The early pragmatists made an important distinction between what was true and what was useful. Much of the work in education has been based on the assumption that it was at least useful. But even if it was—a highly debatable point—there is no real basis for believing that the work done was in any respect true, that is, verifiable, replicable, teachable.

Envoi Over a half-century ago, Teachers College, Columbia University was founded on the principle that it should teach everything that a successful teacher needed to know. But circumstances inside and outside that institution have changed and the long-term results of that policy may now be analyzed and evaluated. James Earl Russell's principle is now being challenged, not without strong opposition, on the grounds that it did away with all but the most vague and impermanent criteria for its efforts and permitted no real system of priorities for future developments to emerge. Courses and students proliferated and, in the long run, graduate studies suffered wholesale diminution of quality and general atomization. Only the stature and longevity of some of its faculty giants and the persistence of some devoted and talented individuals have restored to Teachers College in recent years some eminence as an institution of higher learning.

Programs in graduate education at other institutions, though emerging, are now being lured into the very trap from which Teachers College is seeking to escape, though with less reason than she had to succumb. They seek to supply what the market appears to be demanding. Such a policy ensures neither efficiency nor safety in automobiles; it does not encourage quality in TV programming. It cannot ensure efficiency or quality in university programming. The principle, that a department of education's first task is to train teachers, may have been appropriate as a starting point, though even that is debatable, but it is simply inadequate today. At best it is too modest a goal, at worst it is downright subversive as a determinant of graduate education. The worst traps may be avoided, however, if priorities are stated not in terms of what the market needs, but rather by reference to the demands of the field of study, of professional expertise and of responsibilities to the academic community.

Developing Self-Awareness in Teachers

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No helping profession is as unmindful of the interpersonal aspects of its work as the teaching profession. There are courses in curriculum, methods of teaching, learning theory, child development, child psychology, and administration in graduate teacher education; but almost all programs omit the development of self-awareness.

When we take into account education's traditional focus on the teaching of subject matter, this is understandable. Historically, emphasis was put on the student's intellectual development and on fitting him to the curriculum, rather than adapting the curriculum to the student's needs. There was little concern with individual differences and requirements.

This approach, of course, had the advantage of providing a certain objectivity which could be experienced by both teachers and students. Students knew unequivocally what was expected; they knew when they were succeeding and when they were failing. Yet the very objectivity of prevailing standards made them arbitrary and often inculcated in students a sense of failure, despair, and disillusionment.

As is well known, there was a shift in the early part of the 20th century from "teaching the subject" to "teaching the child." Attention was paid to individual differences and to the psychosocial aspects of behavior. Teachers were enabled to treat their pupils as individuals and to free them for spontaneous behavior or for social participation and development.

Neither the subject-oriented nor the child-oriented approach, however, allowed for a conception of the professional educator as a person with his own life experiences, with values and motivations uniquely reflecting his humanness. Sometimes these are directly relevant to his functioning in the classroom; sometimes they are not. What is never irrelevant, however, is the relationship existing between the teacher and his students. The true professional must be aware of the nature of this relationship, but the awareness required is not something that can be gained through mastery of the usual academic disciplines. It is founded, above all, in self-awareness.

The individual teacher must recognize the need to be self-aware. Once he does recognize it, what can be done to develop the kind of self-awareness he needs if he is to function effectually?

Probing Values and Attitudes Values and attitudes learned from family, friends, social class, and community at large im-

pinge upon the teacher's operations in the classroom and affect the nature of the interpersonal relationships there. A graphic example of this can be found in Dick Gregory's autobiography, entitled *Nigger*. In the following extract, he describes an experience he had when students were asked to bring in some money for charity. Gregory had gone out and worked in order to have some money to contribute; and, when the teacher began collecting the money, he was proud to be able to raise his hand.

"What is it now?"

"You forgot me."

She turned to the blackboard. "I don't have time to be playing with you, Richard."

"My daddy said he'd . . ."

"Sit down, Richard, you're disturbing the class."

"My daddy said he'd give me—fifteen dollars."

She turned around and looked mad. "We are collecting money for you and your kind, Richard Gregory. If your daddy gave you fifteen dollars, you have no business being on relief."

"I got it right now. . . . My daddy gave it to me to turn in today. My daddy said. . . ."

"And furthermore," she said, looking right at me, her nostrils getting big and her lips getting thin . . . , "we know you don't have a daddy."

The boy cried, of course. Then he walked out of school and did not go back very often after that. "There was shame there," he said.

The values a teacher brings with him, however, are not all that are important. He also needs to see how his experiences in a particular school affect his reactions and his relationships. The location of the school, the nature of the staff, the degree of poverty in the neighborhood—all make a difference; and the teacher in search of self-awareness ought to understand the way his day-to-day encounters influence him. Of crucial importance is the way in which students react to him and the way he responds to what they do.

If a student walks into a classroom with shoulder-length hair, for example, it probably expresses his response to the whole process of education or to society in general rather than to his teacher. The teacher's response, nevertheless, is bound to affect the educational process. I recall one teacher who reacted to such a situation by saying she wondered if the long-haired student would be able to look into a microscope without his hair getting in his way. This may be an acceptable response; but it is important for that teacher, like any other, to go beyond the particular instance and explore her attitudes towards young people who consistently disdain authority, are non-conformist, or rebellious.

Is she alarmed by what she sees? Does she have a positive identification with the rebels? The basic question has to do with the extent to which her responses as a teacher are influenced by her personal biases and values.

Unconscious Influences Much human behavior, of course, originates below conscious awareness. It may be difficult at any given moment to be aware of feelings and thoughts which lie below the surface; but teachers ought not to overlook their influence on their relations with others. An individual educator's responses may be deeply affected by his own psychosexual development, quite apart from his professional training and experience. How has he emerged into adult life? How has he dealt with questions of trust, autonomy, and initiative? What about his feelings of adequacy and identity? Too frequently, certain life experiences limit an individual's capacity to function competently and creatively; and these must be understood, if the interpersonal aspects of a teacher's functioning in a classroom are to be clarified.

Such questions are generally overlooked in graduate teacher education. Yet it seems to us that a teacher's awareness of himself as a person, and his ability to understand the forces which work upon his relationships, are as important as his mastery of subject matter and his familiarity with the laws of child development.

Because of the emphasis on professional discipline in teacher training, a notion has developed that "pure professional objectivity" is an attainable goal. This is fallacious. What actually develops is a kind of self-consciousness about purposes, or an ability to behave intentionally. This is quite different from objectivity or detachment. There is no reason, it seems to us, why a teacher cannot be enabled to become progressively aware of the various aspects of his selfhood that affect his interpersonal experiences. Graduate education might well help the practicing teacher to be more conscious and purposeful in his self-awareness, and to become more attuned to the complexities involved in classroom interpersonal contacts.

Accepting Feelings It is frequently forgotten that, for all the differences among individuals, many feelings are shared. People become confused about this because of the great discrepancies between their life situations. The middle-class teacher, for instance, has the capacity to know what violence is if he is sufficiently self-aware. He can understand its role in the lives of poor children by coming in touch with some of the violence within himself. If he can do so and accept such feelings, he can estab-

lish some connection between what he is and what he has experienced and what he finds expressed among his students.

Graduate education can provide opportunities for the educator to do this. Delving into early childhood experiences or deep unconscious motivations would not be required, since these are the concerns of involved psychotherapeutic processes. But teachers, even so, can be sensitized to their feelings, thoughts, attitudes, and values, at least to the point of becoming aware of the impact they have on relationships with students. The focus should be continually on the classroom relationship between teacher and child; but the graduate setting can provide orientation for such understanding. Didactic materials can be related to the personal lives of graduate students. Discussions of cultural patterns can lead to student description of the patterns they know best and of the rituals and traditions characteristic of their home lives. Vast differences may appear and merge into similarities. Students will begin to realize how cultural patterns influence their attitudes and reactions in daily life. In such a manner the graduate classroom can become a means of developing self-awareness.

Knowledge about group leadership can be discovered through examination of leadership patterns in the graduate class itself; and group standards can be explored on the spot. Interpersonal reactions can be examined in order to come to an understanding of what accounts for them; and, gradually, parallels between the life of the graduate classroom and the public school classroom can be defined. Daily life experiences, in other words, create a kind of laboratory situation, in which graduate students can examine themselves.

Suspensions may arise that this is some form of pseudopsychotherapy; but, if the graduate instructor focuses on the here and now interactions in his classroom and continues to translate these into aspects of the teacher's classroom role, doubts dissipate. Graduate students usually recognize that this is a legitimate way of becoming aware of one's self and one's relationship to others. Having experienced the process, they go on with a new kind of security and a new sensitivity to their own students. Their life experiences become available resources, supplementing the knowledge gained from professional training. They begin to see themselves as becoming as important to their pupils' education as the subject matter communicated. With self-knowledge, they become total bearers of information and knowledge in the human encounters called learning.

Three—

Teaching Behavior In A Social System

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Although mere vocationalism in education may not result in the dire consequences I often predict to my Education 1 students, I would insist that we not overlook the classroom performances of our graduate students since they, by and large, are engaged in teaching. We exhibit a curious reticence about their teaching behavior. Indeed, the paucity of our approval seems commensurate with their performance if the cues they give us can be believed. The most extreme which I recall was one of my graduate student's complaint about light-weight furniture—"It's too dangerous when the children throw it." Less extreme yet similar anecdotes suggest our graduate students' failures (to teach as we might wish them to) are more than the normal tension between the "real" and the "ideal." We spend an inordinate amount of our time and energy at the graduate level inculcating ideal teaching behavior while studiously ignoring what teachers really do in the classroom. What people ignore is not accidental. Although I do not propose to examine here all of the complexities of human avoidance behavior, I would urge that we try to view our "reasons" for ignoring teaching behavior as objectively as possible. I recognize that our detachment may be strained in considering whether the "reason" for poor performance stems from "poor training" as some of our detractors declaim. However, the question that I wish to consider is: "If we dislike their teaching behavior, can we realistically expect to change it?"

Let us analyze their behavior. In the abstract, we know that any behavior does not occur in a void, but rather in a system with other related phenomena. The Hawthorne studies of the 1930's make explicit in specific detail the effect of the social system upon the production of telephone equipment.¹ These studies and the subsequent applications of their insights and methods to other situations provide us with an analytical precedent for viewing teaching behavior as a function of the social system in which it occurs.

The Connotations of Discipline An appropriate beginning is to ask why we dislike so much of their teaching behavior. When we visit the schools, we find a great deal to disapprove of in the prevailing mood. This mood is further communicated to us by our graduate students who tell us of their discipline problems. "Discipline" is a verbal symbol with com-

¹ Fritz J. Roethlisberger and William J. Dickson, *Management and the Worker*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1939.

plex connotations which summarize most of the system's sentiments about authority. Our staff (with its own social system) responds to this symbol as contradictory to the teaching behavior they approve. In some cases we may even punish our graduate students who use the word; at least to the extent of rewarding those who never mention it. Those who persist in discussing their "discipline" problems we label as "rigid" or "authoritarian." Since the symbolic referent "discipline" summarizes the conflict between the two social systems, communication about this aspect of teaching behavior becomes difficult indeed.

I will digress briefly to tell you of my hunch about some of the sources of our unease with "discipline." Personnel of departments such as ours are initially recruited from the ranks of teachers who control the activities of pupils in a manner so subtle that it is frequently below the level of awareness. When it is done with ease such teachers dismiss it as a matter of little concern. If conscious attention is given to the activity of controlling pupils, it is approached indirectly, and thought about in terms of handling discipline by keeping the pupils interested. The relevance of my hunch to my general thesis is that the teacher's task within the social system of the schools is primarily authoritarian, and our reaction to this definition is essentially negative.

This prevailing mood of authoritarianism enthralls even those graduates who as undergraduates had shown promise of exhibiting the teaching behavior we had projected for them. While we decry their lack of imagination in managing the authority that society has given them (through the person of their school principal), we have perhaps been too ready to accept their justifications for capitulating. They *say* that their principal requires heavy-handed discipline, yet provide no evidence of sanctioning except some confused talk about the principal's evaluation of their teaching behavior. However, statistics on the cases of teachers denied tenure² are too low to be considered the sanctioning device. This does not negate the possibilities of informal coercion, which are suggested by such ritual gestures as demanding rigidly prescribed lesson plan books at stipulated times.

We can perhaps attribute some of the sentiments about authority and its punitive expression to the working class ethos colored by long conditioning of doing "what the boss wants." Certainly successive generations of teachers (some of whom climbed up the administrative hierarchy to positions that gave them a brief for stamping their values on the institution) from the working class have been recruited through the years.

2 Only twelve in the last five years according to Fred M. Hechinger, *New York Times*, April 8, 1967, p. 29.

Hierarchies of Roles The authority of the teachers (and the brief to exercise it arbitrarily) largely derives from the hierarchy of social roles within the system which narrowly prescribes the behavior permitted in the relationships between members of a lower-ranking role (or stratum) with those in the stratum above. The prototype relationship is teacher-pupil. This is repeated up the strata of principal, assistant superintendent where social distance obscures it from *my* view, but which I assume continues to the well-carpeted reaches of the superintendent's apex.

All social systems have a hierarchy of the roles within them, but the one under discussion only allows communication to flow downward. Other social systems award status in the hierarchy on achievement which focuses on performance of tasks. In contrast to achieved status is ascribed status. Our graduate students teach in a social system that hopes to circumvent or at least minimize their failures at controlling their pupils by ascribing the teacher's status. Teachers are entitled to exercise the authority given them because they have the traits that the examining board declares an entitlement to exercise authority over pupils. The teachers who do not validate the traits ascribed to them, remove themselves from the social system.

Ascribed status is highly dependent upon recruitment.³ Unlike other professions that receive neophytes for training immediately before they are ready to practice, the teachers are recruited from a group that has been exposed to their adult task since kindergarten. This early recruitment is acknowledged in the essays which my undergraduates write about why they want to teach. Early teachers with whom they had a special relationship are always mentioned. Elizabeth Eddy has suggested that teachers choose the pupils most like themselves to reward with tasks which resemble teaching—e.g., being a monitor or teaching other children.⁴ I do not wish to indulge in the disparaging semantics of "teacher's pet," but we must recognize that much latent learning about the teacher's task has occurred before our students come to us. That it is only partially- or perhaps even pre-rational makes our own teaching task much more difficult. The code of teaching behavior that is incorporated at this early stage of development may have been accepted most uncritically, and being subconscious is most difficult to un-do. This largely subconscious induction into teaching behavior makes most teaching about it at the late adolescent and young adult level an exercise in verbalization and rationalization

3 Seigfried F. Nadel, *The Theory of Social Structure*. New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1957.

4 Elizabeth M. Eddy, "Beginning Teachers' Induction into the Inner City School." New York: Hunter College of the City University of New York, August 1, 1966, mimeographed.

that is particularly ineffective in changing behavior. Although ineffective, I must acknowledge that it is not without its blandishments. For most of our undergraduate students, we open up all kinds of exciting possibilities about performing the teaching task. While we provide them with a theory of education, a theory of learning, and a treasure of methods, their old model of "teacher" recedes in consciousness, but lives on, I suspect, at the level of super-ego.

Complementarities Since the teacher-to-be learns the role while occupying another (i.e., pupil), it is appropriate to describe the roles of teacher and pupil as complementary. This complementarity is most marked in the realm of authority. Implicit in beginning teachers' statements about their motivation are many sentiments about authority.⁵

There is a marked discontinuity in the dominance-submission continuum for the individual who occupies the pupil and teacher roles. This is similar to the conflicts in behavior described in an essay on the effect of role conflict upon personality. Eddy's paper suggests that the satisfactions sought by the neophyte teachers are pupil behaviors similar to those given to one's own teacher when a pupil. There is more than a suggestion of extreme ambivalence about authority and discipline problems. A mild ego-centrism seems to have sustained the recruit through her kindergarten classes, classes for the "gifted," "accelerated" classes, "special programs" and on to the university, which *seems* to have led her to expect pupils who will submit to her authority as she once did to her teacher's. She has with characteristic adolescent oversight forgotten the part played by her parents in socializing her to be a good pupil. Since the system considers these parent-socialized pupils more desirable to teach, and with the exodus of middle-class parents from the system reducing their numbers, the beginning teacher is quite unlikely to receive this sort of pupil. In all likelihood, she will teach the children of the new migrants to the city who either do not socialize the child in his role as pupil, or do it without appreciating the subtleties of motivation. These incompletely socialized pupils frequently differ from the image that the beginning teacher had ego- and ethno-centrally projected for her pupils' behavior.⁶

Neophyte Anxieties We begin to lose the undergraduates as members of our social system during the student teaching ex-

5 Judith C. Fuchel, *Motivational Factors Influencing Persistence in Teaching As Revealed by Interviews*; a Report of the Office of Research and Evaluation, Division of Teacher Education of the City University of New York, September, 1966.

6 Ruth Benedict, "Continuities and Discontinuities in Cultural Conditioning," *Personality in Nature, Society and Culture*, Ed. Clyde Kluckhohn, et al. New York: Knopf, 1956.

perience. The triangle of college supervisor, cooperating teacher and student teacher is fraught with emotion. Here is the chance for the college education department to get the teaching behavior it desires. Yet despite the deft use of sanctions such as marks and placement recommendations, the college supervisor usually fails to "fix" the desired behavior in the student teacher. In fact, the behavior is so far from the ideal that one suspects that the cooperating teacher's efforts at re-integrating the student teacher have made successful use of the interaction advantage over the supervisor, and with the help of the examining board's licensing procedures, has reclaimed the system's own recruit.

In the first year of teaching, authority and its management are the major concerns of the anxious neophyte, made even more anxious by the principal's hovering while determining if this one will make it. The principal will give her an evaluation sufficient to gain her tenure if she controls the behavior of the pupils with the narrow range allowed. If she does not produce this behavior in the pupils, sanctions are used. She soon learns that the methods of discipline that the college advocates "do not work" in this setting. She falls back on what comes naturally to her. She tries to evoke the pupil behavior desired by the system in the way Miss Whoever *did* or the way Mrs. Whatsits across the hall *does*. After all, didn't she submit to such methods with *no harm done* years before? Gradually, the content of her undergraduate education courses recedes into the dream-like quality of a fairy tale she heard while on furlough at college, away from the social system. It is then that she comes to us for graduate study treating what she regards as our patent hypocrisy with pained silence or apathy. When she tries to tell us "how it is," she gets little farther than "It's too idealistic," which in truth it is for the social system in which she must perform her teaching task.

If we want our teaching graduate students to apply and extend their knowledge of child development and learning theory, and to value creativity (and even intelligence) over rote learning, I believe we will have to make them members of our social system, where creative teaching can be rewarded, and where it has a ghost of a chance to succeed.

Unless we have some direct access to the graduate student's teaching behavior, I believe that (except for a superior minority), we will only make them uncomfortable while we tell them of methods which seemed plausible—even exciting—while they were in our Elysian fields, but which now only evoke wonder at their undergraduate naïveté. Before we became hired hands of the school system, I suggest that we should make our services contingent upon on-going formal relationships with our graduate students in their classrooms. It is a prodigious undertaking, but I see no alternative.



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Wakening Our Sleepy Universities: Student Involvement In Curriculum Change

Robert Schwebel
Antioch College

Today's urgent problems—among them war, poverty, and racism—make it clear that rapid social change is essential to human dignity and survival. The problems also indicate a need for immediate creative action, demanding the full use of man's ability to reason. However, our fumbling efforts suggest that the American educational system has not adequately prepared students to meet this need. In fact, many students contend that colleges and universities are graduating people unprepared to manage their own lives, let alone solve important social issues. Increasing numbers of people suggest that a good way to begin confronting contemporary problems is by improving the educational system. One of the most interesting developments in the realm of educational reform has been the emergence of students as the newest and perhaps most vital force in efforts to awaken "our sleepy universities."

One student dissatisfaction with education has concerned the irrelevance of subject matter. By avoiding the crucial issues of our time, neglecting issues important to young people, and failing to show the interrelationship of knowledge in general, the institutions of higher education have provided a sterile ground for learning. Student reform literature speaks of "The intellectual bankruptcy and spiritual emptiness of the American educational establishment."¹ They seek "to develop the concepts necessary to comprehend the events of this century and the meaning of one's own life within it." The structure of education further compounds the dissatisfaction with its content (in

Robert Schwebel is a student at Antioch who is much concerned with efforts being made by students to enrich and render relevant their own education. Here he discusses a range of current efforts to effect curriculum change: by working within existing institutional structures; by establishing "free universities," and by creating experimental colleges. All are innovative; many are promising. Mr. Schwebel's is a responsible student voice with provocative things to say.

1 Bulletin of the Free School of New York, Winter Quarter, 1966-67.

fact, they are nearly inseparable phenomena). Instead of an emphasis on problem solving and the ability to think, pre-processed "gospel" has become the content of "learning." One student program in experimental reform published the following statement:

When the process of learning becomes fixed and rigid, when the teacher becomes the grade-dispensing authority and the student the note-taking subordinate, when a course is defined by a fixed amount of knowledge transmitted in a formal lecture given in fixed hours, when the student becomes a basket which passively collects bits of knowledge from professors who collectively tie on pretty ribbons after four uneventful years, education has become no more than empty ritual in which individuals are prisoners of traditional role.²

Students in some institutions have responded to the "empty ritual" of higher education with exciting and dynamic approaches to curriculum reform. Their involvement, by its very nature, stimulates change—it introduces new experiences and outlooks, and provides a large supply of committed reformers. However, student "participation" threatens many of the people traditionally responsible for academic policy-making. Traditions *do* change slowly. Because of its "threatening" quality, student admission into policy decisions has been resisted, denied, or delayed. Reacting to this, students have become less passive, more indirect (taking initiative outside the traditional channels of innovation) and more angry (recent calls for "student power").

This paper concerns itself with three broad types of student-involvement in curriculum change: working within existing structures; creating new "parallel institutions (free universities); and creating experimental colleges (free universities from which regular academic credit can be earned, yet educational experimentation prevails).

Working Within The Structure

Seeking to enrich their educational experiences, students often have attempted—occasionally with the support of faculty and administration—to operate within the present framework of an institution to bring about changes they deem desirable. Their efforts have assumed various forms, including seminars and conferences on higher education, curriculum and course studies and reviews, curriculum committees, programs to supplement the curriculum, and student-initiated courses.

² The Experimental College at Princeton, "A Crude, Preliminary Philosophy of Education."

Seminars and Conferences on Higher Education

At a few universities, in response to student requests, programs have been instituted aimed at giving students interested in participating in college governance sufficient background to do so well. One of the most far-reaching was instituted at the University of Texas at Austin. Here, the student-government-initiated seminar on "The Problems of Higher Education" was offered to some 35 students with demonstrated potential as campus leaders. Although no academic credit was awarded for participation, the university supported the effort in spirit—and a foundation grant of \$1500 made it a reality. A seminar "coordinator" (faculty member at 1/3 time) and a graduate assistant were hired; the coordinator invited guest lecturers periodically and used different teaching methods in class.

The seminar addressed itself to an analysis and broad survey of the problems which face today's university, grouped within three areas: a theoretical approach to the academic community (goals and methods of higher education, administration of a university, student roles in a university, etc.); specific problems (dormitory needs, discipline, advising, grading, orientation, etc.); and recent and long-standing policy decisions of the administration of the University of Texas (with first-hand accounts from the participants). The Student Association President reported that "to this date (November 22, 1966) it has been successful in its original goals. We are merely trying to better prepare a wide diversity of students for participation (later in their college experience) in some aspects of the governing of the university."³

The National Students Association prepared a list of "Readings for Student Participants in Academic Policy Formation" to aid students in colleges and universities seeking involvement in decision-making on their campuses. These lists were distributed at several of its regional conferences devoted to this topic in the fall of 1966.

Curriculum Committees The most widespread form of student involvement in educational policy-making has been at meetings of curriculum and academic committees. Student status on such committees ranges from observer to full member. At the University of Delaware the provost and vice-president stated that:

Students have long held membership on committees relating to student life and extracurricular affairs, but we are now inviting their participation in discussions of other matters where they have keen insight and a consider-

³ Letter to R. Schwebel from Cliff Drummond, President, Associated Students, November 22, 1966.

able stake in the results. Two such areas are the committee on instruction and the committee to study the impact of the university on its undergraduates.⁴

In addition, students were to become members of the committee on undergraduate courses and curricula.

A joint student-faculty committee to reexamine the "teaching situation" has been formed at the University of Wisconsin for the purpose of studying new teaching methods and curricula, interdisciplinary programs, and the role of students in academic decisions.

The Harvard-Radcliffe Policy Committee, an organization of students, faculty, and administration, also deals with educational issues. It is composed of fourteen undergraduate students (eleven from Harvard and three from Radcliffe), the Dean of Harvard College and the Dean of Radcliffe College, and three faculty members selected by the rest of the group each February. The committee handles college-wide issues: it proposed a modification in language requirements; it discussed the feasibility of a pass-fail grading system and considered ways to avoid "the sophomore slump." A second category of action engaged in by the group includes seeking ways of gaining influence in faculty hiring and tenure decisions. Most significantly, the committee established an Educational Audit which evaluates a department, every four years, in regard to general examinations, tutorials, distribution requirements, range of courses available, weighting of senior theses, and content of required courses.

All-student committees, functioning either as subcommittees to the faculty, or autonomously, exercise various degrees of influence. Such committees advise faculty and administrators on student views at Temple University and New York University's School of Education. At Temple, the faculty senate recently approved the creation of a student subcommittee of the University's Educational Programs and Policy Committee. The five students chosen meet monthly for deliberation, discussion, and recommendations to the parent committee.

The NYU School of Education student committee was formed to aid in the evaluation and development of curriculum. The Dean of Instruction related that his early hesitations about the committee proved unfounded:

I obtained the names of "intelligent, articulate students" from our student activities people, knowing very well in doing this I would, in all probability, be getting students who were not highly antagonistic toward the policies of the school and fearing that they might even be too supportive of the establishment. As it turned out, and even during the first hour of the

4 *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, November 23, 1967.

first meeting, it was clear that the students had very sharp criticisms to level at the school and they were feeling free enough to do so.⁵

As a first step in reviewing the program of offerings, the NYU committee felt a need for criteria. They examined the statement of purpose published in the school's Bulletin and found it wanting. They prepared a new statement which avoided what they considered an overemphasis on vocational goals and an underemphasis on the development of the student and which was adopted by the faculty. In regard to the curriculum, the committee criticized: over-compartmentalization of courses to the exclusion of discussion of the inter-relationship of knowledge; lack of freedom in course selection; instances of inadequate faculty advising; narrow range of methods courses; and insufficient field experience.

Student-Organized Curriculum Committees

Students sometimes perceive the faculty and administration as being antagonistic toward or uninterested in student participation in curriculum planning and reform. At several schools such perceptions were so compelling that students set up committees independent of the academic structure, to review and criticize the curriculum. Comprehensive curriculum and course reviews of this nature were carried out at the University of Pennsylvania and Maryville College of the Sacred Heart.

At Pennsylvania, the Student Committee on Undergraduate Education (SCUE) outlined the purpose of its rigorous study as follows:

This report should by no means be considered as an anguished plea for small classes or a new student union; it is an attempt to define, however implicitly, a new concept of education at the University of Pennsylvania. We believe that institutionalizing the recommendations that SCUE has made in this report will not, in itself, make Pennsylvania a great university. Without such changes, however, we can never achieve this greatness. Primarily we seek to establish a new spirit, to begin a constant dialogue among all members of the university. We are not attempting to define an academic utopia, but an atmosphere in which every member of the university community will be constantly aware of the mutuality of our enterprise. Crucial to this new spirit must be an increased respect for the opinions and freedoms of every member of the university, from the newest and most inexperienced freshman to the oldest and most famous member of the faculty.⁶

5 Letter to R. Schwebel from Associate Dean Milton Schwebel, November 30, 1966.

6 Rose Ann Alderson, Working Paper on Education Reform, prepared for USNSA Regional Conferences, Fall, 1966.

One of the most carefully planned curriculum studies has been performed by students in Maryville College. As an example of process, this program merits attention. Activity began in the fall of 1962, when students prepared and distributed a questionnaire to ascertain "the intellectual climate on campus." It served the dual purpose of stimulating interest in educational reform and determining possible support for future student curriculum evaluation. A student curriculum committee was formed following tabulations of the questionnaire's results. Through its activities (mostly opinion questionnaires, sometimes comparative studies with other schools) during the next two years, the committee presented sufficient data to the faculty-administration Educational Policy Committee to influence them to alter several requirements particularly unpopular with students.

In 1964 there occurred a breakdown of sorts at Maryville. In February the Student Council addressed a request to the Educational Policy Committee asking that the decision to abolish the Study Abroad Program be reconsidered. However, the request was channeled to the Academic Dean, who simply responded with a note explaining why the program had been terminated. Student dissatisfaction with the procedure was expressed immediately. In April, the students called a joint meeting with the faculty on the topic of "Communications." In November of the same year the Student Council again called a joint meeting, this time to discuss the possibility of student representation on the Educational Policy Committee. The student position was discussed, their serious interest reflected in their curricular questionnaires was noted by the faculty, and their request was finally granted. This opening of a direct channel of communication to complement the indirect ones with the faculty and administration has furthered student participation in curriculum studies.

Probably the most prominent example of student evaluation of courses is the *Confidential Guide to Courses* published by the *Harvard Crimson* since 1925. At Berkeley, the *SLATE Supplement to the General Catalogue* evaluates courses by student polls. A large number of schools are calling upon students to evaluate courses for the benefit of students and faculty alike.

Student Programs to Supplement the Curriculum

Students in recent years have been learning how to exploit better the prevailing college structure and available resources to enrich their curriculum. The importation to campus, by student groups and governments, of interesting lecturers and visiting fellows is a notable method.

Student representatives on the Temple University Lectures and Convocations Committee help select lecturers-in-residence to visit their campus. At the University of Texas, the Students' Association inaugurated a visiting fellow pro-

gram in 1963-1964. Speakers at both of these campuses, during their brief stay (not more than week), undertake various activities ranging from attending lectures and leading lectures to counseling individual students with interests in their field of competence.

The Community Council at Antioch College (composed of six students and three faculty members) hired a full-time "activist-scholar in residence," for an initial period of six months. The original proposal called for: "Open interchange and community dialogue, and especially, different points of view."⁷ And the program committee emphasized that the "value of the program must come from a process of open partisanship which means the exchange and serious consideration of differing views, and a common willingness to be critical of our own commitment to values and to a social movement."⁸ The first community government activist-scholar, Carl Oglesby (author and former president of Students for a Democratic Society) was given leeway to define his position as he wished. In addition to leading informal seminars, presenting single lectures and lecture series, he also planned and supervised independent study for thirty-four students per quarter. Although Oglesby was not given power to grant academic credit directly, students engaged in independent study could petition for credit under the "Student-Initiated Courses" plan (to be discussed).

Student-Initiated Courses In many schools channels have been opened and utilized by students to initiate courses not offered by their institution. It is generally agreed by members of the academic community that some of these courses fill genuine gaps in the curriculum. However, some faculty administrative people argue that other student-initiated courses, especially those dealing with drugs and sex, are nothing more than "dormitory discussion topics." But students disagree, claiming these topics to be relevant to their lives. Students attempt to get courses that speak to their interests included in the school's curriculum. However, if this is impossible, the courses are offered independently, with the hope that through exposure their merits will be weighed and that they eventually will be integrated into the regular program.

Undergraduates at Cornell University, which has no religion department, arranged to offer seminars on "The Death of God Theology" and "Islamic Culture" (the latter taught by Moslem students). Likewise, a student-initiated course on jazz, a subject not covered by the University's curriculum, was developed. At least one faculty member enrolled in the seminar as a student.

7 *Antioch College Record*, September 13, 1966.

8 *Antioch College Record*, September 30, 1966.

At Harpur College an independent study course emphasizing Vietnam was attempted at the suggestion of a student. One of the faculty members responsible for Harpur's Vietnam seminar reported: "I conclude that the project must be deemed to have failed and I would not recommend repetition under similar conditions." He discussed some problems—the initial group of interested students had "no clear focus for the seminar" and "no notion of how the seminar could or should be structured." In a covering letter for the report about the seminar, Harpur's Vice-President for Academic Affairs concluded: "I do not expect students can be made responsible for their own education. I thank God we do have a responsible faculty."

At Antioch College a student-initiated course met with considerably more success. Entitled "Revolution in Black and White," the areas of study included the history of the civil rights movement and value changes in general. Extensive reading, guest lecturers, and field trips were methods of learning employed. One of the more interesting papers developing from the seminar concerned value changes among the seminar members during those three months.

In fact, Antioch has developed a far reaching program in the area of student-initiated courses. It has clearly delineated the communication and consultation necessary for initiating the courses. To aid in planning courses, the dean of faculty keeps available a list of interested faculty members (and their areas of competency), and a file of approved syllabi indicating, concretely, the criteria for acceptance of a student-initiated course.

Most important, Antioch has recognized the possible significance of such a program:

The... teacher is expected to be a man of many parts and to play many roles: the informer's, the motivator's, the evaluator's. As things now stand, he is primarily responsible for deciding what is to be studied and how, and for setting up standards whereby the excellence of a student's performance may be judged. The introduction of Student-Initiated Courses (SIC) will significantly change the teacher's role, for he will now share with students his responsibility for deciding what will be studied and how it will be studied. The benefits of such an innovation seem obvious: the curriculum will be broadened, provisions will be made for interdisciplinary studies, and a framework will be provided within which educational experiments can take place. On the other hand, if the demand for such courses should prove great, large-scale (and therefore painful) institutional changes are likely to follow. Such a far-reaching innovation should be carefully evaluated.⁹

9 Antioch Committee on SICs, "Policy Recommendation on Student-Initiated Courses."

Parallel Institutions—The Free Universities

In response to the same dissatisfactions which prompt students to work within institutional frameworks to change and/or to enrich the curriculum, students in recent years also have been turning outside of the university structure to establish their own loose-knit, often free-wheeling, "free universities." For both students and faculty these free universities provide new and different subject matter, serve as possible sites for experimentation, and as a source of innovation. The parallel schools are either related to or independent of their "parent" institution. Independent free universities have either of two goals: to influence the parent school or to serve as an alternative to it. Free universities related to the parent institution can either provide experimental education opportunities with parent support and without credit, or in addition may acquire the power to grant parent credit (in which case the parallel institution is generally considered an experimental college, to be discussed).

Often as not, the student decision to establish a free university is predicated on nonacademic bases as well as academic ones. Students have established parallel institutions at various locations for reasons ranging from intense dislike of the bureaucratic ponderosity of established universities, to judgments (often correct) that reforms they would like to initiate within the ongoing institution will not be well received by "The Establishment." Free universities have been created at numerous spots across the nation, including Dartmouth; University of California at Berkeley and at Davis; Princeton; Stanford; University of North Carolina; University of Pennsylvania and surrounding schools; within the New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, and Detroit areas; University of Florida at Gainesville; University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee; Ohio University; Ohio State University; Bowling Green State University; the University of Colorado; and the University of New Mexico. Another is a joint effort combining students from Amherst, Smith, Mount Holyoke, and the University of Massachusetts. Though all these efforts differ from one another in some ways, most are similar in at least a few respects: the types of subject matter, the atmosphere desired within the classroom, and the various functional aspects of the classroom setting.

Free University Subject Matter Most free universities subscribe to the policy approximating that of the Free University of Pennsylvania, that "any subject matter is considered valid and will be offered if an instructor wants to teach it and there are students who wish to take it."¹⁰

10 The Free University Coordinating Committee, "The Free University of Pennsylvania."

The range is broad enough to include topics which might be rejected as "Student-Initiated Courses" within other universities.

Courses offered at free universities usually deal with contemporary or nearly contemporary issues, and approach them in a multidisciplinary way. For this reason, classification under traditional frameworks would be misleading and perhaps impossible. Following, however, is a sample of the diverse courses taught at free universities: "The Beat Movement in Literature," "The Modern Novel," "The Literature of the Russian Revolution," "*Walden 11*," "Existentialism," "Marxism," "The Conscience of a Christian," "The Lost Generation," "War and Peace," "The Negro in America," "American Higher Education," "Southeast Asia," "Modern Urban Development," "Conflict Resolution and Non-Violence," "Fascism," "The Cinema," "Human Sexuality," "Interpersonal Relationships," and "Technology and the Needs of Man."

The Atmosphere of Learning Reports from free universities indicate that teachers and students meet in a relaxed atmosphere, free from a hierarchical relationship, and proceed to design and develop courses. They are equal participants in a shared educational experience. Free university literature explains, "The assertion is that you can start learning anywhere, as long as you really care about the problem you tackle and how well you tackle it."¹¹ Released from the pressure of exams, grades, degrees and their requirements, and credits and major areas of concentration, students and teachers are free to experiment and innovate. Student reformers wrote, "It is not the transmission of factual data by authorities, but a process of creating learning situations."¹² New areas of study, new approaches, and new forms of communication are opened at free universities, according to their student architects.

Since there are no outside rewards (such as salaries for instructors, credits and degrees for students), motivation must be more completely internalized than within the regular university programs. The intrinsic rewards, however, appear to make such experiences worth the time and effort devoted to them. Instructors teach material that they enjoy and want to teach; they are given the opportunity, which they are often denied within the traditional college classroom, to experiment with new approaches to specific topics. Students find the problem-oriented courses (rather than discipline-oriented) to be more stimulating, especially since the subject matter is likely to be more relevant to them than is that of the regular academic university. For many participants, learning appears to become exciting and enjoyable, "no longer a world of

11 Leaflet, "Experimental College at San Francisco State College."

12 "A Crude, Preliminary Philosophy of Education."

'grinding' and 'partying' which bespeaks ignorance of the pleasures of learning."¹³ In addition, education takes on a new dimension of commitment which necessarily accompanies the self-motivated learning of relevant material. The importance of this cannot be overemphasized.

Functional Aspects of the Classroom Setting A relatively large amount of energy at some free universities has been devoted to the same questions concerning faculty credentials, class size, and so on, which regularly beset traditional academic institutions.

At the University of New Mexico's parallel institution, for example, debate on teacher qualifications has been heated. On one side of the fence, those favoring the establishment of criteria for choosing teachers argue that the student might be jeopardized by contact with an unqualified teacher (e.g., in a seminar on hallucinatory drugs). They claim that the University of New Mexico, with which the free university is affiliated, would have its reputation hurt by the use of unqualified personnel. On the other side, it is argued, there is no valid way of judging qualifications, and that attempts to do so would tend to stultify the program. Furthermore, (and more important), the argument goes, students are mature enough to form their own opinions about their teachers.

A second debate centers about optimal class size. At the Free University of Pennsylvania there is no limit to enrollment; each class is allowed to reach its own equilibrium. Several free universities set a maximum class size (usually about 15), and a few leave the decision up to the instructor.

Experimental Colleges

Perhaps the best known student venture in academic reform is the Experimental College at San Francisco State. Initiated by students and offering the opportunity to earn regular academic credit, this institution is unique. Students may design courses, decide how they will be taught, choose an enrollment limit and select their own texts at the Experimental College.

In its first year of existence (1965-1966) about 350 students attended seminars. Approximately 20 professors from 13 departments sponsored and gave credit for seminars. The President of the College, the Associate Dean of Activities and Housing, the Chairman of the Academic Senate, and the Associate Dean of Academic Planning expressed support for the program. In the fall of 1966 some 650 students enrolled in the Experimental College. Some 240 of

13 The Experimental College at Princeton, "What is the Experimental College?"

these, in 27 different courses will receive credit from San Francisco State for their work.

Through the Experimental College, new subject matter divided into six areas labeled Styles of Thought, Black Culture and Arts, The Institute for Social Change, Interpersonal Communications, Arts and Letters, and Urban Communities and Change has been made available. If there is an instructor for a seminar (and there isn't always one), it might be a San Francisco State student or faculty member or perhaps even both. The Experimental College can: "For the person who feels that the standard program does not meet his needs . . . tell him how the existing college regulations permit him to: write his own major, substitute courses he wants for required general education courses, organize his own course, get credit for individual work in which he is interested, and obtain a waiver for almost any college rule or regulation."

An associate professor at the regular school (and instructor at the Experimental College) remarked on the "turnabouts" that take place with Experimental College students. "Some, who have thought of themselves as ordinary students, suddenly come to life before your eyes. That's what makes it worthwhile. There also are some who have always thought of themselves as very good, academically, and they now find that no one cares about their dutifulness or dexterity."¹⁴ The significant benefits reaped by individual students at San Francisco State have received their due recognition by educators and this recognition, in turn, has provided the school widespread and favorable publicity. This is a prime example of the ability of students to reform their curriculum, and the institutional gains associated with it.

Last year I was involved in the newest, most radical, and perhaps most unusual form of student participation in the academic community. Along with five others—two from Antioch, one from Goddard, one from San Francisco State College, one from the University of California at Berkeley, and a Stony-Brook drop-out—I served as a "student-consultant" on the planning committee of the State University of New York's new experimental college in Nassau. This concept of student involvement developed from an address delivered in February, 1967, by Samuel Gould, Chancellor of the State University, in which he said henceforth "the State University of New York will, as a matter of policy, seek to involve students in the planning and development of each new college." He added that he had been "convinced that students are able not only to identify faults in the educational system but also to spell out practical steps to reform." What impressed me most about this experience, working together with several administrators and two faculty members on the staff in

¹⁴ San Francisco State College, "Experimental College Advising."

planning the new college on every level ranging from student governance and the "generation gap" to curriculum and physical facilities, was the tremendous amount we could and did learn from each other. I can personally attest to the change of values and intellectual outlook, cognitive growth, sense of excitement and satisfaction as well as the frustrations and disappointments which arise when students, faculty, and administrators take on a mutual task. For me, the high degree of accomplishment and positive personal development has already outlived any moments of disenchantment.

Conclusion How can all this student involvement be explained? A convergence of factors seem to have led to these developments. For one thing, the loosening of repression following the McCarthy period together with the rising tide of the civil rights movement gave wind to the flag of student activism. Suddenly, students had an issue thrown before them, civil rights, in which they could have some power over their environment. The desirable feeling of powerfulness accompanied by the continual undesired escalation of the Vietnam War led to an increased activism and social awareness. Student activists began to see that many of the problems on campus were simply microcosms of phenomena created by similar structures in their society. The Free Speech Movement at Berkeley accelerated the process of recognition. Student involvement in curriculum change evolved largely at institutions where students were highly socially conscious. It also seemed to appear at schools where conditions were so poor, education so backwards, that only a faint degree of awareness was necessary for student discovery of serious problems. Now, student involvement occurs in just about every type of institution conceivable: large, small, urban, rural, "beat," "straight," denominational, secular, private and public. Probably the only safe generalization is that the largest proportion of active, critical students are enrolled in either small progressive liberal colleges or large public universities with rigid bureaucratic structures.

By reviewing the theoretical underpinnings of higher education, critically reviewing the curriculum, supplementing the curriculum with new programs and courses, and creating free universities and experimental colleges, an aroused group of students have revealed the following: that they are interested in the policies and practices of their institution because they recognized that what the institution offers and how it offers it deeply affects their lives. They have demonstrated substantial powers to be innovative and that, given the opportunity, they can work in effective collaboration with the faculty and administration; *and that not* given this opportunity to cooperate they will work just as hard (and make twice as much noise if necessary) to bring about the changes they deem necessary.

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Student Participation in University Educational Decision Making

Fred N. Kerlinger

New York University

In their zeal to participate in the educational process, students are demanding more and more of university administrators and faculties. This zeal is commendable. More important, it can have educationally desirable outcomes. But if permitted to go as far as many students seem to want it to go, its outcomes can also be highly undesirable. It can damage professorial rights and responsibilities. It can seriously harm the students' education. It can even change the purposes of the university.

The arguments used by students and those faculty who support student participation in educational decision making are highly appealing. It is said that university professors and administrators should democratically practice what they preach and give those most affected by educational decision making a real participatory role in the decision-making process. Democracy demands participation of all in decision making, it is said. This means that faculty and students should work together and have equal say in creating policy. The remote, cold, and authoritarian establishment should be radically altered, if not destroyed, and a truly democratic institution created. In short, the university should be truly democratized.

The purpose of this paper is to examine and analyze the educational decision-making function in the university and to indicate the implications and possible consequences of granting student demands to participate in decision making. By "participation in decision making" is meant that students will have equal rights with faculty to debate and vote on educational policy matters. Let us first look at the sources of university educational decision making.

Educational Policy and Faculty Decision Making

Educational policy making is, or should be, a faculty function. Only the faculty of a university is qualified to decide the structure and content of courses of instruction, instructional programs and curricula, and means and methods of teaching. Students can and should criticize existing policy and practice and suggest changes. But only the faculty members of institutions of higher

Professor Kerlinger, while acknowledging certain values in student demands for power, strongly objects to student participation in decision making on educational policy matters. He considers this the responsibility of the faculty and administration. Student power should be limited, he says, to student affairs if the values of an institution and the excellence of its faculty are to be preserved.

learning—professionals specially trained to help further the basic goals of the university: the advancement of knowledge and the transmission of knowledge, or inquiry and teaching—can and should decide upon policies, practices, and changes.

Students do not seem to understand that educational decision making must rest with the faculty. They seem to think that programs, curricula, and courses of study are the result of some sort of fiat, perhaps administrative, perhaps not. This fuzzy conception of where decision responsibility lies helps to feed the wish to participate, democratically and equally, in the educational decision-making process. It feeds the wish, quite probably, because the university administration is covertly seen as the source of university power. Students, in their rebellion against the establishment, want some of this power. In other words, partly because of an often correct perception of where university general power lies but an incorrect perception of the legitimate source of educational decision making, students demand participation in such decision making.

Criteria of Decision Making Few professors would deny students the right somehow to participate in university decision making or would deny the educational and personal value of such participation. The question is: In what aspects of decision making should students participate? The answer hinges on three principles, or criteria, that are expressed by the words legitimacy, competence, and responsibility. *Legitimacy* of decision making means the right, by law, policy, or obligation, to make decisions in a specified area. *Competence* in decision making means that an individual has the requisite knowledge and background that make it possible for him to participate intelligently and rationally in decisions about the area requiring the knowledge and background. *Responsibility* means that the individual making a decision has to be accountable for the implications and consequences of the decision. He has to live with its aftermath. Moreover, he has to answer to others for the decision and its outcomes. It is said that he is "held to account" for his actions. He can, in short, lose status, influence, and position as a consequence of bad decision making.

If we apply these three principles or criteria to student participation in university decision making, the major part of the question asked earlier can be answered. Students should participate in making decisions on those matters that are legitimate to student concerns and that do not infringe on the legitimacy of others. They should participate in decision making on those matters for which they have competence and not on those matters for which they lack competence. Finally, they should participate in decision making only on those matters for which they can be held responsible. There are a number of

areas of university and student life that are appropriate for student decision making. Student discipline, living conditions and arrangements, student publications, and student social affairs are examples.

Matters of actual educational moment, on the other hand, are not appropriate for student decision making. These include educational program, curriculum, course structure and content, admission requirements, and the like. The policies behind these matters are the concern only of the faculty. This is because students do not satisfy and cannot satisfy the three decision-making criteria, as far as these matters are concerned. First, take legitimacy. Faculty determination of educational matters is university policy in most universities. The only legitimate decision-making body, then, is the faculty. Students are not a legitimate decision-making body.

Legitimacy and Responsibility The criterion of legitimacy is different in nature from the other two criteria because the legitimacy of faculty educational policy determination is conferred on the faculty. The criteria of competence and responsibility, however, are inherent in the professorial role. The "external" nature of the legitimacy criterion therefore makes it possible for a university to legitimize student decision making on educational matters. While a university can thus legitimize, by fiat or policy, student participation in educational decision making, the criteria of competence and responsibility cannot be satisfied by students.

By definition, students do not have the substantive and experiential competence to make educational decisions. This seems so obvious as not to warrant discussion. Faculty are those who instruct and those who must decide on what to instruct. Students are those who receive instruction and who participate in the instructional process. If students had the professional knowledge, training, and experience of faculty, there would seem to be little point in faculty instructing students. It is therefore difficult to see how students can be considered competent. Students may be intelligent, sensible, and mature. But possession of these qualities does not make them competent in the sense used here.

Responsibility is in some ways the most important of the criteria. It has been said that students should as much as possible be responsible for their own education. We can all agree with this proposition if we clearly specify that we mean student self-education and not the education of other students. The faculty must always think of *all* students, or at least of relatively large segments of students. A student, on the other hand, should think mainly of his own education, even though he may occasionally be interested in the education of other students. The gap between faculty responsibility and student responsi-

bility is very large. While students have to live with the consequences of decisions that affect them and their education, they are not accountable to anyone.

A decision-making body is always responsible for its decisions. Even if student participation in decision making were legitimized, there is no appropriate way to hold students accountable. Thus we say that students are not responsible—in the educational decision-making sense. They are transient participants in and beneficiaries of the teaching-learning process. As such they cannot be responsible. Professors are officers of instruction. This means that they must work toward the goals of instruction set by themselves and their peers. These goals of instruction are part of educational policy. And the professors themselves, as collective faculty, have the responsibility both for setting the goals and for helping to get to them. Students do not have this responsibility because it is not their function to set educational goals although it is their function to help to get to the goals.

In sum, then, students cannot legitimately participate in the actual educational decision making of the university. They lack the competence to do so, and, perhaps more important, they do not have nor cannot have the responsibility necessary to the decision-making process. If students are to participate in university decision making, then it will be necessary to change the definition of the university, to change its fundamental purposes. Let us now look at some consequences of student participation, but particularly at the effect of such participation on the purposes of the university.

Some Consequences of Student Participation Before outlining the consequences of student educational decision making, I want to emphasize that I am not advocating student oblivion, isolation, and acquiescence. As I will point out later, students have a legitimate part to play in the whole process of decision making. My main point is the fundamental one of legitimacy, competence, and responsibility in decision making and not one of squelching student interest and involvement in larger university affairs. On the contrary, faculty should be sensitive to student needs and opinions, and appropriate ways and means should be found to involve students in the policy-making process. This process, however, should not include equal rights in debating and voting.

If students participate in university decisions on educational matters to the extent of debating and voting, the consequences will be serious and far-reaching. The university as we know it will be altered radically, and society and the students themselves will suffer because one of the two important functions of the professor, instruction, will be undermined. We must now assume, as we

did earlier, that instruction is solely the function of the professor. This means that professors and only professors determine broad educational policy and the implementation of policy in the classroom. That this has been only partially the case in American universities does not alter the validity of the proposition. But how will student participation in decision making affect professors so severely?

First, it is only recently that the professors of many universities have been able to exercise the educational decision-making function that is rightfully theirs. In many institutions faculty decision making has been weak. The real power has been held by administrators. To be sure, in some institutions—the strongest ones—the faculty has held decision-making power. It can be said, however, that faculty decision making will be seriously impaired by student participation, but especially in those institutions where faculty power has been weak, because attention and effort will be distracted from the necessity of faculty policy making.

Attention will be focused on students, and the consequences will be discouragement and apathy of faculty and the subsequent strengthening of administration and university bureaucracy, which will have to make policy in the absence of faculty strength and participation. What I am saying, in effect, is that the ultimate struggle will be between students and administration—after the faculty gives up in discouragement and disillusion. The outcome of this struggle will be that the real university power of educational decision making will be in administrative and bureaucratic hands. While administrators may be competent, the effect of administrative policy making will be academic mediocrity.

Faculty Centrality The most important part of a university is its faculty. An excellent university means an excellent faculty. Although an excellent institution must have good administrators and good students, the indispensable ingredient of university greatness is faculty excellence. And a potentially excellent faculty cannot function as a faculty without almost complete instructional decision-making power. An outstanding institutional program requires a considerable degree of discussion, planning, commitment, and decision making of constantly interacting and highly involved sets of faculty members who are responsible for the actual implementation of the program.

The second large and deleterious effect of student participation is student disrespect for administrators, professors, and even the university itself. This disrespect springs in good part from faculty and administrator fear of students in educational decision making. If students are permitted to participate in edu-

cational decision making it will be partly due to fear. It is true, of course, that many professors disagree with the position expressed in this paper. Many of them believe that students should participate in decision making, even to the point of voting equally with professors. Some espouse this for so-called democratic reasons. Others think that such participation is itself "educational." Many professors and administrators, however, are probably reacting to student pressure, demonstration, and threat. When demands are met through fear rather than through careful, rational, and objective analysis and decision, the way is paved for more demands and ultimate educational defeat.

Sooner or later administrators and faculty will have to resist demands that seriously and obviously disrupt or damage the educational program or the professors or the students themselves. When policy is decided predominantly through pressure, threat, and fear, in other words, there is no adequate basis for future decisions and actions. Each crisis must be met in an ad hoc fashion. Each demand must be met or staved off cautiously and gingerly. But it is obvious that there has to be some end to the demands.

The effect of acquiescence to unreasonable student demands is, as I said above, student disrespect for the administration, the faculty, and the university. Administrative and faculty positions, whether we like it or not, are positions of responsibility and authority. To acquiesce to unreasonable demands is to relinquish responsibility, to abandon authority, and to lay the foundations for institutional weakness and disorganization—and for student disrespect.

Limitations on Student Power

Students have to act responsibly in matters concerning themselves and their work. By definition, they do not have to act responsibly in institutional matters. The responsibility, as indicted earlier, lies with the faculty and the administration. Similarly, student power is legitimately limited to student matters. To think otherwise and to act on the basis of such thinking is to undermine the values of the institution and the institution itself.

The final large consequence of student participation in educational decision making is the most obvious: weakening of curricula, programs, and courses of study and instruction. As I said earlier, students are not likely to have the experience, knowledge, training, and judgment necessary to build curricula and programs and to decide upon highly complex educational problems. Many professors will agree to this obvious proposition, but they will contend that we should give the student "some say." This is a point of view that has nothing to support it. How can we give students "some say," for example, on whether students should take four or five courses a semester, or whether standards of admission should be raised or lowered, or whether examinations should be

given and, if given, what kinds of examination should be used? The complexity of the four- or five-course problem puzzles even faculty. The arguments on standards of admission and the pros and cons of examinations are weighty, involved, and highly difficult matters that require broad experience and much investigation, thought, and discussion for sensible decision.

The answer is clear, simple, and direct: Students should be given no university or college decision-making power on educational matters. To yield at all on this is to support popular trends and educational and social bandwagons that may be quite legitimate outside the university but not in it. One of the university's intellectual obligations, for instance, is to study, analyze, and understand racial prejudice. It is not the university's function to remake the society that produced the disease and keeps it going, though it is its function to influence that society. The university is not a political institution. To make it a political institution will deflect it from its basic goals and values. The inevitable result will be to undermine the integrity and professional competence of faculty, to create a dispiriting mediocrity, and to damage students and their education.

A Final Note Does all this mean that students should have no part in university decision making? No, it does not. Earlier I indicated some of the areas in which students should decide policy. But they should also have some place in university educational decision making. They should be encouraged, for example, to study educational policies and practices, to criticize them, and to make their opinions known. To help students better understand educational policy and practice, they should be encouraged to have representatives chosen by themselves present at meetings of faculty decision-making bodies. At these meetings they should also be encouraged to express their reactions to and opinions about matters being decided. In a word, they should be given adequate opportunity to influence faculty decisions. Such influence is legitimate and healthy. Debating and voting privileges equal to those of the faculty, however, are not healthy. They lead only to the corrosion of one of the basic purposes of the university, the transmission of knowledge, and to the weakening of professors, the principal agents of the instructional function of the university.

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Realities and Student Power

John F. Ohles

Kent State University

It is interesting that a society which considers itself democratic should succumb to the authoritarian model of rule by power—Black Power, White Power, Teacher Power, Student Power. Of all the assertions that power is a valid tool to use in connection with social or political consensus, the most absurd has to do with student power.

Basic to all legitimate shouts for power is the conflict between majority rule and minority rights. It is a conflict related to the failure of a political system to meet the problems arising when the weakness of the majority and the strength of a minority result in the substitution of a succession of power ploys for a consensus approach to the settlement of issues. This is not to suggest that power is irrelevant, nor that it does not create the need for consensus. It is to say that decisions made first in response to a majority, then to a minority, then to majority power configurations, prevent the achievement of consensus.

Student unrest, however, cannot be directly related to society's basic conflicts. It is, rather, a reflection of the frustrations arising from all of them. When student peace demonstrations result in punitive measures against protest, or when youthful idealism is smothered by the misuse of political and economic positions, frustrations may splash over into retreat from society or attacks on the symbols of the "establishment"—church, family, and institutions of higher education. We tend to exaggerate the importance of youthful rebellion and to equate the unrest aroused by certain social and political injustices with revolt against society as a whole. We tend also to exaggerate the size of the youthful subcultures in our society and to assume that they are representative of most of our youth.

Innocence and Experience Selfish and staid though our institutions of higher education may be, the students' security still lies in a recognition that the acquisition of a college degree is one means of surmounting, bypassing, or gaining a position for dealing with social injustice and unrest. The increase in the college and university population has not

Unrest on the campus, writes Dr. Ohles, is mainly caused by administrators' insistence on remaining IN LOCO PARENTIS and artificially extending the years of adolescence. He can see some justification for the exercise of student power in challenging this; but he thinks it unreal and inappropriate for students to claim the right to participate in the shaping of curriculum.

lessened the value of a college education as a means to socio-economic success, particularly now that vocational requirements are such that progressively higher levels of training are demanded.

There have always been poor teachers, stifling atmospheres, and deadening curricula in higher education. There may be more of these today because there are so many more colleges and universities. Yet college students, just removed from what may have been equally poor teaching in their high schools, are not equipped to distinguish any but the most superior college teacher. Only when instructed to identify an inferior teacher is the student likely to make a serious evaluative effort. Even then, the poorest Harvard or Yale instructor may be superior to the finest at Podunk. Can the student who has not tasted academic champagne identify it, even if he knows it bubbles?

Students are not experts; but they are not naive. Kindergarten children can spot teachers (and even adults) who are phoney; but they share with college students the recognition that the rewards of survival are generally more satisfying than the pains of rebellion. The high school adolescent or the college non-student may exercise the option of chucking conformity for the sake of freedom; the drop-out is clearly not the one who wields "student power."

Who *are* the students? They are late adolescents, emergent adults, and they express the enthusiasm, self-righteousness, and scepticism with respect to the status quo which youth has traditionally expressed. Inexperienced, lacking adult sophistication, they accept or seek opportunities for new experiences. Innocent about windmills, they attack them head on; spared the discomfort of breadwinning, they probe for societal weak spots and demand quality where it might be but is not. One can only envy the brief moment of independence granted the college student. He can do pretty much what he wishes, when and how. Academic responsibilities and the remnants of the *in loco parentis* tradition restrain him very little.

But one must also sympathize with the student who, after all, confronts the most frightening and complex array of socioeconomic problems yet seen in history. No generation has been faced with more terrible wars, more frustrating urban disintegration, more serious erosion of the social, political, and religious fabric. Little wonder that narcotics have replaced goldfish-swallowing, that forceful picketing has replaced panty raids.

Attacks on Legitimacy Higher education has changed more in the last decade than in the past century; but the student has changed even more, because he is so heterogeneous in background, ability, interest, and motivation. Mixed motivations make some students uncertain about the values of acceding to classroom challenges and professorial expectations.

They may well be tempted to spend their time attacking the "legitimacy" of what happens in their classrooms. Student power is then directed *against*, not for; it becomes destructive, seeking to obliterate obstacles in the shape of symbols and traditions.

One area quite beyond the competence of student power is the curriculum. Just as it is inappropriate for a patient to prescribe for a physician, so is it beyond the knowledge and skill of the learner to dictate the curriculum. Nor is there a necessity for students to rewrite course content or objectives, since competent people within *academe* are always active in critically surveying curricula for professionals-to-be as well as those majoring in the liberal arts. It may be, in fact, that no curriculum is left alone long enough to permit its efficacy to be properly tested.

The only fertile ground for student power is at the periphery of *academe*. It is in its role *in loco parentis* that the university is susceptible to the kind of questioning other symbols of an imperfect society invite. By acting like parents (or as parents are presumed to act), college authorities perform the unrealistic feat of enforcing adolescence upon resistant young adults. It would be startling to compare a college student with a rural youth recently graduated from high school and finding employment in a city. The working youth immediately assumes an adult role, maturely seeks room and board, and adjusts to the liberties and responsibilities of adult living, while his collegiate contemporary must submit to controls more rigid than those he would suffer if he had remained at home, and to alternate pampering and reprimandings by his parental substitute.

Here is the real arena of conflict between student and institution: the nonsensical regulations about curfew hours and the hows or wheres of meetings between the sexes. The alternatives are not extended paternalism and license, however. The choice is between the protective supervision of the college and acceptance of adult privileges and responsibilities amid the legal or moral machinery of an indifferent outside world. Moving from late adolescence to early adulthood, one substitutes an impersonal landlord, employer, or policeman for the hovering dean of students.

Perhaps student power means that the breaking of the Puritan-Victorian shepherdship of the college is long overdue and that new compacts must be made with society (or with parents). Certainly, colleges should be freed from the artificial responsibility of extending adolescence for an additional four years.

The Unreality of Power But the final reality

must also be acknowledged: student power will fail because the vast majority

of students are not on campus long enough to exert an influence against even the most absurd manifestations of *in loco parentis*. Admission policies tend to assemble student leaders from various high schools. The freshman year is generally limited to measuring the terrain and accommodating to the ground rules, so that power is most likely tasted in the second year, asserted in the junior year, and fulfilled in the final fling of a short, quick exit from the arena.

Collegiate power is generally of short duration, therefore. This is reflected in the observations of veteran faculty members that student issues are cyclical in nature, momentarily confronted, temporarily resolved, and inevitably resurrected. College administrations believe they need only bend temporarily before the winds of change. Each issue, they think, can be settled with a gesture or a promise and easily laid to temporary rest. The blunt edge of student power will be absorbed by the quiet, orderly passage of time.

It is a reflection on poor faculty and administrator judgment when panic arises at the demands of small student groups or a few career non-students and they are granted a degree of institutional control. It is always possible, of course, that some faculty members are pursuing their own special interests through the medium of student activism. The vast numbers of serious students remain serious and studious. The goal they seek is to sit through one final commencement address.

The realities of student power are that there are few or no opportunities in the academic world for student control, and that most student objectives are merely extensions of the outside world into academe. Valid expressions of student power lie in the nonacademic realm, in the honest desire to avoid four extra years of adolescence. The right to exert authority in nonacademic areas may produce its really valuable fruits in later struggles against real stupidity and ignorance in the brash world beyond the walls.

Some Students Speak

We are substituting for "The Educator Speaks" this month a selection of responses to the crisis that occurred at Columbia University during April and May of this year. Various committees, including the Faculty Executive Committee and the Students for a Restructured University, are still at work as we go to press; so we have chosen to present personal, not official, reactions to what happened, in the hope that these will shed a particular kind of light. We plan to publish more as the months go on and welcome contributions from our readers if they, too, have things they want to say.

Responses to the Columbia Crisis

Beverly McKay, *New York**

On Monday, April 29, students at Columbia University had occupied several buildings for several days. They sat on window sills above Broadway. Police circled the campus. Faculty committees met. I walked down from Teachers College to see for myself what was happening. Most certainly the students were wrong. They were making (childish) unreasonable demands. At the same time they were funny. It's not every day that you see dirty, long-haired kids sweeping the window sills of university buildings. I bought some ice cream and strolled back to Teachers College, feeling amused, curious, and self-satisfied. A passerby snarled a nasty comment about the younger generation, and I thought she was being rather narrow in her opinion. After all, it was funny. I might not choose to engage in such tactics, but I couldn't condemn the kids for it. I really didn't care that much. They didn't threaten the security of my imminent graduation, my contracted teaching position, and my recent engagement to be married. The world was really very rosy.

That evening one of my professors spoke briefly about our indifference to happenings across the street and challenged the legitimacy of our feelings. Some students responded to her challenge; but I resisted. I was going to graduate in four weeks, and nothing must interrupt it. I had sacrificed much to reach this goal. I had learned the party line of my department and sat in silence through innumerable boring lectures. I knew where I could speak and where I couldn't. I was known as a spokesman for change and the right to express feelings. I had good grades and was respected by my peers and by the few

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instructors who allowed themselves to get to know me. Listening to the Monday lecture, I achieved almost a total denial of the issues involved in the Columbia sit-ins.

Early Tuesday morning, I turned on the Columbia radio station, perhaps because I had not completely denied what was happening. I heard, believed, and was appalled by what had taken place a few hours before. I focused on those two words, "police brutality." Right or wrong, the students' behavior did not seem to me to justify the police beating them with billy clubs, kicking them, and dragging them downstairs by the hair. Guilt about my indifference overwhelmed me. I got dressed and drove to the campus. I had to do something. Graduation or no, I had to take a stand.

I stopped at a rally in front of Union Theological Seminary. What a relief it was to clap and shout my agreement with the speaker. (A strike of all the municipal colleges? Bravo!) I went to Teachers College, where all was quiet. I saw no one I knew. But I needed to act and to find a peg; I needed to find someone I knew and talk about my feelings. I needed to rediscover the order to which I had, until that early morning, been committed. Going to find my adviser, I demanded that classes be cancelled; but she was not tuned in, because she had been at the dentist's all morning. I said we had to take a stand that, if she would not cancel class, I could not in all conscience come. We agreed to hold class but only in order to discuss what had happened on the campus. Two hours remained before class, and I had to do something, so I walked down to join the demonstrations.

On my way to 116th Street and Amsterdam Avenue, I passed policemen stationed every few feet. They all looked alike, and they all looked brutal. The protesting students had been herded into the block between Amsterdam and Morningside Drive, with barricades blocking both ends of the street. Mounted police stood by. I felt like a coward because I could not join the demonstrators in the street. I was suddenly afraid. What about my parents and my future husband who did not even know where I was? I walked around the block and then had to return. I was standing alone on my convictions, but it felt lonely among the multitudes of people. I found no one I knew. I walked to Broadway and saw the bandaged heads of boys who had been beaten the night before. At the Broadway gate I stood and listened to the loudspeakers. I signed any petition that came my way. I found two students whom I knew; and, feeling less anxious, I began to think about the issues. The administration had acted irresponsibly. Perhaps they should resign. I returned to school.

The events of the next twenty-four hours are blurred in my memory. All sorts of people suddenly became involved. Some moments stand out: standing

alone in the balcony to vote against suspension of classes at Teachers College; speaking at a department meeting to faculty I had never dared to speak to before. I felt alienated; I mourned for the old familiar reality—and for that part of myself which had been so committed to protecting the status quo. The props which had given me security were gone. At the same time, I felt good because I was an adult suddenly and had taken a stand. I was no longer a coward.

Then fear began. Two groups were at each other's throats: the conservatives whose private kingdoms had been threatened and who could only see the trees to which they clung; the radicals who were so absorbed in saving the forest, they could not see the trees. I struggled to decide which side was mine; but I could not truly agree with the demands of either. I became outraged at the chaos that began developing. People with selfish interests, I saw, were destroying the constructive potential in the situation. I decided that my commitment did not entail my joining one of the sides. It entailed only that I stand on what I believed. But I believed in reason and order; and the present situation was terrifying in its complexity and lack of order.

I had to write a paper on Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man*; and it seemed to me that the book held a fearful relevance to the crisis on the campus. The parallel, of course, was not perfect. The campus troubles did not primarily involve race relations. They did have to do with education in its broadest sense, however, and may have been generated by a system that instilled and thrived upon invisibility. The system created and addressed primarily the large gray majority. It made invisible the people at either end of the normal curve. It made invisible the black man and the white intellectual. Pretending to give people the right to choose, it actually permitted only two choices: to agree with the system and remain invisible, or to cop out. The students, I thought, were simply demanding their right to visibility, in Ellison's sense. Perhaps they could identify so easily with the black man because they shared so much of his invisibility with him. They were certainly invisible when it came to the draft or the Vietnamese War, or the IDA, or the gym in Morningside Park. In order to achieve visibility, they felt they had to proclaim the illegitimacy of the power structure and assert their right to create a new system in which all men would be equally visible.

Many people challenge this position and ask whether the students could claim any success when all was done. The radical ones did, however, give others who were less brave the kind of courage needed to stand up for their convictions and, perhaps, for visibility. But the price was high—and continues to be. The university was closed for weeks. Charges are pending against hundreds of students, whose future lives will be affected by what they have done.

The terrible forces of violence were unleashed; people looked into a kind of wilderness.

I withdrew, it is true; but I was forced—like Columbia University—to look within myself, and I never expect to return to the blanketed security I enjoyed so much before. The crisis educated many, I am sure, to the imperfections that unite men and to some of the acceptances without which individuals will always be alone. At Columbia, at least, invisibility will never rule unchallenged ever again.

Kalman Winer, *Old Westbury*

Maybe those weeks in May have bred some sense of free will. At least I believe now that I myself am deciding where I am going. I think I understand a little where I am trying to get to; what's more, I think I can see some of how I got where I am. The thing that interests me is all the detours between graduation from Harvard and the decision to take an M.A.—a year's leave to bum through Europe and pick grapefruit in Israel; an unexpected but brief stint with the army; a year and a half of damned hard work with tough, gritty Irish kids in South Boston. It seems strange to me that I am here and looking forward.

For some days the Columbia protests were a tremendously fragmenting experience. I knew that things were going on which I believed in, yet I did not want to put my new-found sense of well-being on the line. Since January, my life has had no room for hassles. If everything went smooth and easy, I could work four to five days a week and maintain my standing as a full-time student. But I would have time for nothing extraneous. It was a hell of a worthless well-being, and pretty empty too. But I survived—keeping friends out, putting feelings aside.

O.K., and then Columbia reared its ugly eyebrow. I made an effort to keep on going, shut it out, get the degree, and leave. But I just couldn't function that way. I couldn't really keep the demons away. There is only so much fooling yourself; then some day you walk into a mirror because you did not even recognize your own reflection. A day in the life of. It was good to work my way through, rather than just walk around it. I've done more than pass by this time; I've passed *through*. I've started to come back together with myself, doing the things I want to do, not just accepting others' arbitrary rules.

I have been to a lot of meetings, but there was very little meeting. There was little learning going on. I know I wasn't listening, because I had my mind

made up. We acted as if there were easy answers; but, really, nothing is clear. I worked on finding out about admissions procedures. They reject many applicants but never collect enough information to do it intelligently, and they don't take advantage of the many students here who would volunteer to do interviews.

I have attended a hoard of liberation classes, but they were rarely better than what they replaced. . . . What we need are some deliberated classes, where people come to deliberate, think, listen. Generation gap, language barrier, deafness. I am trying desperately to listen.

August Becker, *New York*

The morning after the bust, the Columbia campus was filled with survivors of and witnesses to a catastrophe. They grouped and regrouped slowly, some dazed to silence, some telling over and over what they had seen to others who had heard it before but wanted to hear it again. Some told the story into microphones while television cameras turned. The only urgency now was to tell, to lament, to insist on the reality of the bust. It had been a nightmare which no one could have shared in exactly the same intense way. Those who came fresh to the campus in the morning were outsiders.

For those who saw and those who thought they saw police beatings or people in states of hysteria and shock, the image is likely to remain, washing everything else away. It is the kind of thing one never forgets, the kind of memory that seems to bury textbook issues and good sense too. In sympathy for the casualties—those damaged out of all proportion to their expectations, those damaged for no reason at all, and those whose empathy for the injured had crippled reason—I should like to step back and look again. I want to look through and beyond the police brutality. Lamentable as it was, it was not the main issue fought out on the Columbia campus. The calling of the police was very much a part of the struggle, but their deplorable behavior during the bust, although brought about by criminal negligence, is simply not the point. I do not want to belittle the importance of what happened; I only want to push the question of brutality aside for the moment, because it tends to obscure our vision.

A system has broken down. While frustration is vented in trying to find a scapegoat, inevitably the arbiters of the system (the president and the trustees), it is time to seek perspective. Those arbiters may or may not survive; but they cannot emerge unchanged. This is simply because their unresponsive behavior has been shown to be ineffective when it comes to protecting the

endowment of the university, their major function. The trustees, the students, and the faculty have played their parts in a long-outmoded and suffocating tradition; and things must eventually change.

The tradition was one in which a self-perpetuating board of trustees, unrepresentative of any but the narrowest interest, perfectly immune to all pressures, dictated to a student body and faculty in exchange for allowing both students and faculty to enjoy membership in a sacrosanct university community. Part of the bargain was that students remain children, irresponsible demi-citizens, permitted to express their childish frustrations in panty raids when necessary, or other destructive sprees—on campus or off. They would be, they were assured, protected by the university from punishment if their antics went beyond the walls.

Ever since we have had privately endowed universities and colleges, there has been a tradition of student disturbances. If any one doubts the vehemence of the destructiveness of student riots in the past, he need only review the histories of our colleges from colonial America on, the histories of comparable institutions abroad, especially in England, where professors gathered the mischievous off the street and tucked them in bed at night. Even outraged communities outside the walls could be pacified with the knowledge that the university would take care of its offending children.

The world has changed; but up to now the privately endowed university system has remained essentially unchallenged. Students awakened, however, in the 1960's, after their deep sleep of the 1950's; and they were no longer satisfied to express their angers and frustrations in the old-fashioned obstreperous ways. They chose to focus, instead, on *real* issues, adult issues, although ones with which too many adults refuse to grapple. When children get involved with grown-up affairs, the walls are breeched, and things become complicated. At first the authorities are not too troubled: as long as they *dress* that way and act that way, they couldn't possibly *be* adults. The issues with which they become involved begin to look suspect. They are reminded of the protections guaranteed them if only they will agree to be children.

The university, however, is no longer a closed system because the students have climbed the walls. They have tried to heighten the reality and scope of their own education by getting involved in the world's issues. Until the bust, however, the actions of the students were dictated by their own adhesion to the tradition, which they have sought to break down, that is, the system that protects them as children residing on inviolable grounds, answerable only to the university.

It is a desperate situation when it is necessary for persons to assert adulthood negatively, by participating in behavior the consequences of which might be

to be punished as adults. And if the character of student rebellions has become more disturbing if it now includes deliberate destruction, even kidnapping, it is because there has been such a long tradition of overlooking lesser disturbances. During the rebellion at Columbia, the students cried out for amnesty. It was a pitiable cry, like the cry of children asking adults to rescue them. Show that the tradition still holds; this was one interpretation of their demand. It is no wonder that a hard core of the students wanted a police arrest, wanted to complete the breaking of the umbilical chord. Not to be arrested, to escape punishment by outside authorities, was to drift back into the age-old system in which they would continue to play the role of children, albeit prodigal ones. It was this hard core of committed students that made the call-up of the police necessary. Their drives and commitments were those of children trying to be adults, demanding the consequences of their behavior.

Calling the police was an admission that the university authorities could not cope with their charges. Grayson Kirk can be believed when he described the decision as the most painful he ever had to make. It was the *coup de grace* to the system of which he was so very much a part. The university, however, cannot reasonably be expected to cope in traditional fashion with adults who have jumped the system.

Had the original putsch by students been squelched spontaneously by police, it is unlikely that things would have grown so painful; but it is also unlikely that the incident would have caused serious damage to the system. An early police action might have been forgotten as an aberration. But, since calling the police meant breaking an age-old agreement, it could not occur spontaneously. The break had to occur dramatically if anybody was to give up his traditional role. The system had to go out in pain because of the stubbornness of the participants.

One aspect of the police action was that it was the first undeniably real act, no matter how misdirected and nightmarish, on the campus for days. It was all, up to the last, much like a game whose participants had got a little out of humor because of unfair play. The make-believe siege—and it was make-believe since it was only by graces of the traditional make-believe values and rules that it was allowed to exist—didn't even lose credence with the participants when they called for a doctor to visit them inside one of the buildings. Absurdities are seldom apparent to the actors. "What do they need a doctor for?" someone outside asked. "Things have been rough inside," a bystander replied in earnest sympathy, "they've had no heat in the building." The doctor was promptly found and hoisted up through the window with the aid of the parental faculty mediators. It was a wonderful mockery.

The spirit of the mad game was everywhere, but never so apparent as when

the counter-revolutionaries, largely a contingent of athletes, donned coats and ties and blue armbands to cordon off a building in order to stop the treks out of the windows back and forth to the local delicatessen. "We'll starve them out," they said. The rationale for this idea, I cannot help but suggest, arose out of the knowledge of the outrageous responses of their own pampered stomachs to meals missed in the past. They were dead serious, fighting serious. Several hours later it was announced to the impregnable cordon by their leader that it might be necessary to stay all night. "Men, we have definitely destroyed their food supply." This playtime atmosphere, given significance by newspaper and television coverage and the fact that all other activity on campus had been suspended, needed only a showdown with the police to change to undeniable reality.

No sensible person up to this time could have believed in the reality of it all. Students, after all, don't do real things. Their destructiveness isn't real, their kidnapping isn't real, their involvement in real issues isn't real—in fact, if they are involved in issues, the issues can't be real. But soon enough it became a game gone on too long; laughter turned to real hysteria; make-believe turned to reality.

A give in the administrative role must mean a give in the student role. If the student is to take the responsibilities of an adult and bring issues from outside onto the campus, he must be subject to a larger discipline, the one imposed by society on all its full-fledged members. He cannot be allowed immunities from the law. He cannot be coddled and protected. The only things we can expect to come from the traditional patterns of behavior of students, faculty, or trustees, is distortion of realities, misdirection of vital forces. Students must be enfranchised, with all the responsibilities of adult life bestowed upon them. Trustees must wake up to the realities and pressures of the 1960's.

Just what the new system will be, what machinery will be developed to give a voice to the students and faculty in the new university is not yet decided. But once the machinery begins to function, perhaps one of the first questions that Columbia might address itself to is its responsibilities towards its immediate Morningside Heights and Harlem neighbors. The list of problems it might help solve looms large, and among the questions lies that of the control of police brutality.

Professors may have a hard time adjusting to the loss of their parental image, the students to the loss of their protection, the administration to the loss of its autocratic, irresponsible rule; but putting the house in order will require just that.

Joseph Liebman, *New York*

When season yields to season in the year,
When thought gives birth to thought within the mind,
The modulating climate does appear,
And thoughts that once were firm lie undefined.

Then can I speak to him who was my foe,
Then can I tend to wounds that needed mending,
And taking up my plowshare and my hoe,
Create new grounds for common comprehending.

Yet every spring leaps forth all liquid fresh,
And each new thought is never irrefutable.
Those who were foes will now be seen to mesh,
And even status quo becomes quite mutable.

Events will press and nothing can remain:
The place is new—You can't go home again.

The Double Insight

Jan Myrdal's *Confessions of a Disloyal European*¹ is a dramatic rendering of one individual's search for integrity in a world of suffering and injustice. The writer is concerned about such matters as loyalty and responsibility, and about justifications for personal choice when so many things are uncertain and so much is wrong. Speaking of the tendency to use intellectualism "as a protection against menacing emotional experiences," he talks of the need for a "double insight" involving intellect and emotion at once.

But I cannot see reasoning as 'flight' or 'defence'. The intellectual work is not rationalization but rationality, reason. The tension you can feel between the clear and translucent intellectuality and the primal, the Panic emotion is a forward... Only through a direct awareness and an intellectual insight that makes the flow of events and the experiences of the self into a sequence of explainable and inevitable phenomena, can one dare to let the emotions through.

Surely this is relevant for the educator today—college professor or public school teacher—who is working to identify himself in the midst of overwhelming change. He too has to confront the problems of loyalty

and responsibility. He too has to identify himself in the face of conflict and often irrational demand. He may be dealing with rebellious students, outraged parents or Black Power militants in his role as a professional; but, however "official" the given situation, he must be *there* as a person and must also deal with himself.

The most destructive thing he can do, it seems to us, is to evade personal responsibility by intellectualizing, or absorbing himself in "finer things." Myrdal gives an example:

Eating my breakfast, coffee, toast and cheese, reading my morning paper I suddenly look up and see my reflection in the windowpane and I remember how the SS officers, the cultured ones, sat in small villages in Poland at night filling their diaries with thoughts about Goethe and Hegel, *Weltgeist* and life, substance and soul and Beethoven after their day's work had been done. Like them I am an ordinary European caught in a web of lies and traditions and realities. But unlike them I held—and hold—that they should die for their crimes. Whatever their motives. Thinking this, I eat my toast and the cheese is strong and well aged.

It is easy enough, looking backward, to condemn the inhumanity of those "cultured" enough to know better. But it is painful to realize that, in a less dangerous period, one may be guilty of the same indifference, the

1 Pantheon Books, Random House Inc., 1968.

same denials because of loyalty to what *is*.

The professor continuing his scholarly work in the midst of a student revolt may be (for the best of motives) somewhat like this. He can object—correctly—that his work does not injure any student; nor does it harm what he may believe to be a defensible cause. Even so, he must at least consider the nature of his relationship to those with whom, by the very nature of his profession, he is involved. If, say, he agrees that the university is unjustifiably indifferent to student concerns, if he agrees that faculty as well as students are excluded from significant decision-making, and if he still remains detached from what is happening, he will be—whether or no—affected as a person, as a self. We are reminded of Henry David Thoreau's response when, in 1854, the state of Massachusetts returned a fugitive slave named Anthony Burns to slavery. Thoreau wrote in his journal that life itself had become less valuable when the government performed that act. He said: "I had foolishly thought that I might manage to live here, attending to my private affairs, and forget it. For my part, my old and worthiest pursuits have lost I cannot say how much of their attraction" once Anthony Burns was returned. Later, he wrote: "I am surprised to see men going about their business as if nothing had happened, and say to myself, 'Unfortunates! they have not heard the news'...." And, in conclusion: "It is not an era of repose. If we would save our lives, we must fight for them."

The "double insight" requires, we think, that an individual educator capable of perceiving inequity take

some responsibility for it. This applies to an inequitable university and to a community where children are not being enabled to learn, where people are hungry and poorly housed, where the environment is ugly, where the air is foul. It may not be sufficient to do a pilot study, to do a reading experiment in one's own class, or even to do as good a job of teaching ("under the circumstances") as one can do. It is not sufficient if one is not personally involved somehow with the persons who inhabit the slum, the living human beings who are poor.

We have been told repeatedly that this is a "racist" society, in which Negro people (along with many thousands of the white poor) have been permitted to remain "invisible" as human individuals, excluded by white people from the "real world" they construct for themselves. Tom Wicker, introducing the United States Riot Commission Report,² says: "Here is the essence of the charge: 'What white Americans have never fully understood—but what the Negro can never forget—is that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it.'"

Confronting the outraged parent, the Black Power militant, even the pickets in the street, the teacher can learn to be *there*—and responsible enough not to condone. And, surely, those who educate teachers for the slums are responsible for communicating something of an awareness of what it is to be black and what it means to seek an identity. This particular responsibility entails a reexam-

² *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders*. Bantam Books, 1968.

ination of American history until it encompasses what has been excluded from it: the deeds, the sufferings, the accomplishments of black citizens through two hundred years of time. It is only recently that American teachers have become aware of the existence of Crispus Attucks, Benjamin Banneker, Charles Drew, Ira Aldridge, Elijah McCoy, and other black men who have made signal contributions to American life. It took a Bill Cosby television program to open the eyes of most white Americans to the terrible distortions the movie industry has perpetrated over the years. It took the challenge of ten black writers³ to William Styron's novel, *The Confessions of Nat Turner*, to awaken people to the full significance of Nat Turner's rebellion in history. A responsible teaching profession, made up of men and women with the capacity for "double insight," would not have permitted such oversights to continue as long as they did. Teachers, after all, are among the relatively few white people who have day-to-day, immediate contact with black children and young people. They, of all people, should have become sensitive long since to the pain experienced by the Negro child reaching out for dignity in a wholly white world, with a past and present that excluded him. The fact that they did not may well signify that (whatever their motives) they did not permit ourselves to feel, they were not *there*. They were like Thoreau's unfortunates: they had not heard the news.

Responsibility, however, does not mean guilt. The challenge is not to look back and cry "mea culpa" (even

when we are asked to acknowledge culpability); it is, now that we have become somewhat aware, to act upon what we understand at last and "let the emotions through." And it is also to redefine commitment to rationality; since many teachers, once overcome by feelings of pity and frustration, are likely to take positions founded in emotion rather than reason. There are college professors, similarly, who respond to student unrest (with its accompanying challenge to the "establishment") by setting rationality aside and adopting the cause of "liberation" in all its arbitrariness.

A "double insight" would enable them to appreciate—and even to share—the students' dismay and disgust with a university more committed to government-sponsored research than to excellence in teaching. It might enable them to help articulate the swelling rebellion against the kind of depersonalization that makes a young person feel like an object, a means to someone else's ends. It might even enable them to understand what the students mean when they talk about "relevance" and the need for a curriculum more responsive to their fundamental concerns.

The danger arises when the feeling of tension Myrdal describes is refused. There may follow a flight into emotionality, an escape into immediacy. What is occurring may begin to seem like a "happening," seductive, formless, and without point; the adult educator, like certain cool young people, may be moved simply to enter in—and to leave himself behind. This is the moment, it seems to us, when his commitment to "intellectual work" must be brought to mind. It may turn out that, after reason-

³ John Henrik Clarke, Ed. *William Styron's Nat Turner*. Beacon Press, 1968.

ing, he will come to the same conclusion he would have reached emotionally; but he will have made his choice authentically, as a thinking person, as the person he chose himself to be. After all, he made a decision at some time in his life to be a teacher; and it is the work of a teacher to liberate others to think. Such, as Professor Scheffler makes so clear in an article in this issue of *The Record*, is the proper task of a free man who is a teacher. To set it aside in favor of what certain young radicals call "liberation" may be to sacrifice one's authenticity.

The response on the part of the radicals is that in the "knowledge factory" which the modern university has become, the business and "establishment" values which prevail make disinterested learning impossible. They say that the kind of teaching Dr. Scheffler describes can only be done in a self-regulating, autonomous "community of scholars"; and they disagree even with the arguments of radical critics like Herbert Marcuse and Paul Goodman that, for all its deficiencies, the university remains the place where free discussion can best take place and where criticism of the status quo can be most freely carried on.

What is the faculty member to say when the radicals make their charges? What is he to say when students opt for arbitrariness rather than rational and evidential thought? What is he to do when they insist that only "participatory democracy" can lead to truly democratic decisions, since only that method involves the full participation of everyone affected—and decisions made in other ways hold no legitimacy? How is he to respond when students assert that morality is

prior to legality, that they are doing what they "know" is right?

The "double insight" may help the man committed to rationality. He can feel what the students are suffering and even share, to an extent, in their indignation. He, too, has seen—and felt responsibility—for the brutality in Vietnam, the cloture imposed on young men's lives by the draft, the terrible poverty beyond the university gates. He, too, has unashamedly wept for Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and for Senator Robert F. Kennedy. But, as Myrdal suggests, he has been in a better position "to let the emotions through" if he has taken the time to be thoughtful, to make sense of "the flow of events and the experiences of the self."

He can help his students (perhaps even liberate them) if he can do something to counter what Paul Goodman calls an "alienation from tradition" which is so extreme "that they cannot remember the correct name for what they in fact do."⁴ He can teach them to recognize the contradictions in what they say, the authoritarianism (often unintentional) implicit in their strategies. Goodman, in fact, in making his criticism of the New Left, the hippies, Yuppies, and the drop-outs who choose voluntary poverty (which is "often plain silly") points to possibilities of considerable relevance for professors when he concludes:

The more sophisticated Provos have fallen for a disastrous vision of the future New Babylon, a society in which all will sing and make love and do their thing, while the world's work is done by auto-

4 "The Black Flag of Anarchism," *The New York Times Magazine*, July 14, 1968.

matic machines. They do not realize that in such a society power will be wielded by the technocrats, and they themselves will be colonized like Indians on a reservation. In general, I doubt that it is possible to be free, to have a say, and to live a coherent life, without doing worthwhile work, pursuing the arts and sciences, practicing the professions, bringing up children, engaging in politics. Play and personal relations are a necessary background; they are not what men live for.

Is it not the obligation of the teacher to be sufficiently committed to rationality so that he can equip young people to be free, "to live a coherent life" in just this way?

The same point can be made with respect to the public school teacher or administrator who is ready to make "relevance" his highest value. Too often he will depend on what his pupils say they want (as expressed in a "rap session") when he attempts to build what Mario Fantini and Gerald Weinstein call "a contact curriculum,"⁵ a curriculum whose content is in contact with social realities. Warning against the irrelevance of "academic mastery objectives," Fantini and Weinstein say that the legitimate responsibilities of public schools are "to foster in all learners those behaviors that lead to genuine concern for—and action upon—creating environments that favorably effect the development of individual human potential. The new specific objectives should lead to the more humanistically oriented goals of an open society. In short, the school

should develop in each learner, behavior more consonant with participatory democracy."⁶

We can grant that urban schools do *not* generally "work." We can grant the importance of "relevance" as we can the relation between the ability to act upon "social realities" and a sense of identity. Also, we grant that in the Fantini and Weinstein model of an urban school, time is allotted for teaching basic, content, and process skills. Nevertheless, there is implicit in the proposals of many who want to build an "activist" school (and many who are concerned with community schools) a romantic identification with the outraged poor which is too frequently rooted in emotion rather than in rationality.

The teacher, the administrator, and the educational planner need, of course, to feel involved; clearly, they need to feel responsible. But, as educators, they need also to maintain their commitment to intelligence—when they build curricula, work with parents, teach Afro-American history, or consider introducing Swahili into a school. Clarity, critical tools, and the vision made possible by the disciplines are their potential offerings. If they read "relevance" too narrowly and "participatory democracy" too wishfully, they are likely—as educators—to find themselves in bad faith.

John Dewey wrote, in "Progressive Education and the Science of Education":

The problem is to find what conditions must be fulfilled in order that study and learning will natu-

⁵ Mario D. Fantini and Gerald Weinstein, *The Disadvantaged: Challenge to Education*, Harper and Row, 1968.

⁶ Fantini and Weinstein, *Making Urban Schools Work*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1968.

rally and necessarily take place, what conditions must be present so that pupils will make the responses which cannot help having learning as their consequence. The pupil's mind is no longer to be on study or learning. It is given to doing the things that the situation calls for, while learning is the result. The method of the teacher, on the other hand, becomes a matter of finding the conditions which call out self-educative activity, or learning, and of cooperating with the activities of the pupils so that they have learning as their consequence.⁷

His concern was to guide the individual student to wider and more sophisticated conceptual understanding, to a heightened perception of meanings in all the situations of his life. This, for us, remains the prime obligation of the teacher—in college and in the public school.

The "double insight" remains relevant for the teacher willing to be involved as a free person, as a self. This is why tension must be affirmed; this is why risk must be welcomed. The fundamental commitment of the educator is to rationality, to clarity, to form. It is in the name of meaning that he rebels.

MG

7 In Martin S. Dworkin, Ed., *Dewey on Education*, Teachers College Press, 1961.

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Towards The Separation Of School and State

At times the future is best foreseen by projecting present trends and expecting their opposite, for great changes become imminent when they seem least likely. Thus, the separation of church and state began after their merger had reached its zenith. Men had learned to exploit for mundane, human purposes what had seemed to be part of a transcendent order. Only then could men consciously separate what had previously appeared naturally joined. The logic of principles always prepares surprises for those who represent established patterns of power. Hence, the principle that the religion of the prince will be the religion of the people, which was thought to ensure the concordance of church and state, opened the way for shrewd rulers to decree toleration as a means for maximizing the reach of their rule. Therefore we should not be awed by the apparent dominance of the school by the state. The seeds of a new system have been sown. Seemingly doomed to stasis, we actually face changes as profound as those that ushered in the medieval or the modern era.

Jacob Burckhardt once contended that the driving forces of history were three—religion, culture, and the state. In different epochs these forces were harnessed in different ways with primacy given to one of the three. Since the renaissance, history records how leadership by

religion has been eclipsed by that of the state. In the recent past, the state has been the dynamic, productive power; and as it developed economically and politically, it separated itself from the church, which had lost its internal cohesion and historic sway. But the saga of the state has ended. Future history will record how the leadership of the state was eclipsed by that of culture as it is embodied in the school, the university, and the media of communication. Throughout the industrialized world the state has nearly fulfilled its function, rationalizing the political, economic, and social environment of its citizens. Now, innumerable persons perceive that culture, conservation, and education are the dynamic side of life, and they look to intellectual institutions for solutions to the palpable problems that they experience. Great changes are therefore underway.

In the *Crito* Socrates explained the inner workings of such shifts in expectation and commitment. Recall that the issue was whether Socrates should desert his city in order to save his life or submit to the Athenians' death sentence in order to uphold his chosen way of living. In deciding for the latter alternative, Socrates made a commitment exemplifying man's responsibility towards his laws. Socrates found that the laws could justly demand the ultimate sacrifice from a man because they had been his educators. A man who, in good times,

had let his innermost character be molded by the established ways of the city, had no right to reject those ways in the face of deadly demands. Note, however: the whole force of this argument depends on the recognition by each person that certain principles have been his educators, that by means of these he has defined the very essence of his being. The Socratic argument does not justify slavish acquiescence to the powers that be, no questions asked; previously Socrates had risked his life in refusing to execute a command by the thirty tyrants that he considered illegal. The Socratic argument is more profound; it explains why at certain times certain principles merit unswerving allegiance and why at other times other principles deserve the deepest scorn. One can be a Platonist and still believe in the right to rebel, namely to rebel against those principles that fail to educate. Herein lies the growing debility of the state.

In various epochs, either religion, culture, or the state have been the dominant historical force because men perceived one of the three as their true educator and became willing to make the supreme sacrifice for it and it alone. Men were willing to die for religion when they saw in it their reason for being and expected salvation to come by the grace of God. Men would sacrifice themselves for the sake of the state when they saw that it was essential to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The state was sovereign insofar as men were convinced that it could mold a better man. For Hegel and many others the state was perfection personified, and men educated themselves by seeking to be virtuous citizens.

Ineluctably, the face of the future

will be different because a revolution of declining expectations is emasculating the industrialized nation-states. More and more youths simply are not finding economic wellbeing, political stability, and social security to be significant goals for personal aspiration. They do not find the principles that promise to provide for these objectives to be educative; without more ado they are transferring their drive to other matters; and hence the scions of the established order find that this turn towards allegiance to other principles is a manifestation of mere anarchy. In truth, it is something far more significant. Youths are moved by intimate problems; they are concerned with the quality of their human relationships, with the difficulty of reconciling their deeds with their beliefs. Candide symbolizes the outlook of many; they have seen the folly of man's efforts to reform the world; and, as each seeks out "his thing," they echo Voltaire's conviction that a man had best cultivate his own garden.

In a post-industrial world, men will find that the political, economic, and social principles of the state have less and less to do with their personal education and that the cultural principles of the school are increasingly crucial to their pursuit of a good life. In the face of this situation, there is a silly complacency in high places. The restlessness of youth, which is present throughout the West, is not a passing fad; and it will not be placated by citing the material boons that industrialism offered previous generations, it will not be suppressed by the police, and it will not be superseded by a less "nihilistic," more "respectable" movement. Even

the restless young are not really yet aware of how great an historic cause they represent.

Everywhere the restlessness centers significantly on the university. In Italy, France, Germany, Japan, Czechoslovakia, Russia, Spain, Latin America, Canada, and the United States diverse movements of students and intellectuals share one common conviction: *educational and cultural policy should cease to be made to suit the political and economic priorities of the state.* Increasingly, people believe that culture, not politics, commands their allegiance, and that intellectual institutions possess an independent sovereignty that has priority over the state. University presidents and trustees, chosen for their economic and political achievements, do not understand or even perceive the cultural premises shared by students and teachers. On the campuses throughout the world the politicians who elicit the most fervent responses are those who propose to hold the nation-state in check, to forego foreign adventures, and to restrict the state to carrying through its traditional mission of advancing civil and economic equality within its borders. The first step in separating the school from the state will be to establish the fact that, in the name of higher principles, there is a moral rein on *raison d'état*.

One can foresee the future only in its broadest outlines. The way that the cultural institutions will win their independence from the state is still tomorrow's secret. But the fact that such independence will be won seems unavoidable, barring catastrophe, for the problems that men face are ones that will prompt them to look more

and more to the school, not the state, for assistance. And brief reflection shows that on achieving independence, the school will easily encompass and master the state.

Sovereignty, like beauty, is in the eyes of the beholder. For many, the nation-state has become a provincial, dowdy trull; it is sanguine to say she is sovereign. The young and the not-so-young live in a supra-national culture, and the nation-state has been unable to stay in style. The inherent impossibility of a significant internationalism signifies that the state cannot adapt to a cosmopolitan world. Despite many efforts, the state has not been able to transcend the nation. Internationalism is the unavoidable source of this incapacity, for internationalism will never lead to a supranational state, one that coincides in scope with the contemporary cultural community. Like any institution, the state derives its authority and power from the direct relations between its officials and the people. International institutions will never generate such authority and power, for as long as they are *inter-national*, there will always be a separate authority interposed between their officials and the people. This situation is as it should be; national diversity at once precludes a world-state and enlarges human potentiality. Nevertheless, some kind of world system of order seems desirable, perhaps necessary in view of nuclear proliferation and the increasingly violent efforts "to win the peace," as the warriors say.

In light of this desirability, certain features of the school after it has separated from the state should be noted. The school, the university, and the media of communication are universal institutions whose officials

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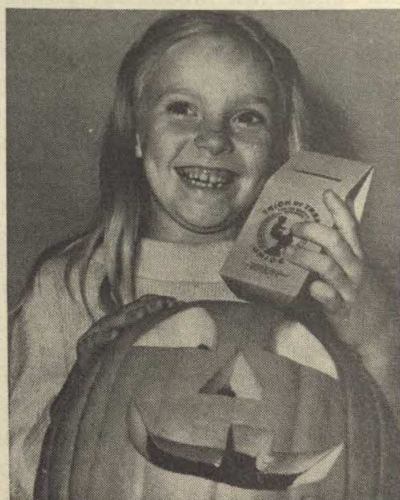
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enjoy direct relations with the people of the world. The aesthetic, intellectual, and moral principles that inform the relations between teachers and students are universal principles that do not vary according to the whims of political, religious, or economic orthodoxy. It does not, therefore, seem impossible that should the school manage to separate itself from the state, the cultural institutions will then become the basis of a world community. Here, perhaps, is the seed of our future.

ROBERT OLIVER

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Social Foundations of Education: The Problem of Relevance

An Essay Review

James J. Shields, Jr.

The City College of the City University of New York

The role of social foundations courses in teacher training programs has been the subject of considerable discussion over the last ten years. Much of the discussion has centered upon the basic courses in this area which are offered under such familiar titles as *School and Society*, *Modern Foundations of Education*, *Social and Philosophical Foundations of Education*, *Contemporary Educational Thought and Practice*, and *Introduction to Education*. The problems inherent in these courses have prompted many educators to recommend that foundations courses be deleted from the curriculum altogether. However, because of teacher certification requirements in most states, dropping these courses is practically impossible.

A number of institutions have responded by replacing the general type foundations courses represented in the listing above with more narrowly defined introductory courses limited to either philosophy, history, or sociology of education. But even this tactic does not satisfy the more vigorous critics who claim that there is very little evidence that foundation courses of any type make a significant contribution to the professional development of teachers. Unfortunately, these critics can rest their case on a solid base of research studies of teacher-training programs in which foundations courses have received poorer ratings than methods courses or student teaching.

This ferment has been accompanied by a series of shifts in the conception of how the basic courses in the foundations should be organized. However, the changes have not been nearly as widespread nor as sweeping as they should be. The thrust of this essay is that if these courses are to be the true foundations of teacher education, they must be more relevant, more analytical, and more integrative. They must devote more attention to the phenomenon of metropolitanism, make better use of the analytical tools developed by modern science, and draw more heavily upon the research findings of the humanities and the social sciences relevant to education.

Educational Issues Early in the sixties considerable emphasis was placed in foundations courses upon critical and contemporary issues: "Federal Aid to Public Education," "Public Aid to Non-Public Schools," "The Teaching of Moral and Spiritual Values," and "Equality and Excellence in Education." It was at this point that many education departments added courses that in one way or another reflect the contemporary issues theme. The Education

Department of the university where I taught at this time, for example, after a serious reappraisal of its teacher education program in light of the recommendations made by Conant, introduced a number of changes in the curriculum including the addition of a course "Professional Symposium: Current Issues in Education." This course in fact was not consistent with the Conant proposals which sharply criticize eclectic foundations courses of this nature, but was a response to the issues trend.¹

Few of the introductory foundations texts at this time adequately reflected the growing interest in issues. Notable exceptions were Lee's *Education in Modern America* (1957) and Thayer's *The Role of the School in American Society* (1960), each of which has a section on modern issues. Because of the inadequacy of the introductory texts, professors of educational foundations turned increasingly to books of readings and paperbacks for materials on contemporary social issues for use in their classes. An early and highly regarded book of readings devoted exclusively to issues which provides an excellent model for an issues book in any field is the Ehlers and Lee *Crucial Issues in Education* (1959).

Unfortunately, few of these early issue-oriented books of readings proved to be satisfactory. Little had been done in these books to cast the issues in a perspective larger than the immediate details of the conflicts themselves. The model for the approach used in many of these books is best observed in the columns on education in the Sunday edition of the *New York Times*. All sides are summarized, but little attention is paid to the evolution of the conflict or how it is related to other issues. The purpose seems to be to inform, but not to educate or edify.

Today, books of readings compiled for foundations courses are becoming much more discipline-oriented. The most deliberate effort to present a multi-disciplinary approach can be found in McLendon's *Social Foundations of Education: Current Readings from the Behavioral Sciences* (1966). There are chapters on social psychology, sociology, communications, economics, political science, comparative and international education, anthropology, history, and philosophy, and the contributors include the most outstanding scholars in each of these fields. But, unfortunately, the selections were made as if urban educational and racial problems did not exist. A much more successful book in this regard is *Patterns of Power: Social Foundations of Education* (1968) compiled by Linton and Nelson. There are excellent readings on the meaning of poverty, the urban dilemma, and the Negro in America; less satisfactory is the section on the effects of social class on education which by-passes much of the research done on social class since 1950. The most perplexing aspect of the book is the use of the word "Power" in the title. Because power is so much a focus of the work done by political scientists, the reader understandably expects to find selections written by research scholars who have made a special study of educational politics. However, this aspect of the study of education, for all intents and purposes, is missing from the book.

1 James B. Conant, *The Education of American Teachers*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1963.

Concomitant with the issues trend and clearly related to it was the phenomenal growth of comparative and international education between 1957 and 1967 and the recent emergence of urban educational studies as an important satellite in the foundations area. These fields fit into the issues movements in that, by and large, they are contemporary in focus and are oriented to critical questions that are immediate and practical in character.

The full impact of these new fields upon educational foundations studies has yet to be fully analyzed. Necessarily, they have been an important force in bringing foundations into closer touch with social science, particularly with empirical research techniques that have evolved in policy studies. Also, since so much emphasis is placed in these fields upon the search for solutions to day-to-day problems in the newer nations and in the urban centers of the older nations, the practical side of the educational foundations has received more attention. For instance, at Columbia's Teachers College, Syracuse, and UCLA foundations departments have assumed responsibility for preparing international educators to grapple with problems related to educational policy formation and national educational finance. These departments have expanded their role to include the direct preparation of practitioners who formulate policy and implement it, whereas formerly their role was mainly conceived in terms of the preparation of teacher-professors.

Urban Education The interest in urban educational affairs is quite recent. Miriam Goldberg noted in 1963 that "...in this great outpouring of concern with urban life, one area has been shockingly conspicuous by its absence—namely education."² Before 1963 little attention was given to urban educational problems and the foundations field was no exception. For example, Callahan's widely-used *An Introduction to Education in American Society* (1960) does not have one index listing for Negro, Puerto Rican, or civil rights. About the only general text published before 1963 that dealt with urban education at any length was Havighurst's and Neugarten's *Society and Education* (1962).

Even though urban education has become an important shibboleth in the business of course-naming and the acquisition of research and program grants, urban affairs have not been adequately integrated into general foundations programs and texts. Kneller's multi-authored text, *Foundations of Education* (1967), is a good case in point. Kneller has only one citation for civil rights, the AFT, and culturally disadvantaged, and not a single citation for compensatory education. And although five of Conant's books are cited in the Kneller book, Conant's astute and prophetic analysis of urban educational problems, *Slums and Suburbs* (1961), is not mentioned at all. Few people, for instance, had the foresight Conant had in 1961 to be able to say so unequivocally, "Big cities need decentralized administration

2 Miriam L. Goldberg, "Factors Affecting Educational Attainment in Depressed Urban Areas," in *Education in Depressed Areas* (A. Harry Passow, Ed.). New York: Teachers College Press, 1963.

in order to bring the schools closer to the needs of the people in each neighborhood and to make the schools fit the local situation."³

Hughes' recently revised *Education in America* (1960, 1965) provides yet another example of the neglect of urban affairs in foundations texts. In this text, there are no citations for Negro, Puerto Rican, civil rights, or compensatory education. The seriousness of these oversights is easily dramatized by citing U.S. population patterns. Between 1950 and 1960 the twelve largest cities in the United States lost over two million white citizens and gained in their place nearly two million Negro citizens. And the projections based upon anticipated in-migration to the cities and birth rates suggest that by 1970 one out of every two pupils in large urban schools will fall into the category of culturally disadvantaged.

The major impact of the growing interest in urban educational affairs can be seen in the virtual flood of texts and books of readings planned primarily for students preparing to teach in urban schools. A listing of these books published in the last two years alone would constitute a sizeable bibliography. A representative sample includes: *The Education of Urban Populations* (Bernstein, 1967), *The Disadvantaged Child: Issues and Innovations* (Frost and Hawkes, 1966), and *Education and Social Crisis: Perspectives on Teaching Disadvantaged Youth* (Keach and others, 1967). Although these books vary considerably in quality, all succeed in that they do meet the need felt by students and professors alike to examine the role education *actually* plays for individuals on all levels of American society. Today younger professors of education are in reaction to the tendency for education texts to concentrate upon the role education plays in the lives of the middle class and to describe American education in terms of the way it has been fantasized in curriculum guides, college catalogues, and many chapters on the history and the philosophy of education. Students in education and their professors want to read analyses of why ghetto children in Harlem decline in relative performance and I.Q. the longer they are in school, why thirty percent of New York City's white children are in private and parochial schools, and how it came to be, as Martin Mayer reports, that New York City employs more educational administrators than does all of France!

All of these books have value in that they have contemporary relevance. However, at this stage in the development of foundations as an intellectual study contemporary relevance alone is not a sufficient basis for recommending a book. Over and above this a book must incorporate the broad range of research being conducted on educational questions. The most successful books in this regard are *Educating an Urban Population* (Gittell, 1967) and *Metropolitanism: Its Challenge to Education* (Havighurst, 1968) which contain readings on the political and economic framework of urban education, and *Education in Depressed Areas* (Passow, 1963) and *School Children in the Urban Slum* (Roberts, 1967), which focus largely on the cognitive, affective, and familial factors characteristic of culturally disad-

3 James B. Conant, *Slums and Suburbs*. New York: New America Library, 1961.

vantaged children. Each of these books, except the Roberts book, along with Passow's newest work *Developing Programs for the Disadvantaged* (1968) provide readings on programs and proposals to resolve the urban school crisis.

Thematically, the landmark book in this listing is the Havighurst book because it states for educators what has been clear to urban planners for some time, and that is that the solution of urban problems has to be found in a context larger than the urban community. As Havighurst states,

the metropolitan area is taking the place of the city as the most useful geographic unit for thinking about the co-ordination and the organization of *educational*, governmental, and other social systems. The metropolitan community is in effect a new community [my italics].⁴

Each of these works represents a significant contribution to the body of literature on urban education. However, none of these books was actually written for foundations courses and, therefore, in and of themselves they have limited value for these courses. Ideally, what is needed for an introductory foundations course is a book which embodies the focus on societal factors found in the Gittell and Havighurst books, the studies on the impact of psychological, social and cultural factors on individual behavior found in the Roberts and the 1963 Passow book, and a consideration of historical and philosophical factors which are not dealt with in any of these books. A basic foundations text must take into account the broad range of disciplines represented in the humanities and in the social sciences. And today the failure to do so constitutes a serious flaw. It is a simple matter of breadth and depth as well as a functional balance between the two.

The Humanities and the Social Sciences A most recent and far reaching development in educational foundations has been the attempt to bring them into closer harmony with the social sciences. Values and perspectives traditionally upheld by social scientists in the graduate faculties of major universities are finding their way into departments devoted to the foundations of education. Symptomatic of this trend is the recent change in name of the Department of Social and Philosophical Foundations at Teachers College, Columbia, to the Department of Philosophy, the Social Sciences, and Education.

This trend, which to many represents a "coming of age" for foundations departments, has been greatly accelerated by the vigorous attention social scientists have been giving to the school as an institution and education as a social process. Along with their professors, graduate students in all disciplines have been turning to education for their research studies. As these students complete their studies, many of them accept positions in graduate schools of education and join the ranks of the "young turks" who

4 Robert J. Havighurst, "Introduction," in *Metropolitanism: Its Challenge to Education* (R. J. Havighurst, Ed.), The 67th Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1968. Havighurst's earlier *Education in Metropolitan Areas* (New York: Allyn & Bacon, 1966) also deals with this theme.

are transforming departments of educational foundations into departments of philosophy and the social sciences.

What this means for these departments is that courses and programs are being rebuilt so that students may secure the analytical tools required to engage in highly sophisticated empirical research. New foundations courses are being organized to confront students with theoretical constructs and research methodologies that will enable them to scientifically probe educational phenomena. As a consequence of this development, and as more and more of those teaching foundations ask to be identified with a traditional discipline rather than with education, the entire definition of educational foundations will change.

For a variety of reasons, this trend has been accompanied by the ascendancy of anthropology, economics, political science, and sociology and the decline of history and philosophy in the hierarchy of educational studies. Part of the explanation can be found in the failure of educational historians and philosophers themselves. Too much of the energy of educational philosophers has been spent on parading categories and definitions of philosophic "isms" and rigid classifications across the pages of foundations texts for the field to generate much urgency. Most teacher educators would be hard put to name a single educational philosopher, for instance, whose work they feel actually has relevance for the urban school. Educational philosophers simply have not, to paraphrase Emerson, devoted enough time to the mumps and the measles of the educational enterprise. Why is this the case? Marcuse would have us believe that the system limits the prospects for critical analysis and independent thought. The answer that I think comes closer to an explanation can be found in Ginsberg's concept of "moral bewilderment." He feels that because the world is torn by conflicting ideologies and a pervasive doubt about the future of mankind, intellectuals are suffering from what the French call a "moral Hamletism," a state of irresolution in which conscience makes cowards of us all.⁵

The state of contemporary educational philosophy is best reflected in the current tendency to view educational goals in terms of external outputs such as economic progress, political viability, and military might. We are in an age says Bruner that is "...without compassion for idiosyncrasy and that respects only the instrumental contribution of the individual to the progress of the society."⁶ In "Morals, Ideology, and the Schools: A Foray Into the Politics of Education," Greene offers a penetrating analysis of the factors that have contributed to this situation and the role the philosopher can play in establishing a new and a necessary balance.⁷ Kingsley Price in

5 Morris Ginsberg, "Moral Bewilderment," *Social Forces*, Vol. 34, October 1955, p. 5, as quoted in *Patterns of Power Social Foundations of Education* (T. E. Linton and J. I. Nelson, Eds.). New York: Pitman, 1968.

6 J. S. Bruner, "After John Dewey What," *Saturday Review*, June 17, 1961, in *Teaching in American Culture* (K. I. Gezi and J. E. Myers, Eds.). New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1968.

7 Maxine Greene, "Morals, Ideology, and the Schools: A Foray Into the Politics of Education," *Educational Theory*, Vol. 17, October 1967, p. 271.

"The Problem of the Culturally Deprived" gives us a good model of the role the philosopher can play in providing a philosophical base for urban education:

The culturally deprived are those whose right to the culture of *humanity* is infringed...the structure of the problem of the culturally deprived...springs from the facts that the *humanistic* culture requires that all should be enabled to enjoy it. The dominant culture, [the *humanistic culture*], is the best that has been produced. To describe it as middle class is to suggest what is false—that all would not benefit from participating in it (*my italics*).⁸

Another reason for the ascendancy of the social sciences is that they appear to be more closely allied with mathematics and the physical sciences than philosophy and history. Peter Schrag notes that "...it may be a measure of our times that where forty years ago we produced educational philosophy and ideology, we are now producing statistics."⁹ In our age evidence has come to be equated with statistical findings. A philosophical argument on a historical fact in the traditional sense is accorded much less respect as a defense for a position than is statistical evidence. Of course, the relative importance of philosophy and history is bound to change, particularly as these fields absorb more of the influence of contemporary mathematics and science. Patrick Suppes proposed in a paper he read at the 1968 meeting of the Philosophy of Education Society in Los Angeles that normative economics and the philosophy of mathematics be taken as models for philosophy and education. An excellent example of the way the influence is already being expressed in the field of history can be seen in Young's *Washington Community, 1800-1828* (1966). Not all are as successful as Young; as would be expected the pitfalls are many. Freidenberg deftly summarizes two of the more serious problems confronted when statistics are used as a matter of fashion, rather than of intelligence:

...this tin ear for authenticity...leads sociologists to confuse statistics with data and neutrality with objectivity.¹⁰

The effort to legitimize educational foundations as an academic study by identifying it more closely with the social sciences is not without precedent. At Harvard and at Chicago, where the graduate departments in the arts and the sciences and the education departments are in close contact, this tradition has been well established for years. These institutions have been carrying on in a manner which comes very close to the ideal Conant had in mind when he formulated his recommendations for the reform of teacher education for secondary school teachers. He said:

8 Kingsley Price, "The Problem of the Culturally Deprived," *Teacher's College Record*, Vol. 69, November 1967, p. 128.

9 Peter Schrag, "Why Our Schools Have Failed," *Commentary*, Vol. 45, March 1968, p. 32.

10 Edgar Z. Friedenberg, "Observations on Youth, Sport, and Authenticity," *The Urban Review*, Vol. 2, No. 4, February 1968, p. 2.

...courses in the philosophy and history and sociology of education [should] be given *if they are given at all* [my italics] by a philosopher, a historian, and a sociologist.¹¹

Thus it is not the idea that is so new, but rather the extent to which the idea is informing the behavior and thinking of professors of educational foundations across the country.

The inherent tendency of this approach to educational foundations to fragment educational studies along the lines of the traditional academic disciplines deserves careful study. Although fragmentation is necessary and inevitable at this stage in the evolution of educational foundations, questions still must be raised about the continuing value of this development. Because of the poor training graduate students receive in most departments of educational foundations, these departments, if they are to establish a strong scholarly base, must recruit most of their staff from graduate departments devoted to the humanities and the social sciences. Naturally, these men of "the humanities and the social sciences *qua* educationists" define their responsibility to the field of education purely in terms of their separate disciplines. Of course, there are exceptions. Kimball and McClellan, an anthropologist and a philosopher respectively, joined forces in *Education in America* (1962) to analyze American educational patterns. Their enterprise was most successful and their book continues to be a novel and a productive companion to introductory foundations courses, particularly at the graduate level.

If fragmentation continues to be an end in itself, the scientific and scholarly work now being generated will not be fully utilized. Another stage must follow in which intensive effort is devoted to facilitating communication among scholars studying education in all disciplines. The first step in achieving this, of necessity, has to be the creation of courses and programs that will produce individuals who are adept enough in the entire range of disciplines represented in the humanities and the social sciences that they can integrate the research findings related to education into a coherent and systematic body of knowledge. These individuals would approach the disciplines in terms of the scholarly needs of education and not *vice versa* as is customary among those in the traditional academic areas. When this is achieved then education will have come into its own as a scholarly field such as government or religion, both of which are also concerned with the study of social institutions.

There are actually no introductory texts that completely reflect these new stirrings in foundations. The text that comes closest is Kneller's *Foundations of Education* (1967). The strength of the Kneller book is that it spans a broad range of material for each of the areas covered. For instance, in terms of political science Kneller has separate chapters on "Education and Political Thought," "Education and Public Law," and "School Organization and Administration."

Kneller views education as an intellectual discipline comparable to other

11 James B. Conant, *The Education of American Teachers*, *op. cit.*

academic disciplines. For this reason, he advised his authors to write chapters that

...present basic theoretical and methodological principles which are essential to the investigation and solution of educational problems.¹²

The stated purpose of the volume is to present a variety of theoretical approaches based upon many disciplinary predispositions. Students using the text are expected to secure more than a command of the latest findings in the scholarly disciplines. Beyond this, they are to acquire the tools for analyzing the information that is being produced in the innumerable fields that converge on education. Kneller's statement of goals represents an excellent summary of what an introductory and general educational foundations text should strive to achieve.

Unfortunately, there is little resemblance between Kneller's objectives for the book and the final product. Most of the writing is impressionistic and much of the material side-steps the major developments in contemporary educational thought and practice. The neglect of urban educational affairs mentioned earlier is just one example of failure in this regard. The most disappointing aspect of the book in light of the editor's stated objective is the almost total neglect of recent research on education. For the most part, the most recent research findings are not mentioned, let alone analyzed and synthesized.

Research on all facets of education is growing at a rapid rate. There is a particularly wide range of studies related to the topics covered by Kneller. For instance, in the chapter on "Education and Political Thought" attention should have been given to studies of the actual role of citizens in the formulation of educational policy. Dahl's study of governmental decision making in New Haven and the Hunter and the Jennings studies of Atlanta are especially relevant to this topic. An analysis of studies like these would have given much more vitality to the chapter.¹³

In the chapter on "School Organization and Administration" written by Erik Lindman attention should have been given to the research studies published by the Center for Advanced Study of Educational Administration, the University of Oregon; the Institute for Administrative Research, Teachers College, Columbia University; and the Metropolitan Studies Program of Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship, Syracuse University. Also, the findings and methodological models of the studies funded by the United States Office of Education should have been reviewed. Some of the recent and significant studies on urban education supported by the Office of Education include: the James, Kelly, and Garns study, *Determinants*

12 George F. Kneller, Ed., *Foundations of Education*, 2nd ed. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1967, p. viii.

13 R. Dahl, *Who Governs Democracy and Power in the American City*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961. Also, F. Hunter, *Community Power Structure: A Study of Decision Makers*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953. Also, M. K. Jennings, *Community Influentials: The Elites of Atlanta*. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1964.

of *Educational Expenditures in Large Cities in the United States* (1966), the Minar study, *Educational Decision-Making in Suburban Communities* (1966), and the recent Gittell and Hollander study, *Six Urban School Districts: A Comparative Study of Institutional Responses* (1967).

Doctoral studies also provide a valuable and largely neglected source of data on school administration. Two recent studies written by students in the School of Education, Stanford University on school boards provide good examples of the importance of dissertations as data resources. These are Cronin's "The Board of Education in the Great Cities 1890-1964" (1965), and Scribner's "A Functional Analysis of School Board Performance" (1966).

These comments are not meant to suggest that the Kneller book has no value as an introductory foundations text. In fact, it is easily the best general introductory text available. It comes closer than other texts in meeting the higher standards foundations professors are applying to textbooks published for their students. Whatever the limitations of the Kneller book are, they are much less severe than those found in other introductory texts available for use in educational foundations courses. Obviously, what is needed is a new kind of foundations text. Beyond a greater attentiveness to recent developments in educational research, a text is needed which accounts for the phenomenon of metropolitanism. In 1960, of the 180 million people in the United States approximately 113 million were concentrated in metropolitan regions. The greatest concentration (31.5 inhabitants) was found within thirty-two metropolitan areas stretching along a 600-mile region from New Hampshire to Virginia. Between 1950 and 1960 the suburban areas within this "super city" increased 44.2 percent while city population declined 2.8 percent and this pattern of change was found everywhere in the nation.¹⁴ These figures clearly demonstrate the need for a text that deals with city education, within the context of educational patterns in the sprawling suburban and exurban areas beyond the city. Each influences the other and no area within a metropolitan region can be properly understood without an understanding of the other component parts.

Ideally, a basic foundations text should devote some time to the discussion of education as an academic discipline. There is considerable discussion in educational literature about education as a profession, but surprisingly little attention is given to the question of education as an academic field. The importance of this topic is that it would clarify the meaning of education, and would place education in the perspective of the humanities and the social sciences. The discussion should be aimed at establishing the intellectual boundaries of education, both theoretical and methodological. In doing so, it should summarize the questions that are especially relevant to the field of education and the extent to which they have been adequately dealt with by scholars. Overall discussion of education as an academic discipline would set the tone for a text which is meant to be analytical and integrative, and which

14 S. T. Kimball and J. E. McClellan, *Education and the New America*. New York: Random House, 1962.

emphasizes theoretical constructs within the context of data that has grown out of research on specific and detailed educational questions.

In addition to a consideration of the work relevant to education done by those in the traditional scholarly disciplines of anthropology, history, philosophy, sociology, economics, and political science, attention should be focussed on the work of scholars who are analyzing education in terms of literature. After all, most of what we know about children before the evolution of the social sciences comes from literature. Works such as *The Diary of Cotton Mather* and *Tom Sawyer* are major sourcebooks on childhood in earlier periods of American history. Today documentary literature on the urban school is growing at a phenomenal rate. An analysis of the Braithwaite, Kozol, Kohl, Herndon, Kaufman, Greene and Ryan, and Holt books, for instance, would provide invaluable insights into life in the urban schoolhouse.

In conclusion, while there has been some change in the organization and focus of educational foundations courses, the change has not been nearly as sweeping nor as widespread as it should be. If these courses are to be the true *foundations* of teacher education, they must be more relevant, more analytical, and more integrative. Basically, they must give greater attention to our metropolitan society, make better use of the analytical tools developed by modern science, and utilize the research findings of the humanities and the social sciences relevant to education. This is a mighty task, but an important one if the entire structure of teacher education programs rising out of foundations courses is to be strong.

Aspects of Art

Justin Schorr. South Brunswick, New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1967, 153 pp. \$4.50.

One hardly knows what to expect from artists these days. A generation ago, one could find in the corner drug store a picture of a pretty girl enjoining us to buy cigars. As you walked by, her eye appeared to wink. The device that made the eye wink is now exploited independent of cigars, and appears in art galleries and museums. Hanging next to it is the pretty cigar saleslady herself. And nearby one is likely to find the cigar, or a replica of it, on a pedestal. Artists are full of surprises. They even write books. And some still paint pictures.

At some times thrilled, at other times appalled, the general public is often just perplexed and bemused by it all. But while John Doe can take it or leave it, the case is otherwise for today's art student. He has elected to take it. But take it where? What style shall he adopt? What constitutes his identity? Where shall he find his morale? It is for the purpose of giving help in confronting these questions that artist-educator Justin Schorr offers his book, *Aspects of Art*.

Dr. Schorr's book falls into two main sections: what art is like, and what ought to be done about it. In his first chapter, Schorr offers a sort of definition of art. The other three chapters that follow purport to draw the consequences of that definition for those concerned with art. Thus advice is given to art students, to art teachers, to university administrators in regard to art programs, and to those concerned with the role of art education in general education.

There is more insight than consistency in Schorr's presentation. Although art is said to have no common properties or common functions (p. 25), it is said always to cause—in a way that "obligates" us—our dispassionate, noncognitive regard. What causes this phenomenon is a (rather familiar) set of properties common to art objects: boundedness, design, unity in variety, illusion, etc. Schorr argues against conceptions of universality in art, and declares that an object is a work of art if it appears as such to some people. This reasonableness is marred only by the mystery that results from circularity: How do we *know* if objects are works of art? They are "indeed identified as such when, and because, they are objects of situations known by the involved subjects to be aesthetic situations . . ." (p. 78). But how do we *know* when a situation is aesthetic? When the object of our regard has been identified as a work of art (i.e., when it fulfills the definition of art proposed by Schorr).

Art students may find genuine value in some of Dr. Schorr's advice. To the student who is uncomfortable about pursuing a lifetime of ceaseless innovation, Schorr argues cogently against the notion that art must (or did in the past) continually progress or advance. On the other hand, the student trying to find his own identity and direction may not find much help in the observation that his conduct as an artist is the product of lawful forces which in their operation "yield" his actions independent of his own decisions (pp. 89, 139).

It follows from the claim of art's relativity that there is no universal audience awaiting the young student, and Schorr's advice to avoid seeking it is sound and consistent. His alternative—be yourself and paint for those who "resonate on your frequency"—is also sound, although thin in practical help. While Schorr rightly enjoins his student not to pander to an audience, he fails to consider that artists can and often do *educate* their audiences—and that by so doing the artist can reach people who do *not*—at least initially—resonate on his own frequency.

Art teachers will find no detailed techniques or teaching methods here, but they may find useful some of Dr. Schorr's insights regarding the way in which teachers' general intentions govern their procedures. Freedom for the artist is defined in terms of his attitudes and skills. Thus the teacher cannot simply *give* freedom to his student; rather, freedom is an outcome of successful teaching, and the teaching itself must consequently make demands on the student. Schorr's discussion of teaching "creativity" is also refreshing. Creativity, he notes, is not some unitary quality of artistic endeavors, but is simply a label covering a number of more specific acts and outcomes. Thus it is to these latter things that teachers should bend their

efforts, rather than worrying over some formula by which "creativity" can be injected.

Dr. Schorr asks that the university not hobble art teaching with the rigidities of class hours, credits, and standard letter grades. Of the general educator he asks that all art classes be taught as if the students were going to become professional artists. For this entails not meaningless and stultifying exercises in perspective and rendering, but rather a fostering of "openness, responsiveness to intuition and feeling, seeing afresh..." (p. 151). This "stance of the artist" is, then, no hardship for the general student, but rather a benefit and a pleasure to him.

When the artist exchanges his brush for a typewriter, the reader is ill-advised to expect consistency or theoretical depth. Dr. Schorr offers neither of the latter, nor will his book enable students and teachers to go forth with any particular or vivid sense of direction. But they may be able to return to work enriched by Dr. Schorr's insight about what teaching is *not*, and about the kinds of activities that artists need *not* feel compelled to undertake. In a very murky world, a little light can be appreciated.

Donald Arnstine
Boston University

Role-Playing for Social Values: Decision Making in the Social Studies.
Fannie R. and George Shaftel. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1967.

Before societies were literate, there was drama. Through the medium of the enactment a successful hunter could show the full triumph of his ordeal far better than through descriptive discourse. The drama has enthralled all literate societies as well: Sophocles, Shakespeare, Checkov, Ibsen, O'Neill, Miller, Albee.

But other than the jesters or the mimers of an earlier day, or the Bob Hopes of today, the drama that traditionally holds the center of the stage (or the TV screen) is drama translated from the written word via an actor's interpretation. He may change a nuance, add a new gesture, even ad lib a phrase or two, but essentially the actor is only playing out someone else's story.

What the Shaftels have given us is a procedure which permits each person to become his own playwright and his own actor, his own dramatist and interpreter, all at once. The idea of role-playing (or sociodrama as it has been known in an earlier period) is that of spontaneously acting out "pretend" roles which emerge from some human conflict or dilemma. Therapeutically, this type of acting-out has been used by Moreno and his followers for many years. As a specifically educational device as differentiated from its therapeutic contribution, role-playing has been in the literature of

education for at least 20 years. One may look a long time, however, to find a classroom in which role-playing takes place as casually as does singing a song ("to wake us up") or playing a game ("because you did your arithmetic so well").

In their book, the Shaftels present a modern version of the role of drama in the educational lives of young people. They draw upon the theory of role-taking in modern life, pulling together in a lucid manner the research that justifies the utilization of role-playing in the classroom. In this section, as in the other sections of the volume, one must commend the authors for resisting the elliptical semantic pretensions of either education or psychology, and presenting their data in English.

As one who has been associated with the Shaftels in earlier experimentation with their procedures, and as one who has for a long time also attempted to demonstrate and use role-playing with youth, with teachers in training, and teachers in-service, I feel strongly that the work of the Shaftels will be considered a classic in the literature of role-playing. It is certainly the book I have been waiting for.

Their review of the theoretical background, as noted already, is adequate and sound; even more valuable for the practitioner are the many explicit discussions of how teachers can and have used role-playing. The book obviously draws upon varied experiences with many groups. The authors show a sensitive awareness of classrooms: what they are *really* like, and how teachers, children, and youth really do act and behave. One can almost smell the chalk! In other words, this book is theoretically sound and, unusual for its species, also *consistently* practical. The practice described by the authors *does* exemplify the relevant theory; this is no mean feat in educational literature. The nearest current volumes that come anywhere near to doing the same thing that I can think of now are the books by Rath, Simon, and Harris; Clements, Fielder, and Tabachnick; and Torrance.¹

An additional increment for the teacher and the trainer of teachers provided by the Shaftels is the inclusion of original unfinished stories. These stories, which make up slightly over half the book, are to be read aloud to students to be followed by role playing enactment utilized to develop solutions to the dilemma posed. These stories are unique in many ways. The *NEA Journal* has in the last years run a series of problem situations for class discussion (or role-playing). Both *Scope* and *Read* magazine and some of the commercial magazines for children have also had unfinished stories. The difference is a matter of quality. The *NEA Journal* stories and those in the commercial children's magazines are disappointingly shallow. The problems selected by the Shaftels have been deliberately chosen to illumine the

1 Louis E. Rath, Merrill Harmin and Sidney B. Simon, *Values and Teaching*. Columbus, Ohio: Merrill Books, Inc., 1966.

H. Millard Clements, William R. Fielder and B. Robert Tabachnick, *Social Study: Inquiry in Elementary Classrooms*. Indianapolis, Ind.: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1966.

E. Paul Torrance, *Rewarding Creative Behavior—Experiments in Classroom Creativity*. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965.

major dilemmas faced by young people as they grow up: problems of authority, of peer relations, of acceptance, and rejection, or minority-majority group status, etc. These are problems that are hurtful, and usually avoided or "niced" over by teachers and parents.

There are some critical comments to be added, of course. A count of the Shaftel stories shows that boys and the kinds of problems boys face (which are in many instances qualitatively different from girls' problems) are the focus of twice as many stories as those in which girls are the main factors. For many of the role-playing enactments, the role-players might all be of only one sex, or the girls, in many of the boy problems, would play the adult (authority?) roles of mothers or teachers. It is helpful, obviously, for both boys and girls to gain insight into the social-peer problems of the other sex. But do boys really have twice as many problems as girls? In our current social order, this may well be true: they certainly get into more trouble both in school and out than do girls. A teacher may need to examine with some care, however, the extent to which boy problems are the major concern of role-playing enactments, with the implication that only boys have "real" problems.

Another theme which bothers me is what might appear to be the "California" tone of the stories. Many take place outdoors; camping, fishing, hiking, on outings of various kinds. Many of these settings would be rather alien to an inner-city child of Baltimore, New York, Washington, D. C., or Boston. The problems evoked may appear similar—such as trespassing—but the settings and response raise a few questions. I would hope that the Shaftels would soon produce another volume of stories (perhaps some written by children themselves?) from settings that are not as Western in flavor, and have more of the feel of the big city.

I would like to see the Shaftels expand their theory to include the "open-ended" concept to other media. They explain well how the open-ended story demands involvement; the children can't wait to give their ideas of how the story ended, or what ought to have been the ending. This can also be true if one invites students to write out endings rather than, or in addition to, role-playing. There are other ways to initiate the kinds of problem-solving which the Shaftels describe: they themselves are designers of a problem-picture series in which the stimuli are all dilemmas presented via large photographs. The kind of open-ended inquiry of the Match-Box project of the Boston Children's Museum provides another approach to the speculations by children, particularly their "City Box." Movies which are open-ended (of which there are a pitiable few) provide another type of highly involving open-ended situation.

The Shaftels also could expand the utility of their stories by suggesting, for instance, that teachers put them on tape cartridges which a child could use himself at a listening post (some schools have them) and then write out his own ending as one kind of deeply involving language arts activity. A child who may not be motivated to write in any other way might respond to this kind of stimuli; or to be even more ingenious, if he is a poor reader or a non-reader, he might dictate his own analysis of the problem

for the teacher to write out (and, as she listens, perhaps gain insight into that particular student's personal evaluation of the situation); then, by re-playing his own answer, and *seeing the teacher's typed copy*, he might learn to read, or to improve his reading skills and other related skills, such as spelling and punctuation. A group of children could also 'plug in' to the same story on tape and develop a group solution: the possible variations of this are enormous. Similarly, the Shaftels do not suggest the value of taping enactments for re-playing for discussion to analyze *why* a sequence occurred. The procedure also can be a non-threatening aid in language "hearing" where learning standard English is of particular concern.

There is no doubt that the Shaftel book is a landmark in the literature of role-playing. It is hoped that they will soon embark on Volume II, to carry their expertise and their originality into other classroom adaptations of the technique, as well as extending their theoretical investigations into the whole area of frustration tolerance, the need for closure, the role of creative response to ambiguous situation, all of which are implicit in their present concern with role-playing.

I would particularly urge them to go on to Volume II. In my experience, role-playing is just too big a leap for the average teacher to take. An innovation in teaching must be introduced close to the teacher's own range of tolerance for the new and different. The data on the types of innovations which have been recently most readily adopted is not too encouraging. That which is accepted is that which is most nearly like what most teachers could do (with some material help.). The many studies of minimal acceptance of some kinds of innovations may account for the fact that, despite the years in which we have talked role-playing, demonstrated it, won devotees (for the moment), you cannot name any teachers *you* know who routinely use role-playing as a way of teaching.

Jean Dresden Grambs
University of Maryland

The Nongraded School: Analysis and Study.

Richard I. Miller, Ed. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1967, \$6.95.

The Nongraded School: Analysis and Study is timely and helpful for both theorist and practitioner. Although somewhat heavy on opinion and light on research, this book makes a major contribution to an understanding and appreciation of the nongraded movement. Largely, it is a book of opinions. The authors readily recognize that there is a dearth of research on the many aspects of nongradedness and that they "simply are guessing on some dimensions." Editor Richard I. Miller further states that "one can conclude that the research conducted on the nongraded school has been, for the most part, weak in design and limited in scope." The value of the book, then, lies not in the findings of objective research but in the opinions and

insights of educators who had had significant experiences with the non-graded movement and have acquired valuable information for those who are moving toward the development of a nongraded school.

A major contention of the book is that "the nongraded movement is one of the most dynamic and topical instructional innovations in education today." This statement is made with full knowledge that the "non-graded school needs to be accepted partly on faith." From this point of departure, the reader is led through a variety of experiences and impressions by selected educators who have in common a close association with the nongraded movement. It includes a most helpful chapter by Richard Galeon on the administrator's role in initiating nongraded programs. By far the most comprehensive account of the initiation and implementation of a non-graded program is reported by Carl L. Byerly and Stuart C. Rankin and concerns the Detroit nongraded program.

The book does not attempt to sell the nongraded movement as such but rather to analyze and understand its philosophy, structure and values. A stated purpose of the book is to "broaden the base of discussion" on the nongraded school and it is well designed to do this. Comments range from enthusiastic approval to criticism and concern. The unique organization of the book provides the reader with a structure which stimulates comparison, discussion and question. Of particular value is both the diversified authorship and the commentaries on their works by competent observers throughout the United States. While some comments amount to "splitting hairs," others are extremely frank and helpful and provide an excellent analysis of the philosophy and practice of nongradedness. Editor Miller's final chapter entitled "A Summing Up" is in itself of considerable value to those who seek information on the nongraded program. It summarizes common threads and common points made by the authors in their commentaries. Also of significance is the appendix which includes sample data on the organization and administration of the nongraded school.

In brief, *The Nongraded School: Analysis and Study* makes a valuable and timely contribution to the growing accumulation of data on the non-graded school. It will serve the interests of all who seek to inform themselves on the issues and philosophy of the nongraded movement.

William Forsberg, Principal
Sunny Hollow School
New Hope, Minnesota

Titles in Education from Macmillan

The Individual and Education: Some Contemporary Issues

Edited by Frederick M. Raubinger and Harold G. Rowe, both, University of Illinois

This anthology presents in five separate but interrelated parts a selection of articles which focus on the importance of preserving individualism in young people. Part I emphasizes the characteristics of individualism and the conditions necessary for individualism to flourish. In Part II the effect of current school practices on the individual are examined. Part III illustrates the kinds of pressures which are brought to bear on the student by parents, teachers, and schools. Part IV describes some developments made outside of school which may serve to decrease the human relationships of teaching and learning. The final part focuses on the nature of learning and good teaching. Emphasis is placed on the importance of the teacher.

1968, 390 pages, paper, \$4.25

The World of Education: An Introductory Text

By Rena Foy, The Pennsylvania State University

This textbook for introductory courses provides students with an overview of the role of education in modern society. Utilizing the historical development of major educational problems, the author relates the problems to current, controversial issues and compares the problems with conditions in selected foreign countries. Students are constantly encouraged to compare, criticize, and evaluate.

1968, 372 pages, \$6.95

The World of Education: Selected Readings

Edited by Rena Foy, The Pennsylvania State University

Suitable for use as a reader with any good introductory text, this anthology treats the major problems of the role of education in modern society. The selections present the ideas, purposes, social foundations, and organizations of public education. This is currently the only book of readings for an introductory or social foundations course that includes a large quantity of selections which discuss and compare conditions in foreign countries with those in the United States.

1968, 608 pages, paper, \$4.50

Selected Readings in the Philosophy of Education, Third Edition

Edited by Joe Park, Northwestern University

The third edition of this widely used text and source book gives students ready access to the writings of some of the foremost men in philosophy of education. Substantial excerpts, each representing a significant point of view, are preceded by introductions and biographical sketches. The volume considers the role of philosophy in the study of education, pragmatism, idealism, realism, and religious thought, and gives extended treatment to existentialism and analytical philosophy in education. Six of the selections are new in this edition. Another new feature in this edition is an annotated bibliography containing philosophy titles and titles in the philosophy of education.

1968, 473 pages, \$7.95

The RECORD

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Curriculum: A Janus Look



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and

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On three counts the Roman god, Janus, is relevant to what I am about to say. First, Janus has been represented as having two faces, one looking forward and the other backward. I look from the present into the recent past and from the present into the imminent future. Second, Janus was the animistic spirit of doorways and archways. I speak to the problems of cutting doorways between and building archways over different levels of curriculum decision-making. Third, Janus, in Roman mythology, was guardian of the gate of heaven (the "opener" and the "shutter") and god of all beginnings. Those of us who work in curriculum might be expected, then, to invoke Janus in making our beginnings and to reckon with Janus at the ending believed by some to be still another beginning.

Curriculum, in theory and practice, is now ready for the tenets of Progressive Education. In fact, a large part of Progressive Education that once was embodied in the conventional wisdom—if not the professional practice—of educators is now embodied in the conventional wisdom of a new generation of educators. But they didn't learn it from their history books. They acquired it, in part, from the discipline-centered curriculum reform movement and its accompanying psychological baggage that moved in behind the dying propaganda thrusts of life-adjustment education.

The first (1951) and last (1954) reports of the two Commissions on Life Adjustment Education for Youth almost coincide with the creation of the National Science Foundation (1950), which came to finance many curriculum reform projects in subsequent years, and the appearance of products from the University of Illinois Committee on School Mathematics (1951), perhaps the earliest of the organized, interdisciplinary groups.¹ And the death of the Pro-

Widely known for his work in curriculum development, Professor Goodlad here looks in several directions: back to the days of Progressive Education, to recent excesses in discipline-centered "reform," and to a future in which new models will be devised. It is time, he suggests, to integrate the achievements of the progressive and the discipline-centered eras—for the attainment of human and humane ends.

1 However, exploratory work pertaining to "the 'new' mathematics for the schools" dates back to the 1940's, notably at the University of Chicago where a group of mathematicians and mathematics educators engaged in exploratory work in the early and mid-'40's. And, of course, the mathematics they proposed was not really "new."

gressive Education Association (1955) and of its journal (1957) coincide in time with the early efforts of Jerrold Zacharias to organize his fellow scientists for school curriculum reform,² and with Sputnik (1957). The decade of the '50's marks the ending of one era and the beginning of another.

My statement that a new generation of educators is learning the conventional wisdom of one era from the conventional wisdom of another appears, at first glance, to be enigmatic if not in error. The beginning of the new era certainly did not take its rhetoric from the dying gasps of life-adjustment education. Progressive education already had lost its intellectual vigor before the life-adjustment movement fell victim to the fusillade of attacks actually intended for the larger, longer parent movement.³ What is now currently referred to as the current curriculum reform movement⁴ had no orthodoxy throughout most of the decade of the '50's. It simply was *against* what appeared to be excesses as expressed in earlier pedagogical cant—"the whole child," "persistent life situations," "intrinsic motivation," and particularly "teaching children, not subjects" and *for* what appeared to be neglected—subject-matter as perceived by specialists in the disciplines. In 1938, Boyd Bode had predicted, "... if it (progressive education) persists in a one-sided absorption in the individual pupil, it will be circumvented and left behind"⁵

Echoes and Orthodoxies

Change, by definition, is away from what exists or appears to exist. And change is likely to be excessive or give the appearance of excess when what it seeks to replace is or appears to be excessive. Perhaps this is why the new, discipline-centered curriculum reform movement acquired an orthodoxy so soon. In the decade of the '60's, its own central tenets became a cant: "discovery method," "intuition," "structure of the disciplines," and even "learning by doing." If lineal credit currently is given at all, it is to Whitehead—and appropriately so—but there are shades here of both John Dewey and William Heard Kilpatrick.

It is no small irony that, as the current movement grows from its suburban, middle-class beginnings to encompass concern for students in harsh, urban environments, it sounds some notes that echo reports of the Commission on Life

² See James D. Koerner, "EDC: General Motors of Curriculum Reform," *Saturday Review* (August 19, 1967), pp. 56-58 and pp. 70-71.

³ See Lawrence A. Cremin, *The Transformation of the School*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1961.

⁴ See John I. Goodlad, *School Curriculum Reform in the United States*. New York: Fund for the Advancement of Education, 1964; and John I. Goodlad (with Renata von Stoephasius and M. Frances Klein), *The Changing School Curriculum*. New York: Fund for the Advancement of Education, 1966.

⁵ Boyd H. Bode, *Progressive Education at the Crossroads*. New York: Newson & Co., 1938.

Adjustment Education for Youth. It is an even greater irony that it was Jerrold Zacharias, a key figure in vitalizing curriculum content, who spoke passionately from the floor of the 1965 White House Conference on Education urging greater consideration for children, for boys and girls, in the deliberations and recommendations.

Will we have come full cycle by 1970? If so, and more important, what will we have learned from the preceding two decades that will be put to good use in curriculum reform of the succeeding two? Clearly, we did not apply in the '50's and '60's what we might have learned from the '30's and '40's.

Jerome Bruner, who shares credit for concepts (particularly "intuition" and "structure") underlying current curriculum reform, likewise shares blame for our failure to draw concepts from the past to balance excesses in the present. By not referring to two generations of curriculum inquirers and inquiries, some of which included thinking very much like his own (although rarely so well stated), in his highly personalized report of the 1959 Woods Hole Conference,⁶ Bruner's contribution was not cumulative. Indeed, neither the links to nor the differences from John Dewey, Charles H. Judd, and Franklin Bobbitt, to name only a few, were stated. And since most of Bruner's readers were not readers of these earlier men, it is not surprising that, for example, the concept of inquiry was born anew.

Neglected Proposition But linkages to the past might not have changed anything anyway. A new generation of curriculum makers was ready for the proposition "... that any subject can be taught effectively in some intellectually honest form to any child at any stage of development." (p. 33) Others among Bruner's observations fell on deaf ears: "Is it worth while to train the young inductively so that they may discover the basic order of knowledge before they can appreciate its formalism?" (p. 47) "But the danger of such early training may be that it has the effect of training out original but deviant ideas." (p. 48) "There is a surprising lack of research on how one most wisely devises adequate learning episodes for children at different ages and in different subject matters." (p. 49) "... it may well be that *intrinsic* (italics mine) rewards in the form of quickened awareness and understanding will have to be emphasized far more in the detailed design of curriculum." (p. 50)

Two sentences in particular take us back to the '30's: "We might ask, as a criterion for any subject taught in primary school, whether, when fully developed, it is worth an adult's knowing, and whether having known it as a child makes a person a better adult." (p. 52) "... a curriculum ought to be built around

6 Jerome S. Bruner, *The Process of Education*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960.

the great issues, principles and values that a society deems worthy of the continued concern of its members." (p. 52) Could we be reading George S. Counts? If we add to this last quotation what Bruner does not quite say—that the students themselves should choose from among these great issues in determining their curriculum, we could be reading Harold Albery. And Bruner comes close: "Perhaps anything that holds the child's attention is justified on the ground that eventually the child will develop a taste for more self-controlled attention..." (p. 72) Imagine a Bruner, twenty years younger, fashioning with Albery the core curriculum!

No, the 1960 breed of curriculum makers no more heard this side of Bruner than they heard the disclaimer in the 1951 report on the Commission on Life Adjustment Education for Youth: life adjustment education "... emphasizes active and creative achievements as well as an adjustment to existing conditions; it places a high premium upon learning to make wise choices..."⁷ Had the several statements I have lifted from Bruner and more like them constituted the essence of his book, Bruner would have been a less significant figure in the current curriculum reform movement and certainly would not have contributed to its orthodoxy. His several bold hypotheses, clearly counter-cyclical to the perceived excesses and deficiencies of the progressive education era, made the difference and contributed significantly to the innovative thrust of the '60's.

It is quite possible, however, that a much older Bruner, witnessing but perhaps not contributing to a new curriculum reform, will prefer to remind us of his secondary rather than his primary propositions. Because in these lie something of the shape of what might be expected of curriculum innovation in the '70's and '80's. An older Dewey, too, viewing in dismay what he was charged with having wrought, sought to remind us of the full breadth of his argument. In that part of Dewey we chose to forget lay the seeds of at least part of what has happened in the '50's and '60's.

There is tragedy in the distorted emphases of an era, no doubt of that. Personal tragedy and societal tragedy. Curriculum planning, like other human phenomena, suffers at any given time because of preoccupations that obscure other relevant emphases. But it is these over-emphases, too, that give societies their innovative spurts and the individuals who spawn them their *raison d'être*. Perhaps the poet Yeats was thinking of tragedy in this dual sense when he said: "We begin to live when we have conceived of life as tragedy."

But excesses can become neuroses; and neuroses, in turn, interfere with rational functioning, inhibiting the power of individuals and the power of societies to right themselves. Lawrence Kubie reminds us that neuroses, rather than being

⁷ United States Office of Education, *Vitalizing Secondary Education: Report of the First Commission on Life Adjustment Education for Youth*, p. 1. Washington: 1951.

inevitably correlated with the creative process, distort and corrupt it.⁸ A society must seek to right itself, then, before the creative thrust of an innovative excess becomes neurotic, inhibiting the creative energy needed for the counter-cyclical thrust. The time is come, I think, to right the emphases of a creative curriculum thrust that has spanned two exciting decades.

Undoubtedly, an innovative period in curriculum development lies ahead for the '70's and '80's. It will be more counter-cyclical, I believe, to the '50's and '60's than to the '30's and '40's. These decades, too, will have their excesses, probably in the form of their most creative thrusts. The challenge—conspicuously ignored in the past as, no doubt, it will be ignored in the future—is to capitalize on the excesses of the past while sustaining excesses into the future.

Perspective in Curriculum Analysis

Curriculum planning involves at least two very different kinds of processes. First, there are political and legal considerations. Controlling agencies set forth guidelines which sometimes take on the character of law. He who would understand curriculum planning or any curriculum in all its ramifications, perforce must understand the political-legal structure within which it exists.

Second, curriculum planning is a substantive enterprise in that it has certain perennial foci of intellectual attention, commonly identified as considerations of ends and means. Thus, there are commonplaces which can be treated from differing perspectives in the same way that commonplaces of philosophical thought—the nature of knowledge, man, and the good life, for example—can be treated from differing perspectives. To the extent that such commonplaces are, indeed, common in curriculum discourse and to the extent that this discourse is made rigorous by relevant logical-deductive inquiry and empirical research, a field of study emerges.

Viewed against these criteria, curriculum as a field of study is, at best, embryonic. There is and has been vigorous discourse about ends and means: objectives and how to derive them, objectives and whether to have them, objectives and how to define them; content and its validation, content and its organization, content and its ossification; and so on. There has been effort, too, to arrange these commonplaces so as to give some rational guidance to curriculum building. There has been little model- or theory-building; both have suffered from a paucity of descriptive and experimental data. And the dialogue has suffered from general omission of inclusion/exclusion criteria. As a consequence, participants rarely appear to be addressing themselves simultaneously to the same

8 Lawrence S. Kubie. *Neurotic Distortion of the Creative Process*. Lawrence, Kansas: The University of Kansas Press, 1958.

commonplaces and so talk right past each other. The dialogue might be described better as a series of monologues.

My colleagues and I, not to be outdone, have formulated a kind of team monologue, on the assumption presumably that several persons talking as one past everyone else are better than one person talking all by himself past everyone else. Building on the work of Ralph Tyler,⁹ we have formulated a tentative conceptualization of some ends-means commonplaces in curriculum and have superimposed a tentative conceptualization of the political structure within which curriculum planning might be conducted in a complex society.¹⁰ We have come up with a model—still in revision—which is brazenly intended for enriching curriculum discourse (even if systematically rejected) and increasing rationality in curriculum making (which, of course, it will not do if rejected, whether systematically or unsystematically!).

The details of this model serve little purpose here. But its broad outline provides a framework which, even if only glimpsed, may reduce somewhat the extent to which I talk past you. By developing a model of the substantive commonplaces of curriculum and of the political considerations in curriculum planning, we have a backdrop for appraising ideological formulations of what curricula or a curriculum should consist of. Thus, we can systematically appraise the recommendations of James B. Conant for the American high school¹¹ and compare these with other recommendations, keeping the same commonplaces in view throughout. Similarly, we can place the proposals of Jerome Bruner¹² in historical perspective, predict the inclusions and exclusions likely to result in practice from applying his emphases and perhaps even formulate the proposals necessary to balance these emphases. Assuming some soundness in the model (and I further assume its improvement and the formulation of alternative models through continuing inquiry) and some use of it, we might anticipate parallel growth in the viability of ideological curriculum proposals, less blind faith in the ill-formed curricular pronouncements of political or military heroes, and less skittering about from emphasis to emphasis, fad to fad.

⁹ Ralph W. Tyler, *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950.

¹⁰ The group consists of Margaret P. Ammons, Alicja Iwanska, James A. Jordan, Maurice N. Richter, John I. Goodlad. The work is reported in John I. Goodlad (with Maurice N. Richter), *The Development of a Conceptual System for Dealing with Problems of Curriculum and Instruction*. Contract No. SAE-8024, Project No. 454, Cooperative Research Program, United States Office of Education, 1966 (out of print).

¹¹ James B. Conant, *The American High School Today*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1959; and, more recently, *The Comprehensive High School*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1967.

¹² Jerome S. Bruner, *The Process of Education*, *op. cit.*

Such a model provides, also, a backdrop for analyzing how the political structure functions with respect to curricular decisions and even for planning how to go through it or around it in seeking to influence the curricula of schools, classrooms, and students. Because ideological curricula, to affect those for whom they are intended, must penetrate or circumvent the political structure.

Levels of Decision-Making Our model poses three levels of decision-making: societal, institutional, and instructional.¹³ We do not say that all three should exist. There are no "shoulds" in our model other than the overriding implication that its categories and suggested processes are appropriate to a conceptual model of curriculum. But we do imply that curriculum decisions are likely to be made at all three levels in a complex society. (In a simple society, these levels are likely to be collapsed into two or even into one.) In the United States, local, state, and even federal authorities make curricular decisions that affect what is studied by the nation's children and youth. These are societal decisions. Teachers, acting in concert, develop curriculum guides for their schools and school systems, paying varying degrees of attention to societal decisions. These are institutional decisions. And teachers, acting alone, formulate plans for specific groups of students entrusted to them, again ignoring or paying their respects to societal and institutional decisions. These are instructional decisions.

Where among these levels the power lies varies from country to country. Consequently, the strategies most likely to bring about an appropriate balance or a temporary imbalance of power, or to augment one level and nullify another, and thus to effect evolution or revolution in the curriculum, likewise vary from country to country. This is why the seminal innovation of one country is the abortion of another.

To summarize briefly what may appear to have been an airy and irrelevant digression, a conceptual model of the kind I have been discussing aids perspective on two counts. First, it provides substantive criteria for appraising current and recent curriculum planning efforts and for projecting ideological innovations for tomorrow. Second, it focuses attention on the curricular structure

13 My first formulation of these levels was in 1960, when I sought to develop a framework around which to organize research in curriculum for the period, 1957-60. (See "Curriculum: The State of the Field," *Review of Educational Research*, XXX [June, 1960], pp. 185-198). I used them later in writing a volume for the NEA Project on Instruction (See *Planning and Organizing for Teaching*. Washington: National Education Association, 1963.) In preparing this paper, I encountered use of societal, institutional, and instructional levels by Derek Morell, Joint Secretary, The Schools Council, London. (See "The New Dynamic in Curriculum Development," *New Dynamics in Curriculum Development*, pp. 25-40. Toronto: Ontario Curriculum Institute, 1965.) Perhaps a dialogue is begun!

prior to posing innovations designed to remedy its shortcomings. Now, let me use it in continuing my Janus look.

Through A Glass Narrowly By using this perhaps imprecise perspective and looking at the two recent eras through smaller panes of glass, some interesting differences come into view. First, in direct contrast to the '30's and '40's, the decades of the '50's and '60's have witnessed precious little dialogue about the commonplaces of curriculum among those forging the new curricula. There has been some discourse at the periphery by a handful of curriculum specialists but little of it has had vitality. Contrast this, however, with the spirited exchanges among George S. Counts, Harold Rugg, Boyd Bode, William Heard Kilpatrick, John Childs, and H. Gordon Hullfish. Paralleling the work of this group and particularly seminal in the '20's were the less flamboyant contributions of Henry C. Morrison, Franklin Bobbitt, and Charles H. Judd.

The differences between these groups are somewhat akin to the differences between the younger and the older Dewey who provided a bridge between the two. Admittedly, it was a bridge which from time to time suffered the fate of the Bridge on the River Kwai. The latter group had certain natural roots in Dewey (*circa* 1900) and Edward L. Thorndike. There are some present-day extensions in the work of those behavioral scientists who concern themselves with education (many of them now together in the National Academy of Education). The links to a curriculum past and present are weak but the pulse still beats and will beat stronger. The beat would be weaker if it were not for the personal bridge provided by Ralph W. Tyler whose roots in curriculum and in the behavioral sciences go back to Charters and Judd, in particular.

The former group—the Teachers College, Columbia, group in contrast to the Chicago group—began with Dewey and in many ways ended with Dewey whose death roughly coincided with the ending of one era and the beginning of another. One looks in vain today for powerful carriers of this great past. The group was philosophical rather than psychological in orientation but, by now, philosophy was turning in upon itself and away from its traditional preoccupation with the nature of man and the good life. Its thrusts have had no impelling resurgence; but, thankfully, they are preserved and interpreted in the historical inquiry of Lawrence A. Cremin.

Whatever the differences between the Chicago and the Columbia groups—and they were at times monumental—they possessed in common one important characteristic: their deliberations took in a wide range of educational and, therefore, curricular commonplaces. What is education for? How are its ends to be

achieved? What are the relevancies of society, learners, and subject-matter as data-sources for curriculum decisions? How are learning opportunities to be put together for most effective learning? The questions are still being asked but rhetorically and not in the right places.

This observation brings me to a recommendation for tomorrow. It is more of a plea than a recommendation because I have no specific target audience for it and little to suggest as means for bringing it about. *The curriculum planning process, at all levels of decision-making, must be enriched by a lively, continuing dialogue, addressing itself systematically to defining the commonplaces of curriculum and alternative stances toward them.* The problems of education and of mankind broadly are now so raw and bare that our energies are almost wholly devoted to treating them. The universities are become activist. Perhaps the kind of inquiry needed will emerge in them. But they probably need as catalyst some kind of centers for curriculum inquiry that concern themselves with first questions, but with the immediate and with training only for conceptual orientation and relevance. Is there a philanthropic foundation so bold as to found perhaps one such?

A second significant difference between the present and recent era and its predecessor is in political orientation. The Teachers College group (with Counts as leader in this instance) saw a need for the schools to reform society itself.¹⁴ Rugg, for example, viewed the schools as physical forums in the debate and educators as its leaders.¹⁵ The change strategy was loose, perhaps even naive. But it was true unto the movement. It depended on ideas, in keeping with Dewey's doctrine that the most unsettling thing is a new idea. The movement sought to change the thinking of people—teachers, principals, superintendents, and the lay public—in the idealistic expectation that they in turn would change the schools. And improving the schools, for many progressives, was *the* means to improving education and society as a whole.

The discipline-centered curriculum reform movement has had no such broad and idealistic goals. It has been as pragmatic as its times. And it has been politically savvy. Its leaders got immediately to a source of enormous funds (enormous, at least, in contrast to those available in previous decades), the National Science Foundation. It influenced that source directly. Then, it by-passed the societal and institutional levels of curriculum decision-making and got directly to the instructional. Curriculum reformers did not seek to influence school boards or administrators. Teachers, not superintendents, were invited to sum-

14 George S. Counts, *Dare the Schools Build a New Societal Order?* New York: John Day Co., 1932.

15 Harold Rugg, *American Life and the School Curriculum*. Boston: Ginn and Co., 1936.

mer institutes. And new textbooks—the most potent influencers of what boys and girls learn—were put into the hands of these teachers.¹⁶

A third difference between the two eras is a corollary of the second. In the progressive era, the components of curriculum were put together predominantly at an ideological level. The influence on real schools and classrooms was indirect and pervasive and often was diluted until the original colors were washed away. Furthermore, the concepts were complex, frequently obtuse, inter-related, and enormously difficult to implement. Theoretically-oriented interpreters and innovators were required; these always are in desperately short supply. The names of Carleton Washburne, Helen Parkhurst, and Corinne Seeds immediately come to mind. They depended, necessarily, on charisma; scientific tools of leadership were not available. Only a few of the mechanics of what they did are transferable. Meanwhile, most of the ideas remained in the minds of the devoted and entranced—probably fuzzily conceived there—and did not provide in the classroom the kind of expression that facilitated experimental comparisons or even filial identification.

In the discipline-centered era, by contrast, the components of curriculum have been put together at the instructional level, and here in the form of materials. Some of the instructional packages are designed to be so complete as to be “teacher free.” But teachers intervene between students and materials, nonetheless. The limited conceptual and theoretical baggage is diverted; there is slippage from conception to implementation. To the extent that teachers do not understand or cannot implement the concepts of structure and inquiry to be acquired by the students, the goals of the curriculum projects are thwarted. Teachers brought up on deductive methods of teaching and learning do not take readily to the inductive requirements of the new materials.

A fourth difference between the two eras pertains to their significant omissions. Progressive education virtually eschewed textbooks. Its comprehensive view of the educational enterprise simply defied packaging. But teachers depend and have depended heavily on textbooks. They depended heavily on them during the progressive era, often being required by education authorities to use specific textbooks. Teachers were faced with an almost irreconcilable dilemma. They sat at the feet of William H. Kilpatrick and lesser exponents of progressivism, participating in discussions of some rather loosely defined concepts of project and activity methods for which there were few explicit models. Then they returned to the realities of their classrooms where the specifics of curriculum guides and textbooks won out. Progressive education remained virginal.

16 See *The Principals Look at the Schools*, pp. 23-24. Washington: National Education Association, 1962.

One is tempted to say "almost virginal," since there was, indeed, an occasional breakthrough.

Whereas progressive education sought to shape the whole length and breadth of the school program, the discipline-centered movement has sought to shape only subject matter for learning and teaching. It has neglected the institutional level of planning. We have not seen what model schools would look like if total curricula were developed so as to use a week's or a year's time to best advantage. We lose sight of the fact that organizing a subject for learning and teaching and organizing the child's curriculum, to say nothing of his total education, are two different things.

Finally, both the progressive and the discipline-centered eras were deficient in the learning opportunities actually prepared for or with students. Progressive education, in seeking topics which were meaningful in the life of the child or to his larger world, stretched across many disciplines, often paying little attention to their structure or method. Mathematics, or art, or science, more often than not, was applied. In the graphic arts part of his social studies lesson, the child learned something about the shape of a pyramid but little about the shape of art. Progressive education needed the rigor of the subject-centered era that replaced it. But the time was not yet; progressive education was circumvented and passed by.

The discipline-centered movement, by contrast, in seeking topics to develop the structure and methods of the various fields, too often has overlooked the burgeoning interests of the child, many of which might have been picked up and used spontaneously. The child has been discovering the basic order of knowledge; but probably before he could appreciate its formalism. We have used as criterion in determining what the child *should* learn what he *can* learn. Such a criterion is necessary but insufficient. The current curriculum era has needed the leavening of the era it so rudely thrust aside. It has needed the contextual virility of first questions. Preoccupied with updating and ordering content, recent curriculum reformers generally have ignored questions of purpose, of what kinds of human beings we seek to produce and of what knowledge is of most worth.¹⁷

I said at the outset of this paper that curriculum is now ready for the tenets of progressive education. Let me add now that curriculum, *circa* 1950, was equally ready for the tenets of the discipline-centered era. Surely we are now ready for the tenets of both.

In Conclusion I conclude with a series of obser-

17 For an engaging discussion of this need, see Lawrence A. Cremin, *The Genius of American Education*, pp. 49-63. Horace Mann Lecture. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1965.

variations and proposals which emerge (logically and rationally, I trust!) from what has gone before. With these I conclude my Janus look.

First, the curriculum planning process, at all levels of decision-making, must be enlightened by a lively, continuing dialogue, addressing itself systematically to the commonplaces of curriculum and to alternative stances toward them. The problems of education and of mankind are now so raw and so bare that almost our full energies go into treating them, rather than into long-term inquiry. There should be curriculum study centers so set up that they cannot, indeed must not, succumb to activist pressure. A first order of business should be the sustained, rigorous work that will make of curriculum a field of study. The practical benefits will follow but we must regard them as secondary for the present.

Second, the work that is to go on in such curriculum study centers must be carried at least one stage beyond verbal abstraction to a level of model building and simulation. It is possible, I think, to define and to agree upon a set of conceptual commonplaces in the field of curriculum. There are certain alternative sets but the overlap is likely to be substantial. However, the alternative stances with respect to each commonplace and each combination of commonplaces are many. Curriculum inquirers should play conceptual games with these alternatives, holding competing sets of alternatives constant long enough to see their shape and potential worth. Simulation techniques, aided by the computer, now make this possible.

Third, there must be experimental schools specifically charged with testing those simulated patterns or models believed to be most promising. The function of such schools would be experimentation; educating children would be an extremely important human by-product but not their prime function. Schools now existing, however good, do not meet this criterion. In effect, the schools I have in mind would collapse within themselves societal, institutional, and instructional levels of decision-making. They would reach out beyond themselves not for political sanctioning but for conceptual confirmation in the form of promising models already simulated but not refined and tested. Their commitment would be to remain true to concepts, and from concepts their authority would be derived. Proceeding systematically, they would provide the substantiating or negating feedback so necessary to the systematic refinement of conceptual models.

I recognize that we should have, also, some free-wheeling experimental schools which would create their own concepts as well as replicate models. The process described above would be reversed, with systematic model- and theory-building following rather than preceding the schools' innovative thrusts.

Experimental schools of both kinds probably are best related to the structure they seek to agitate by linkages to cooperating demonstration schools in other

school systems than by direct linkages to schools in the same political entity. Thus, their responsibility for functions of explanation and dissemination would be markedly narrowed. But the fashioning of networks for broad-scale curricular change, networks which necessarily include public school systems, is still another story, one with which I shall not proceed here.

Fourth, one specific aspect of curriculum planning requires immediate attention if a new era of curriculum planning is to profit from the two eras that have been my targets. This is the business of assembling or integrating the learning opportunities with which students are to have their curricular romances. Progressive education suffered from an excess of learners' problems during one phase and society's problems during another.¹⁸ The discipline-centered movement has suffered throughout from subject-matter myopia and surgical slicing of learning episodes. We now need experimentation with alternative modes of assembling the relevant and possible components of curricular structure. Not the structure of society, not the structure of human beings, not the structure of subject-matter, gives us *the* structure of a curriculum. It is some of all of these, with the mixtures varying according to time and place.

Fifth, and perhaps most important, reform of school and classroom curricula, whether according to progressive or discipline-centered concepts or a combination of the two, is not enough. There are other curricula: of television, of work experience, of leisure time activities central to the individual. Education is more than schools. And curriculum planning is much more than manipulating selected components until they become elegant curriculum designs. Curricula are individual and group tools that serve and, in fact, fashion human functions.

Our best hope is that all of our curricula together will make it possible to maintain a state of dynamic tension between our best dreams of what each of us as individuals and mankind in general might become and where we now stand on our various paths toward the realization of these dreams. The gap between expectations and present realities must never close; good education must see to that.

The future, like the past, must have its excesses. Excesses are the creative thrusts of individuals and of society, the counter-cyclical reactions to yesterday's excesses. But let us temper them with our lessons from the past so as to forestall crippling neuroses. Our excesses make of this sober educational pursuit our sport, our recreation. It is a tragedy that they are so often followed by painful retribution. But to have learned that life is tragedy is to begin to learn to live.

18 Ralph W. Tyler, "The Curriculum—Then and Now," *Elementary School Journal*, Vol. 57 (April, 1957), pp. 364-74.

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The Knowledge Machine

Elizabeth C. Wilson

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Maryland

Marshall McLuhan and George B. Leonard (in a recent issue of *Look* magazine)¹ visualize an educational Utopia as a result of technological advances. According to these prophets, "schooling as we now know it may be only a memory." They foresee computers with the capacity to understand both speech and writing, making "all of mankind's factual knowledge available to students everywhere in a matter of minutes or seconds." Computers as part of electronic learning systems containing television and sophisticated programmed materials will help tomorrow's student become "an explorer, a researcher, a huntsman who ranges through the new educational world of electronic circuitry and heightened human interaction just as the tribal huntsman ranged the wilds.

The McLuhan-Leonard vision assumes that standardized mass education will be a thing of the past, discarded along with the material mass-production line with which it has run parallel. It takes for granted that tomorrow's teachers will have adjusted to a new role in a schoolroom which is literally the world. It expects that "fragmentation, specialization and sameness will be replaced by wholeness, diversity and, above all, a deep involvement." Mankind can then truly be "educated by possibility . . . in accordance with his infinity," as Soren Kierkegaard had hoped.²

But Kierkegaard, we remember, linked educational possibility with dread. And dread is the mood we tend to associate with other distinguished contemporary prophets like Aldous Huxley, George Orwell, and more recently Leo Szilard.³ These men were equally fascinated by the future and, if not by computers per se, at least by technology and by communication. They were, how-

Elizabeth Wilson is Director of the Department of Supervision and Curriculum Development for Montgomery County Public Schools. The source of her article is a traveling seminar in which she participated in May, 1967. It was sponsored by George Washington University's Program of Policy Studies in Science and Technology; and it involved ten days of travel, to Palo Alto, Pittsburgh, Cambridge, and other centers of computer-assisted instruction. The participants were asked to present their judgments in the form of minor prophecies and recommendations for future study. This is Miss Wilson's response. It may well have an impact on policy-makers and make some of her prophecies come true.

1 Marshall McLuhan and George B. Leonard, "The Future of Education: The Class of 1989," *Look*, February 21, 1967.

2 Soren Kierkegaard, *The Concept of Dread*. Translated by Walter Lowrie. Princeton University Press.

3 Leo Szilard, *The Voice of the Dolphins*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1961.

ever, painfully aware of the sombre possibilities of the political control of education and of the slow death of the humane values we now cherish. They had a healthy fear of man's lack of self control and ability to misuse his technological advances.

The predictions of these two sets of prophets are poles apart. Which of them has more validity for the future? Which is more probable?

I would like to believe that McLuhan and Leonard are *not* dealing with dreams—that future educational patterns can break out of old molds—that the school of tomorrow can in fact be “more concerned with training the senses and perceptions than with stuffing brains.”⁴ But I have lived a long time with education, both in its formal existence in places called schools, and in its informal manifestations in the socialization process. This experience documents the layers of conservatism which exist within the educative establishment, within the local communities whose values the schools reflect, and within the local and national political structure. Conventional wisdom regarding the task of the school dies hard.

The Making of The Mold

We must remember that the function of the school has evolved slowly over literally thousands of years. In simple societies, where learning to become adult members of the society was relatively uncomplicated, educational arrangements tended to be informal. They were handled by the family, by elders and chief priests, and by peer groups, through ceremonies, rituals, and participation in the economic work of the groups. When a society became more complex, and especially when there grew up a heritage of written symbols, specialized agencies or schools appeared. A particular group of people known as teachers were given the task of transmitting the more complicated, symbolic, and abstract aspects of the culture. Thus the schools became the formal institutions which augmented and supplemented the educational function of the family and of the religious and economic institutions of the society. As I. L. Kandel once wrote:

When a formal system of education is organized, society selects from all those cultural experiences to which the child is exposed those aspects of its culture which it regards as most valuable for its own coherence and survival⁵.

In our society, the conscious task of the schools has traditionally been an intellectual one. The “major” subjects of the curriculum have been related to

⁴ McLuhan and Leonard, *op. cit.*

⁵ I. L. Kandel, “The Transmission of Culture: Education as an Instrument of National Policy,” in *Conflicts of Power in Modern Culture*, Symposium of the Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion. New York: Harpers, 1948.

the learning of symbols, i.e. language (native and foreign, written and spoken) and mathematics, and to "factual," data-collecting subjects, i.e., history and the social sciences and science. By and large, these subjects were taught and learned by rote. The progressive education movement of the twenties and thirties abortively attempted to bring higher levels of cognition into the process. The current Curriculum Reform Movement with its emphasis upon the "structure of the disciplines" and the "scholar's method of inquiry" is the second thrust of this century to help the schools breed inquiring minds and to help students learn how to learn.

The idea that the primary function of the school is to teach the basic skills and to acquaint the student with the funded knowledge of mankind has a long history both in theory and in practice. It is one which I have espoused since the beginning of my career and one which I will abandon with reluctance. But if McLuhan and other experts⁶ are correct about the scope and speed of the electronic revolution already on our doorsteps, then the whole concept of the function of the school in our society needs massive reexamination.

Reexaminations According to my best judgment, the first section of the "standard" curriculum to be absorbed by electronic multimedia will be the skills of language and mathematics—those subjects which can be logically and sequentially programed. Next will come what one scholar has called the "empirics," that is, science and the social sciences.

When that curricular absorption happens, what then will be the function of the school? To prepare students for vocations? To concentrate on the "soft" subjects like the fine arts, recreation, social and moral education? To use the knowledge acquired? To become a baby sitter?

The vocational function of the school seems less and less likely to be prominent in the year 1985. The first reason for this phenomenon has to do with swift and wide-spread change in the world of work. Specific vocational preparation will need to be done on the job, if at all. Actually, this situation already obtains. A second reason relates to the need of tomorrow's worker to be flexible, and hence to concentrate on the basic skills and concepts which will help him learn how to learn. A third reason suggests a revolutionary change in attitudes toward work—the death of the Protestant work ethic, if you will, and concurrently a shift from concentration on products to a concentration on services and leisure time activities.

If vocational and professional training are increasingly accomplished through internships in the "real" world, the "school," if it continues to exist at all, is

6 See "The Electronic Revolution," a special issue of *The American Scholar*, Spring 1966, Vol. 35, No. 2.

left with what are now considered "minor subjects" in the explicit curriculum, and with a great deal of what we educators call the implicit and affective curriculum. By implicit curriculum here we mean the social system of the institution—those potent and seldom conscious factors by which institutions mold the young. For example, look at the Americanization of hordes of first and second generation immigrant children, or more recently, at the enhancement of adolescent peer culture by the schools. By the affective curriculum, we mean the values and attitudes that are absorbed from the climate and the person-to-person contacts created by an institution. And we also mean the "soft" and controversial elements of curriculum which historically were assumed by the family or by religious and social agencies. Examples of this kind of "soft" curriculum are sex education, driver training, race relations, and guidance in self understanding.

Another possibility is that the school as an institution will cease to exist. If its primary intellectual functions can be performed by electronic media, then there is little need for the institution in its traditional sense. Rather, other social agencies could divide up the "frill" curricula left, and the schools as we know them could be dissolved.

This possibility, however, seems unlikely. In the first place, despite the press of the basic education movement for the schools to go back to the three R's and cut out frills, and despite the return to the scholarly disciplines characterized by this decade's Curriculum Reform Movement, the public has more and more looked to the schools to solve its social as well as its intellectual problems. Thus the schools have been asked to take on the race and poverty problems of Inner City and the sex and delinquency problems of Suburbia. The school is seen more and more *in loco parentis*—a place that is really responsible for the socialization process of the young and for the transmission of middle class morality.

New Models It is probably time that the public faced up to what it has been asking of the schools. Perhaps the school of tomorrow should model itself upon the Israeli kibbutz, assuming the basic affective educative function of the family, when that does not exist, and assisting parents in a modern version of the extended family of simple times and cultures. The school might also serve as the coordinator and integrator of a variety of educational agencies outside the school like fine arts centers, or laboratory-work centers sponsored and manned by industry and the professions, or recreational centers and camps, or multi-media centers where the "knowledge machine" would be available.

This version of the school of 1985 has elements in common with that of

McLuhan and Leonard, with that of two young Harvard professors Fred Newmann and Donald Oliver,⁷ and with that of Peter Peterson, President of Bell and Howell Company.⁸ There are many others. The point is not how many versions but how radical. For radical the future schools will need to be if they are to absorb rather than be absorbed by the computer.

Any of these projections are light years ahead of present day conventional wisdom about the education process, whether that wisdom is housed within the educational establishment or within the public-political domain. The projections, furthermore, are based not only upon the electronic revolution, but also upon some educated guesses about the effects of such phenomena as the "pill," megalopolis, and growing leisure time upon institutions like the family, the church, and the government. All these subjects are emotional dynamite. The public would prefer not to examine them too closely. Yet, they are all part of the whole, as is an embryonic new morality which is now only a small cloud on the horizon. The task ahead will be far more simple. We will do well to keep in mind Toynbee's comment that:

... every historical-culture pattern is an organic whole in which all the parts are interdependent, so that if any part is prised out of its setting, both the isolated part and the mutilated whole behave differently from their behavior when the pattern is intact.⁹

Policy-Making and Planning The electronic revolution is hard on us. If its social accomplishment is to move without major disasters, particularly in the moral and political realms, policy planning of the first order of magnitude is required. The impact of the knowledge machine may well be greater than that of the atomic bomb upon warfare. Task-forces of the best minds in the country should open continuing debates upon the issues involved. Long range studies must be mounted to conceptualize and document the problems and issues. The five new research centers just announced by the United States Office of Education are a step in the right direction.¹⁰ Let us hope they will consider at length the privacy and the control issues—in my mind the most serious of the moral and political questions raised by computer technology. They should also consider the changing role of the school in the total educative process.

7 Fred Newmann and Donald Oliver, "Education and Community," *Harvard Educational Review*, Volume 37, Number 1, 1967.

8 Peter G. Peterson, "The Class of 1984 ... Where Is It Going?" Keynote Address National Conference of State Legislators, December 4, 1966.

9 Arnold Toynbee, *The World and the West*. London: Oxford University Press, 1963.

10 *Education USA: Washington Monitor*, June 19, 1967.

These tasks will require Renaissance men—mature, humane philosophers of a kind not much in demand earlier this century. These wise men must not permit themselves to be seduced by big money or by the cyberneticians—a self-confident group with a private in-group language. Rather, they need to address themselves to the problem stated in the following paragraph:

In the field of computer design the most severe lack of knowledge is not how to design and build bigger and faster machines, but how to make them function, how to integrate them into the human world, and how to make them do what we want them to do. Norbert Wiener's later writing harped upon the danger we risk by building machines to perform functions that we do not adequately understand. The dangers are real because our ability to design machines is more fully developed than is our ability to understand the purposes to which they might be put; and we could end by putting electronic machines to uses we would not want to put them if we really understood what the uses were.¹¹

Further, these task forces and scholars need to think long and hard about the kinds of people and the kinds of society seen as desired and desirable by the end of the century, and about how computer technology can help and how it can hinder such growth and development. Value questions will be paramount.

These discussions and arguments should not be held within ivied walls. They need wide dissemination and involvement by every imaginable variety of citizen, business, government, and professional groups. The continuing dialogue should become part of the atmosphere, just as is continuing discussion about the control and use of the atomic bomb.

Such thrashing out of direction needs to be based upon scientific and technological literacy on the part of participants—a cross-fertilization of C. P. Snow's two cultures. Such literacy presupposes adult education—for teachers as well as for interested citizens. Indeed, the impact of technology upon society should be a persistent theme which pervades the entire curriculum at all levels from the kindergarten through graduate school. An immediate step in this direction could well be the sponsoring of a well-planned curriculum project of this nature. Then, at the least, we might start to build a reservoir of informed citizenry, who have more than a nodding acquaintance with the space age, and with the astonishing new developments in the biological sciences, as well as with the computer. Designed for both young people and their

11 Robert McClintock, "Machines and Vitalists: Reflections on the Ideology of Cybernetics," *American Scholar*, Spring, 1966, Vol. 35, Number 2, pp. 254-255.

elders, such a curriculum might help to narrow an otherwise ever widening generation gap.

Curriculum Development Consideration of the need for building substantive curriculum on the effect of technology on society initiates the whole subject of future curricular imperatives. They are multiple. Let us start from the premise that tomorrow's educated citizen will need more liberal education in the Greek sense of the word liberal than ever before. The reasons are obvious. In the first place, the Greek citizen's education will soon be a possibility for every man. Secondly, every man will have the leisure to cultivate grace and beauty, to contemplate the good life, and to wonder about the unknown. Thirdly, tomorrow's citizen will need more direct sensory contact with reality than ever before to counteract the potent artificial environment created by electronic media systems.

Increasingly important, therefore, are the arts—particularly the performing and the applied arts. Physical education should regain the place it had in the Greek curriculum. Outdoor education, camping, and home arts take on new meaning in this context. (Even today we are recognizing that "roughing it" in natural surroundings is now only possible for the privileged few.) Much of tomorrow's curriculum must take place in studios, in laboratories, on trips. Thus children may cultivate their perceptions and delight in the singular—in the concreteness of everyday contact with the natural world—in the stuff which makes artists out of people.

Similarly, deep and lasting personal contacts must be an integral part of this new educative process. The warmth of individual for individual and the intimacy of a stable caring community must offset the cool objectivity and impersonality of the machine, as well as provide an important motivational base for further learning. As Gerald Johnson puts it:

The knower and the known are not a pair. They are two thirds of a trio. There remains the relation between them, a third factor as important as either of the others.¹²

This relationship must be as much a part of the new curriculum as the direct aesthetic experience itself. Indeed this new curriculum should be concerned equally with process and with product.

This person-to-person contact needs also to be an essential ingredient of the part of curriculum which deals with application and synthesis of knowledge. The community seminar described by Fred Newman and Donald

12 Gerald Johnson, "Some Cold Comfort," *American Scholar*, Spring 1966, Vol. 35, Number 2, p. 194.

Oliver¹³ suggests this kind of affective background for the probing of intellectual issues. But until such natural forums become part of ordinary practice, the task can be done by the schools, providing they can be backed up with curriculum and instructional materials centering around such vital issues as urban slums, the generation gap, and pollution. The new courses on technology and society mentioned earlier could provide some of the substance for these dialogues.

This call for non-computerized sections of an increasingly humane curriculum does not imply lack of attention to the crying need for more curriculum software for computers. What exists now is pathetically thin. I suspect, however that we have put the cart before the horse. Surely, except for experimental purposes, we don't want to develop curriculum simply because it lends itself to computer programing. Good curriculum comes first. Then the job is to see what subject matter and approaches can be best handled by the computer. For example, as stated earlier, logical sequences of symbolic learning seem particularly well suited to computer programing. So also are all kinds of informational retrieval systems in all subjects from science to histories of art and music. Games and simulation schemes also seem easily adapted for computer use. But in all curriculum building, the first question to ask is why? Unimportant or mediocre ends will produce unimportant and mediocre means whether the teacher is alive or is a mechanical monster.

To summarize, policy makers need to provide for the full-range of a rich and varied curriculum for all sorts and conditions of learners, modes of learning, and subject matters. Whether or not it is to be computerized is a second order of priority. Let us, of course, continue to experiment with computer programs which treat the logical, the symbolic, and the empirical. But let us remember that the better these programs deal adequately with the funded knowledge of mankind, the more important will be the "soft-soft" sides of the present day curriculum, i.e., philosophy, the humanities, and the arts, both fine and practical.

Studying Institutional Change Dreaming about

the educational process of tomorrow and developing new curriculum tailored to the future can be empty exercises if these ideas and materials are not accepted and used. And to date, the schools have been the despair of innovators. During the last decade a brave new world in the schools was to have been ushered in by the Curriculum Reform Movement, with the advent of new organizational patterns like team teaching and nongraded schools, and with the development and promotion of new instructional media like television, language laboratories, and programed materials, including computers. Yet despite the

13 Fred Newmann and Donald Oliver, *op. cit.*

amount of publicity given to these innovations and to the examples of a few schools and school districts given national visibility, not much basic change has occurred in the rank and file of classrooms in the nation. Very little has happened of an organic nature or of the proportions required by projections for 1985.

Given this background of experience, what strategies are in order? Is it hopeless to attempt to move the Leviathan that is the public school? Or should the government continue the strategy it has employed within the last few years, namely, to by-pass the educational establishment?

Probably both strategies will be needed for some time to come, particularly if the policy makers feel any responsibility toward the current generation of students and teachers now in the schools. In this connection we note that the great mass of public school teachers and administrators and the faculties of teacher-training institutions have not been involved in the excitement of the sixties. Nor will they be in the seventies and eighties if the problems of massive change of a conservative social institution are not faced head on. Attempts to get at this problem have been flying blind much of the time. This blind spot has several causes. One has to do with the lack of real school knowledge and experience on the part of the innovators of the last decade. Another relates to the lack of articulate non-defensive leadership within the schools. A third suggests that the major energies of the Great Society leaders have been more directed toward social problems than toward educational ones. But, for whatever reasons, the fact remains that the task is huge, that a bits-and-pieces approach has been singularly unproductive, and that the full complexities of institutional change have been to date ignored.

At the same time, there *are* some attacks which hold promise, even though far from fool-proof. One of these relates to applications of systems analysis to the complex problems faced by school systems. Such applications will require conceptualization of the relationships of administrative and managerial decision-making with models of rational planning for curriculum and instruction. Field testing of such models and conceptual schemes is essential to their development and use, and there is a body of theory and experience upon which to build. Furthermore, school systems, whatever their fate, could profit from the self study and long-range planning required by full scale adaptation of systems analysis to their problems. Computers, incidentally, could greatly enhance the proper study of a school system either by itself or by outsiders.

Systems Approaches Similarly, a systems approach to the computer as one of many instructional tools is badly needed. Such studies would place the computer in a multimedia context and would

examine what learning modes, media, and material seem to work best with what curriculum and with what learners. We suspect, for instance, that there are many less sophisticated devices for enhancing learning (such as the book) which will continue on occasion to be an effective means to an educational end. Systems approach studies could give perspective to the potential of the computer as an instructional aid, refine its contributions, and speed its acceptance by the profession and by the public.

Another complex which requires long-range study is the whole teacher-education-leadership-training continuum. This is an arena which must be entered if change in the school system is a desired aim. Again there is need for conceptualization of the problem and for a systems approach to its administration and management. This approach hopefully would be intimately related both to the multimedia materials approach and to the curriculum and institutional schemes discussed earlier. Only as all the dimensions of the problems are defined can the issue be attacked in any rational fashion. Only against such a background can predictions about changes in the role of the teacher make much sense. Thus action research into such issues as the effects of computer-assisted instruction upon teacher percepts of their roles or as the impact of various staffing and organizational patterns somehow must tie into a larger whole. Only under such conditions can we take into account Toynbee's observation that the "isolated part and the mutilated whole behave differently" when they are removed from their natural setting.

Other obvious large long-range studies relate to the school and community structure, to the political decision-making process outside the school system, to the whole psychology of learning and child-rearing, as well as to the future functions of the family. These studies are undoubtedly under way now in several universities. They need continued governmental or foundation support. Equally important, however, is the building of a cadre of educational engineers or change agents who can translate the results of such studies into ongoing operational school programs.

Circumventing Establishments

In addition to all these studies of change within the school system, strategies which circumvent the school establishment need to be explored and their consequences studied. There seems little doubt that some products of this strategy, for example, the Head Start program, promise to have remarkable impacts and staying powers. There is much to be said for the generation of ideas and practice *outside* the body politic and for the creation of new institutions or agencies designed to assume functions traditionally belonging to the older institutions. These strategies, however, are only successful part of the time. The federal

government, we know, has buried countless numbers of task force reports and has often built new agencies on new agencies in the vain hope of breathing life into important governmental functions. Despite this history, it would be interesting to follow experiments with the studio-workshop-laboratory idea outside of the school, or with local adaptations of the kibbutz, or with computer or multimedia learning centers, community based and separated from the school. And surely business enterprises should be encouraged to be partners in the process, providing authorities recognize that they are not infallible either, despite their sophisticated talk and smooth exterior charisma.

Of note is the fact that I have omitted any references to research and development in computer hardware. This omission is on purpose. I have confidence that the hardware will continue to be developed and be adapted to instructional uses without outside assistance. Rather, my plea is for software, software, and more software. Perhaps this is an incorrect use of this term, but my definition relates to the *messages* the computers will carry, such as sequential skill development in mathematics or retrieval systems for topics in the social sciences. My definition of software also includes the promotion of programs, like the development of small, family-like, outdoor camps, designed to offset the environment created by the computer and to balance the "new" curriculum. In addition, my "soft-ware" encompasses public examination of the emerging new roles for schools in our society, and searching appraisals of the political and moral issues relating to control of the knowledge machine.

Conclusion All the studies and researches and programs related to the school and the computer are important. Were I a maker of policy, however, I would give first priority to the establishment and maintenance of dialogues about education in every forum and market place in the land. The major topics would be:

1. What should be the role of the school in tomorrow's society?
2. What authorities are to have the responsibility for control and regulation of education, in or out of school?
3. Who will control the knowledge machine?

Again, were I a policy maker, I would approach the task with fear and trembling. Tampering with the functions of a major social institution is a risky business. Yet the electronic revolution leaves us very little choice. Either we consciously take on the job or the knowledge machine will do it for us.

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Education As Technology: Implications From The History Of An Idea

Joseph Kirschner
University of Alabama

The conception of institutionalized education as the deliberate acculturation of the young raises certain questions. Ought the educational system to be concerned solely with cultural transmission, or should it include an innovative dimension? What is the basis of choice? Even if these questions are adequately treated, there remains the problem of how to go about teaching a given subject. A concern with the "how" of teaching involves a consideration of the psychological impact of teaching techniques upon students as well as the efficiency in imparting concepts to learners in a manner that enriches them and opens them up to fresh, more inclusive experiences.

The focus of this essay will be upon the consequences of choosing and acting on particular teaching techniques, or on the technological dimension of education. One cannot, of course, talk about technique without dealing with the interaction of means and goals, techniques and valued ends. Nor can one speak of technique in a manner relevant to the teaching-learning situation without talking about the confrontation of teacher and student as they work towards particular ends.

The technological dimension must first be distinguished from the scientific and artistic dimensions of education. As a teaching-learning process, education initially involves the creation and/or selection of principles and objectives; a rationale for choosing one purpose or goal over another; a plan of attack (a lesson plan); and actual encounters between teacher and student. Before a teacher spells out what he plans to do in the classroom, he ought to spend time thinking about what he is teaching, to whom, and why. This kind of thinking ought to bring to the fore some guiding principles concerning the logic of the subject matter and the psychology of the potential learners. These organizing principles are involved in what I have called the scientific dimension of education and are to be distinguished from principles of methodology, which I am calling technology.

Planning and Artistry Both scientific and technological aspects are necessary if education is to be an intelligent process. But necessity does not here imply sufficiency. The teacher must do his scientific

Professor Kirschner teaches history and philosophy of education and is here concerned with the traditional neglect of the "should" by technologists of education. Recognizing the importance of planning and rationality, he asks for renewed interest in "the humane use of intelligence in the affairs of men."

and technological thinking before he enters the classroom and confronts the student. The confrontation involves a host of outcomes which can never be predicted in advance, unless we were to find it possible to delimit exhaustively dimensions of human personality and human interaction. To attempt to get across a particular subject matter to a particular set of students requires a sensitivity to other people on the part of the teacher. The give and take of human encounter, the empathy of one person for another may be called the artistic dimension of education. This is the level at which attitudes towards a given subject matter as well as towards other human beings are developed. This is the level at which children all too often learn to be apathetic if not downright hostile to the subject. This is the domain of action out of which follow consequences for good and ill in human affairs.

If the artistic realm is where potentiality is translated into actuality, then it behooves the educator to plan his work intelligently enough to render the artistic dimension effective. This takes us back to the planning for teaching a particular lesson and should suggest that the insecure, emotionally unhealthy teacher will not be an effective teacher except where his neuroses complement those of his students.

Granting good mental health on the part of the teacher, the teaching problem must be directed to the planning stage so that the artistic stage can be intelligently directed. The artistic realm becomes irrational without planning; but planning that does not include awareness of the artistic dimension is doomed to irrelevance and ineffectiveness. Planning, or the technological side of education, is a crucial link between theory and practice.

Herbartian Precedents The technological aspect of education has been a dominant concern of American schoolmen for almost three quarters of a century. Let us recall for a moment the Herbartian method of teaching that was so much in vogue about the turn of the century. It was based on a psychology that "led to the idea of a curriculum that was nothing more than a succession of presentations wherein the child constantly passed from familiar to unfamiliar but closely associated subject matter."¹ The idea basically was that a child learns new subject matters by relating these to concepts already formed in his mind. This doctrine of teaching and learning was reduced by the late nineteenth century to the famous "five steps."

In any given subject area, the technique based on this doctrine involved starting the lesson with concepts already clearly held by the students or with direct sense observations. Then the new concept to be taught was presented to

¹ John S. Brubacher, *A History of the Problems of Education*. New York: McGraw-Hill and Co., 1947.

the students and comparisons drawn between it and the concepts already in mind. At this point generalizations could be drawn and tested by being applied in various new contexts.

Note that here is a rather precise technique for teaching any subject to anybody in a form that is presumed to be intellectually honest. (The paraphrase of Jerome Bruner's well-known dictum is chosen deliberately here to suggest one dimension of the continuity in American educational history of viewing education as technology.) This method, if properly used, would involve stimulating the student's interest to make him want to effect some of the connections himself. As a matter of fact, manifestations of interest on the part of the learner were taken to be a sign that connections, or apperceptions, are occurring. The method helped give depth and thrust to a sensitive teacher's teaching. In less sensitive hands it became more mechanical. Yet it at least made teaching more systematic and rational.

To use this method adequately requires that each step be viewed as something more than mere technique. Adequate preparation ought to involve knowing your students as people and being sensitive to their interests and aversions. The same might be said at each step where the teacher sets out to translate plans into actions. Forget the artistic side of teaching and the method becomes mechanistic, a mechanical plugging in of techniques into a particular situation without being sensitive to subtle nuances that spell the difference between mediocre and effective teaching.

Activity Analysis Another method of instruction that became increasingly popular during the second and third decades of this century involved the technique known as activity analysis. To use this method, a teacher had to assume that the activities which were to be the concern of school children were the very ones considered important in adult society. The selection of activities important enough to be taught was made on the basis of suggestions from the well-informed in the various fields of human endeavor. If, for instance, one were preparing a curriculum for prospective printers, one would first observe what printers actually did in their occupation, and one would ask them what they considered important for a printer to learn. If one were concerned with a liberal arts kind of curriculum for college women, one would study the everyday lives of women college graduates.

Whatever the source of information, the next step involved classifying the activities selected in terms of the various disciplines. What activities involved historical understandings? Which drew on the various sciences, arts, and so forth? Subsequently, after ranking the derived subjects in terms of importance, the activities could be analyzed, or broken down, into a series of steps, the size

of which depended on the maturity of the learner. Thus the learner set out to conquer his environment by a series of small steps, ideally small enough to permit the learner to teach himself.²

This method was designed to insure that the subject matters taught would be relevant to the student and the life he was to lead. It was hoped, as the technique of activity analysis improved, that education would soon reach a state where all one had to do was construct a curriculum which would teach itself. The student would make all the connections necessary for acquiring a more meaningful and useful behavioral repertoire. This, of course, was a forerunner of the programmed instruction that would concern so many American educators from about the mid-1950's on.

It is worth noting, in fact, that when most people think of educational technology they tend to think in terms of the "hardware" currently on the market, such as teaching machines, talking typewriters, and the like. I am suggesting that the fruits of technology applied to education is part of a larger concern with developing and presenting curricula—viewing education as technology.

Notice that the idea of activity analysis, or even the recent idea of programmed instruction, involves careful thought on the part of educators concerning what they are trying to do in the classroom. This idea incorporates a constant challenge to the routine reliance on tradition. So far so good.

The Absence of Art The limitation in using activity analysis grows out of the tendency to become so involved in the curriculum that the student as a human being is forgotten except as a manifestation of behavioral patterns revealed to the teacher rather than a particular personality in a particular context. To the extent we overlook the individual as a person we overlook the moral component of education, the artistic side concerned with the effects of teacher-activities on the student and the desirability of producing such effects. This concern finally reduces itself to whether we shall view people as ends or as means? To treat them as ends is to treat them with respect. To show respect involves the sympathy and understanding which only appear when people really relate to each other. For an educator to avoid this concern is to render his teaching a form of programming, as if he were a computer. Once again we see the ever present danger of a particular technique becoming mechanical and breeding insensitivity to the student who, after all, is the main reason for the enterprise. Even if one chooses to view education as simply cultural transmission, what is defined as culture

2 W. W. Charters, *Curriculum Construction*. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1929.

is quite irrelevant apart from its realization in and contribution to the lives of human beings.

In 1950, Ralph W. Tyler prepared a syllabus for a University of Chicago course in "Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction." The purpose was to "help the student of education to understand more fully the kinds of problems involved in developing a curriculum and plan of instruction and to acquire some techniques by which these basic problems may be attacked."³ His rationale for developing any curriculum and plan of instruction turned on four questions:

1. What educational purposes should the school seek to attain?
2. What educational experiences can be provided that are likely to attain these purposes?
3. How can these educational experiences be effectively organized?
4. How can we determine whether these purposes are being attained?

While question three is the more obviously technological one, the others are also concerned with techniques of choosing what it is that is to be taught and how it is to be taught. Tyler's concern was with providing a more adequate basis for selecting objectives and for converting these objectives into behavioral terms so they could be taught to the student in such a way that the outcomes, or effectiveness of teaching, could be determined. One finds these objectives by considering student needs and interests, societal needs, and the concerns of subject matter specialists. Philosophy and psychology are used as screens to clarify the list of objectives and put them in a form appropriate for the learners involved. One winds up with a list of precisely stated objectives accompanied by appropriate activities for their realization.

Once again, there is little question that the educator who uses this rationale is forced to think systematically and carefully about what he is trying to do in the classroom as well as consider if he is realizing what he had hoped for in his teaching. Obviously, education thus viewed is a positive, directing, acculturating process. And education, by definition, must be at least this, though I again add not only this.

That Tyler is aware that learning is more than a mechanical acquisition of new behavioral patterns is evident when he says "the teacher must always be on the lookout for undesirable outcomes that may develop from a learning experience planned for some other purpose." Granting, then, that education is concerned with the deliberate change in behavior in harmony with the needs of the individual as well as society, its value finally resides in what it does for

³ Ralph W. Tyler, *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction: Syllabus for Education 360*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950.

the individual to make him a better, more humane individual. What one ought to keep asking himself as a teacher is whether or not the particular activity he has the children engaging in serves to further inner harmony in the child and sensitiveness to other people, as well as a deeper appreciation of the subject matter being taught.

Towards Meaning and Worth Let me suggest that it is not only the child's immediate desires or the experiences valued by adults that make life worthwhile. It is rather, as Dewey pointed out some thirty years ago and as Montaigne pointed out nearly 400 years ago, the interaction of the two which enables the individual to live a richer, fuller life. Education as technology is an indispensable part of the educational process. Yet a concern for technology all too easily results in forgetting the human dimension. It then becomes rigid, absolutistic, and increasingly irrelevant if not downright detrimental to human affairs.

What makes me uneasy about the various new curricula today is that we seem to be more concerned with effective transmission of concepts than with considering why the child at, say age three, *should* learn how to write, except as we say something about the inevitably increasing complexity of life and our need to cope with it by acquiring more powerful intellectual tools. Yes, we do need to be able to handle more powerful and productive concepts in today's world. But we must also try to regain a sensitivity to other people that we seem to be fast losing.

Somehow we must learn to regain our sense of outrage at man's inhumanity to man, whether in the treatment of the poor, whites as well as Negroes, or in what happens in Vietnam. In spite of, or perhaps because of, increasing violence we seem to prefer to insulate ourselves. Let me suggest that insulation involves cultivating insensitivity. And I, for one, hope we do not encourage this quite understandable though self-perpetuating defense mechanism in the schools. Let us renew our dedication to the humane use of intelligence in the affairs of men. Education as technology without education as art is education for insensitivity.

4 H. I. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*. New York: Mentor Books, 1956.

Professional Education or Apprenticeship?

David Shawver

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Currently, teacher education is undergoing widespread scrutiny from both within and from without the professional fraternity. Probing criticism of public elementary and secondary education of a few years ago is being logically followed by questions concerning how we educate teachers.

Professional associations, state boards of education, and (most notably), teacher educators themselves are suggesting possible changes in our traditional patterns of educating teachers. Two recent trends will be the focus of this appraisal. One is the concept of greatly enlarging the initial supervised experiences of students in teaching before giving them a standard (or permanent) teaching certificate. This is taking the form of some type of internship for beginning teachers before they are accorded full-fledged professional status. A second emphasis is that of providing activities at the college level that concentrate to a greater extent than formerly upon the student acquiring competency in specific classroom skills. Micro-teaching (either with or without the use of video-taping) is an example of this trend. The goal of both of these new trends is to improve the practical skills of the teacher before giving him a free rein in the classroom.

What are the theoretical advantages of these two procedures in teacher education? What are some possible limitations? First, a statement from TEPS (National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards) on internship:

An internship, jointly planned and supervised by the school and colleges, should follow the regular five-year pre-service program of teacher education which includes student teaching.¹

The reasons for recommending an internship are rooted in our customary supervisory practices of, or rather our *lack* of supervision of new teachers. The new teacher's induction into teaching has too often been a period of "trial

Professor Shawver, concerned about ways of inducting new teachers into their profession, presents an argument for the concept of internship. It is not enough to provide practical experience, he says; there is insufficient critical analysis of student teacher behavior in the classroom. What is needed is a combination of theoretical education with functional internship programs in schools committed to providing educative supervision.

1 TEPS, *A Position Paper*, 1963, pg. 14.

by fire" or, if you prefer, a "sink or swim" proposition. Once the individual had his initial teaching certificate, he was supposed to function in very nearly the same capacity in the school as the veteran teacher. In fact, many times the new teacher was asked to do even more than the experienced teacher since the older teachers had "seniority" when the choice and not-so-choice jobs were handed out by the administration.

Faced with the extremely complex job that teaching is, and given little supervisory help or in-service training, it was little wonder that many neophyte teachers floundered. Some left teaching entirely, while others retreated into a careful, uncreative routine and concentrated mainly on avoiding criticism from administrative personnel.

The Values of Internship It became obvious that if teachers were to grow, they needed time and help to develop their skills and knowledge on the job. They could not be expected to be full-fledged teachers the moment they left the undergraduate campus. They needed gradual induction into the profession and a lightened load to give them time to study and prepare. They needed supervisory personnel who could help them plan and evaluate their teaching.

The internship concept made excellent sense. No theoretical study of teaching can substitute for actual teaching experience. Most new teachers have had student teaching, but most teacher educators feel that the student teaching experience is neither sufficiently long nor sufficiently "real."

In addition to a growing interest in internship, there is an increased emphasis on teaching specific behaviors to fit specific teaching activities. Here again, there is a shift from reliance upon the student's general theoretical understanding to an insistence that the student learn in considerable detail specific skills of instruction. A frequent criticism of programs of teacher education has been aimed at the "general" approach. Instead of a student learning a specific teaching performance, the criticism goes, education courses often are broad generalized studies of educational concepts that really don't "show us what to do." What they need, complain many teachers, is more "practical" or "how-to-do-it" kinds of activities. A growing number of teacher educators agree with this criticism. To overcome such weaknesses in teacher education, they wish to analyze teaching, decide just what its component parts are, and then make an effort to give college students experience in practicing these specific parts of the teaching act.

Supervision and Analysis Educators continually stress the need, however, for more direct teaching experiences which are

carefully supervised and analyzed. It is in the areas of supervision and analysis that teacher education has often stumbled before. To provide increasing practical experience for the prospective teacher is one thing—to provide this in a way in which it will be most functional in the teacher education program demands an added dimension. One of the difficulties with the direct experience of teaching which we now offer via student teaching is that there is not enough skilled and critical analysis of the student teacher's behavior in the setting. In regard to this, Moore states, "My assessment of the situation, . . . is that most institutions still have apprenticeship arrangements, not student teaching."²

This is a key thought: our current emphasis on enlarging the laboratory experiences of teachers will only be fruitful if we are just as concerned with the analysis of the experiences as we are in providing the experiences. We must help the new teacher to be able to generalize from his experiences and become a "theoretician" even as we provide him with practice on skills. "Practice makes perfect" has never been a sound admonition. Practice can be miseducative for the teacher if it does not allow for time and help in seeing a specific practical skill in relation to the total problem of educating the child. We must never fall into the trap of even hinting, by the way we develop our teacher education programs, that the primary way to become a good teacher is to observe a good teacher and copy him.

John Dewey clearly saw the danger of providing apprenticeship training for teachers rather than professional education. A review of his thinking on the subject should be a must for anyone who is considering making teacher education more "practical" by liberal infusions of more first-hand experience. After a soundly reasoned argument, Dewey comes to the conclusion that: "... practical work should be pursued primarily with reference to its reaction upon the professional pupil in making him a thoughtful and alert student of education, rather than to help him get immediate proficiency."³ The closing sentence of his article reads: "The thing needful is improvement of education, not simply by turning out teachers who can do better the things that are now necessary to do, but rather by changing the conception of what constitutes education."⁴

2 Hollis A. Moore, Jr., "Keynote Address, *Remaking the World of the Career Teacher*," National Commission on Teacher Education & Professional Standard, NEA, Washington, D.C., 1966, pg. 27.

3 John Dewey, "The Relation of Theory to Practice in the Education of Teachers," *Third Yearbook, Part I*, National Society for the Scientific Study of Education. Bloomington, Illinois: Public School Publishing Co., 1904, pp. 9-30.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 30.

Overemphasis on Techniques Burton makes pertinent comments in relation to over-emphasizing specific techniques:

The effort to prepare teachers by giving them mastery of devices, "how to's," or techniques is futile; it is detrimental to both teacher and teaching. The operator of devices usually can *manage* a classroom rather well but, paradoxically, in many cases does not stimulate learning. A teacher fundamentally ignorant of moral values, who has never developed any values or appreciations of his own, cannot stimulate the growth of character no matter what devices he has been given. To give devices for the development of "citizenship" to a teacher ignorant of the structure and process of democratic society is absurd. Devices will not improve the questioning technique of a teacher ignorant of the aim of education and of the process of learning.⁵

The immediate reaction of some educators to admonitions to avoid apprenticeship and "how-to-do-it" programs is likely to be a strong denial that their ideas on internships, micro-teaching, simulated teaching, etc., actually lead in this direction. Much to the contrary, is likely to be their reaction; such procedures emphasize intellectual criticism rather than blind acceptance of behavioral patterns.

While this is no doubt true, the university or college and public school settings in which teacher education programs exist may tend to militate against the fulfillment of the promises of the new emphasis on direct experience for the student. To understand why this is true, we need to bring our discussion to the level of the daily struggles of an education department. Working within a prescribed number of quarter or semester hours allotted to professional education in the total college program of the student, time priorities become very real and pressing problems. How much time is our prospective teacher to spend in simulated teaching activities? How many credit hours is he to receive for such activities? How will college credit be allowed for internships? Obviously, if any type of laboratory experience is to be greatly increased, something else in the student's college program is going to be eliminated. Choices are inevitable, and the choices made should leave us with a student who is broadly educated in educational philosophy and aims, and with a strong theoretical understanding in psychology, as well as one who has considerable proficiency in specific teaching skills. While it is perfectly possible, in theory, to get this breadth and depth as the student analyzes his direct experiences, and thus develop a totally integrated program with no divisions into various subjects, it

⁵ William H. Burton, *The Guidance of Learning Activities*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1962.

remains to be seen how many colleges are willing to scrap their specialized undergraduate courses in education and substitute direct experience and its analysis.

If an attempt is made to hold on to the specialized courses, while at the same time utilizing more laboratory situations, the time will simply not be available for the type of analysis necessary.

Before the internship part of the new envisioned programs can become really educative, public schools will need to make significant commitments in the area of financing such programs. Helpful supervision of the intern will not come about by public schools throwing open the doors to intership programs *before* they get the personnel, time, and money to do the job adequately. If "half-done," internships will deteriorate into a system whereby sub-professionals do a professional's work at part pay. Such an approach would do much to justify the opinion of a sizable number of people, who are already suspicious of teacher education, that teaching does not really require professionally educated people.

There can be no doubt that a new era in teacher education is here. Let us make sure that the mistakes of the past are not repeated, however, and that our new and prospective teachers have the way opened for them to develop into professional educators (yes, even educational "statesmen") as well as skilled technicians.

Requiem for a Retired Professor

(With acknowledgments and apologies to Robert Louis Stevenson, Ed. Rostand, and the immortal who wrote "Après de ma blonde.")

Pardonnez-moi, je m'en vais mourir;
Ne pleurez pas, il fait bon dormir.
Heureux j'ai vécu, et me voici,
Holà, professeurs emeriti!

Creusez ma tombe près de la mer,
Buvons un vin qui ne coûte pas cher,
Gaîment je meurs, et me voici,
Santé, professeurs emeriti!

Tout s'éteint, car c'est la vie,
Je passe ma plume sans envie.
Elle a fait sa tâche, et me voici,
Prosit, professeurs emeriti!

Il y a, malgré tout, une chose sans tache
Que j'emporte avec moi—c'est mon panache;
Panache luisant, et me voici,
Salut, professeurs emeriti!

C. R. McRae
University of Sidney, Australia

Some Thoughts on Practice Teaching

Eugene Kruszynski
San Francisco State College

Teacher education has been the target of volumes of criticism by academicians, teachers in service, foundation sponsored subject matter specialists, peripatetic experts with and without portfolio, journalists, and the general public, not to mention educationists themselves. Such criticisms have been directed toward every aspect of teacher training, including questions of the necessity for any "professional" training at all, the emphases assigned to liberal arts and professional segments, the number and composition of requirements in areas of specialization, the number and kind of professional requirements, and the temporal priorities within sequences.

There has been, however, little if any criticism leveled at one part of the future teacher's curriculum—practice or student teaching. On the contrary, this course, a virtual standard in all teacher preparation programs, is the beneficiary of near universal acclaim by all, including student teachers themselves. So widespread has been the acclaim that documentation of the many laudatory statements regarding its usefulness, value, and necessity seems unnecessary for the specialized reader; others may examine the literature on the subject. Now this situation, which finds a preponderance of people who concern themselves with the subject in general agreement, has the unfortunate effect of limiting the total amount of critical attention paid to student teaching, and that largely to internal matters of organization, precedence, and procedure. There is concern for the proper length of such experiences, efficient allocation of available time, assignment to major and/or minor areas, placement of curriculum and instruction or methods courses, proper role of student teacher *vis-a-vis* his teacher supervisor, co-curricular duties, and the like. Little direct attention, however, has been given to the student teacher as a thinking, reacting, growing, and changing near-professional person.

He and his feelings are generally taken for granted as his professional development is guided and channeled towards a fairly predictable goal. His entire and all too brief career is described and molded, not unlike the chapters

Professor Kruszynski, of San Francisco State's Department of Secondary Education, here confronts an aspect of the student teaching problem which has seldom been discussed. He is concerned with the unwilling "master teacher," who takes on his assignment out of conformity and fear. His point is that the supervising teacher who feels free and knows he has "rights" is the only one who can be effective with the student teacher assigned to his charge.

in standard student teaching texts; from "orientation" and "observation" to "job application," closely followed by the NEA Code of Ethics. Lip service is paid to the necessity for uniqueness and true professional development, as contrasted to mere carbon-copy apprenticeship performance, although his behavior at the end tends to resemble rather closely that of the long grey line of which he is soon to be a member. Consequently, the "new" teacher we seek to develop to meet the challenges of a cybernated, urbanized world with its accompanying technological and human imperatives seldom emerges as a product of our direct training. I not only maintain the general accuracy of this description, but deplore and challenge the necessity for it. In my opinion, the traditional practice teaching procedures and practices, together with the subjective measures of growth used, mold the novice into patterns of conforming behavior which tend to suppress and gradually extinguish individualism and tendencies toward innovation. In short, the system itself does not encourage nor reward divergent thinking and behavior, and the insecure, harassed, and gradually disillusioned student is soon conditioned and conditions himself to react properly in acceptable modes of action.

The Trauma of Reality The bulk of practice teaching programs are cooperative arrangements between colleges and public schools, with the latter providing the classroom and pupils in which the student teacher practices his theory and art under a supervising (frequently referred to as "critic" or "master") teacher's direction. To this setting, with its established political and social structure, the student brings his knowledge, attitudes, and idealism, fresh from the challenging, inquiring, optimistic atmosphere of the college campus. And it is here that he quickly discovers the rigidities of a reality defined by an educational bureaucracy represented by a supervising teacher. The key to student teaching success is, of course, the master or supervising teacher; and fortunate indeed is the student assigned to one who not only knows how a master teacher behaves but who acts like one. Assuming the general adequacy of most supervising teachers where subject matter is concerned, experience, and teaching technique, I wish to concentrate on two seldom-considered factors: namely, the supervisor's attitude towards his assignment, and its implications for that difficult-to-measure requirement of professional behavior—intestinal fortitude.

The Unwilling Supervisor It is my contention that the supervisor who brings to his task anything less than whole-hearted willingness dooms the arrangement to mediocrity at best, and frustration and cynicism at its worst. That such is all too frequently the case is

largely a consequence of the numbers involved. The typical teacher education institution must inevitably seek the aid of school administrators in the assignment of students to teachers; and, although college supervisors participate in such assignments, the master teacher selected knows where the power lies. School administrators, by reason of the experiences peculiar to their role and function, tend to equate the teacher's verbal acquiescence with genuine interest and positive feeling, and frequently fail to appreciate the significance of the alternatives which are available to him. The teacher, spending his life evaluating the behavior of others, not unnaturally expects his actions to be evaluated as well, and is likely to weigh seriously the possible effect of refusal on his future professional success and career. The facts of professional life suggest that significant numbers of teachers consent to student teacher supervision when their unexpressed desires are to the contrary. Teachers are generally not quite sure just how free they are, and as a result they generally behave as though they are not. This is the heart of the matter. More important than whether or not teachers are indeed free is the unfortunate fact that too many think they are not and behave accordingly.

Our student is thus frequently assigned to an insecure, conforming teacher who either accepts the assignment as part of the "natural order," who sees it as the only choice open to him, or who submits to power while involving the student (perhaps unintentionally) in his resultant conflict. Is it not predictable that the directive influences upon the student will tend to elicit similar responses? If we are to assume that student teachers learn such things as classroom organization, techniques of control, planning, and methodology, and an increased sophistication regarding content presentation and evaluation in their practice, are not these learned under supervision? And is not the supervising teacher in effect teaching himself to the student? It seems inescapable that these relatively objective behaviors will be taught within a context of expectations, attitudes, feelings, and responses peculiar to that teacher, and that these (including, perhaps, the idea that cynicism is normal) will also be learned to some degree.

Learning the Supervising Teacher My point here is not that the student teacher will inherit, adopt, or learn the attitudes and behaviors of such a supervising teacher *in toto*. Rather it is that prolonged exposure to the performances of an insecure, conforming teacher will burden the student with a load of internal conflicts and so affect his interpretations of the role of a teacher as to inhibit intelligent professional development or postpone it indefinitely. (It must be recognized that except for their student teaching experience, most teachers seldom if ever again have

an opportunity to observe another's teaching performance, and certainly not to any significant extent. From then on their notions of how others teach are based on personal statements, hearsay evidence, or fragmentary interludes—all lacking that empirical element which is essential to meaningful comparison and self-evaluation. The most vivid example of teaching performance for most is that observed during practice teaching; even previously-held opinions of earlier instructional practices undergo reinterpretation in this new light.) The crucial effect of the supervisor's attitudes and behaviors is due not to mere knowledge of them by the student, who will resort to considerable second-guessing anyway, but to their evidential and coercive nature in the act of supervision. The requirements and directions given, the plans and procedures approved, the techniques suggested, and the standards recommended all represent choices among alternatives open to the supervisor. In short, his attitudes and beliefs receive expression within the context of the kind of teaching he rejects, permits, prefers, or insists upon in what is ultimately HIS class.

It is precisely his own sense of security that will determine the degree of freedom granted his student, not the rigidity of district, school, and course requirements. Secure teachers, conforming to personally tested notions of good teaching rather than to intramural image protection, generally find or even create their own freedom, and can be expected to favor similar behavior in their student teachers. Neither success nor failure is viewed as a threat. Teachers doubting the existence of this freedom seldom find it. Can they be expected to guide student teachers in the search, exploration, and exercise of what is virtually *terra incognita*? Obviously, much of what any teacher does is necessarily conforming behavior. The significance here is less in the act itself than in the quality of thinking which leads to, supports, and/or justifies the act. The quarrel is not with responsible behaviors which happen to be conforming and which have been validated through critical thinking. It is, however, with the converse: conformity in the many discretionary areas where expediency triumphs over integrity, and rationalization supplants reason. The degree to which a teacher increasingly exhibits the latter behavior marks him as a conforming teacher, one who is in effect practicing role-destruction in the abdication of the responsibility which is his. It seems extremely unlikely that passive acceptance of student teaching supervision would be an isolated conforming act by a teacher who otherwise practices thoughtful, independent behavior. Such a decision, however, would be a rather predictable response by one whose general pattern of behavior would tend to accommodate with relative ease one more "yes" to a growing inventory of unenthusiastic assents.

Dilemma and Paradox The true nature of the dilemma is now apparent, a strange paradox wherein those who *accept* student teaching supervision are automatically less qualified than are those who reject such assignments. From this there seems no escape. Other things being equal, and omitting those who actively *seek* such thank-less tasks, assenters automatically disqualify themselves by that very act, since possession of security and intestinal fortitude would have counseled refusal. The absence of this *sine qua non*—GUTS—the significant differentiating factor which marks the true professional in all fields of endeavor, renders one unfit to initiate teacher recruits competently. A teacher lacking this crucial attribute is psychologically incapable of instructing student teachers in attitudes and behaviors which have been allowed to atrophy in him through disuse or design. Such a supervisor's maximum effort could not exceed the mere description of secure teaching as an abstraction, a quality of which he did not approve and could not represent. To do more would require self-denial and the revelation of a career based upon deliberate approximations or hypocrisy.

Is this pure hyperbole, simple exaggeration of a case wrenched out of proportion for some private purpose? I think not. Its validity is grounded in the fact that teachers are responsible for their total performance, including relations with and responses to their immediate staff superiors. No one of sound mind would maintain that principals and other administrators possess total wisdom insofar as school business is concerned, and yet many teachers (and administrators) evidence such beliefs in their practice. The net result is a kind of dictation by default, a process of reverse or mutual indoctrination, to which any student teacher is a daily witness. School administrators have the right and duty to criticize in their area of responsibility, and the right to expect similar actions from others, especially those whose duties include supervision. Only then can intelligent, healthy, and honest growth take place to the advantage of the educational enterprise. The teacher who wants desperately to ask "why" or to say "no" has the right and the duty to do so; and the onus, incidentally, is on the administrator to encourage such behavior. Anything less is not only less than professional, but ineffective and destructive of morale and the quality of teaching and learning. A teacher must know that he has the real option of saying "no" before his "yes" can mean anything at all; and callousness to this reality will not escape the sensitivities of student teachers under his charge.

Implications for Practice Teaching What then is the implication for practice teaching, the culmination and proving ground of teacher education programs? Simply that the primary criterion to be

used in assessing the qualifications of prospective student teaching supervisors must be an honest, positive, and unequivocal desire to participate. In short, volunteers rather than conscripts are required if quality is the goal. The apparent paucity of volunteers is an indication of negative conditions rather than a measure of their true availability. We have but to enhance the conditions for such work (largely an administrative matter), and might begin with the obvious: money. Heretofore conscripts have been called into this service for the most part; and, although many have labored long and hard, such successes as they have achieved have been in spite of rather than because of the system, and their debilities have been situational rather than personal. In other human activities it is not custom or pure formality that governs the selection of volunteers to achieve objectives under difficult conditions, but rather a concern for positive results and efficiency. Conscripts may seem to get the job done, but only in a general or statistical sense, and at excessive cost. In the teaching of teachers such costs may indeed be viewed as general in nature, but they are also particular and qualitative, since each of those (mis)taught share some portion of the total loss. Few are likely to escape unscathed, and fewer still aware of any handicap. Many factors involved in the pairing of students with their supervisors are not only difficult to measure but impossible to control: this one is not. Every student teacher has the right to an assignment with one who also has rights—and knows it.

A Message on the Media

Power is fickle. We are witnessing one of its slow, historic shifts; yet the grandiose scale of contemporary institutions blinds us to these events, and we advance without foresight. Our imagination balks before the difficulty of conceiving alternatives to the given, so great does it seem. Dazzled by the immediate, we forget to meditate on how the Delphic Oracle was once the most powerful institution in Greece, and we fail to wonder at the way that enthusiasts of an other-worldly, subversive religion slipped between the legions and by the frail power of conversion took command of the Roman Empire. History is a hidden continuity embedded in continuous change; in it, particular patterns of power always prove temporary. The continuity of our history does not stem from the perpetuation of established institutions; it arises instead from the protean recurrence of living intelligence, of reasoned action. Wherever intellect in operation is present, men preserve their past by shaping their future.

Beneath the current competition for command, changes are underway that may transfer the very power to command from the established offices to novel ones. In the recent past power has been possessed by the recognized representatives of significant political and economic interests. Representation has been the fundamental principle of the established system. Whether the system is communist or capital-

ist, totalitarian or democratic, it is a system of representation by which a few can make decisions that the many will have an interest in implementing. Since our forefathers shouted that there would be "no taxation without representation," political progress has been primarily a matter of dispossessed groups winning adequate representation. The form of the representative nation-state has almost reached its optimum development throughout the industrialized world; and hence the quest for representation is beginning to give way to a new demand, a call for participation. Should this demand prove capable of sustained development, it will lead to fundamental changes, not to mere adaptations of an established form.

A shift in political organization from representation to participation would involve the basic transformation of the means by which group decisions are made and support for them is mobilized. Such a shift has been made possible by widespread education and pervasive systems of communication. The state may well be forced to wither. The rationale for a representative government has been that intelligence and information were scarce qualities and that a means of concentrating these was necessary for the sake of the common good. In recent years, however, this rationale has been challenged. A worldwide network of journalists, commentators, writers, artists, and educators has been making

it less and less likely that the functionaries of the state will be significantly more intelligent or better informed than many of its subjects. A sign of the times is the frequency with which prominent personages first learn of important events from the radio, television, and press that are open to all. The suspicion grows that the reason for state secrets in a "free society" is not so much national security as it is professional security for the officials who are hard pressed to preserve their claim to superior wisdom in matters of policy. In short, the ubiquity of intellect dissolves the authority of the state. Hence, other forms of social power are becoming possible.

A perfect polis, men have usually thought, would need no government; it would be a harmonious anarchy, a spontaneous order in which external government and law had been made unnecessary by the internalization of principle: politics should merge with ethics. Whether one interprets one's gospel according to Plato, Augustine, Voltaire, or Marx, one holds that the state should wither away. The sin of our politicians—a sin born of desperation—is their belief that their mastery of statecraft and the uses of force in the service of policy is a sign of their political competence. In truth, their practices signify an incapacity to govern, for governing is the art of making recourse to force, physical or psychic, unnecessary in human affairs. Long ago, Plato somewhat stodgily explained in the *Republic* that the prescriptive regulation of conduct was an undesirable way to rule a community. Legislation was at best a stopgap: "the bent given by education will determine the quality

of later life, by that sort of attraction which like things always have for one another, till they finally mount up to one imposing result, whether for good or ill." Where men were well educated, there would be no need for prescriptive regulation, for such men would "soon find out for themselves what regulations were needed."

Men have recurrently hoped that a politics of principle can make unnecessary a politics of force. To date, men have at best merely approximated this hope, for their education has never been sufficient to make legislation superfluous. Thus, even Plato had to turn from his utopia to the world of flesh and blood, and in the *Laws* he reluctantly proposed multifarious regulations over the conduct of life. But note how even the enthusiastic exponents of the state thought that it was a surrogate for the yet impossible politics of principle. At most, the state was an orthopedic aid that would help men strengthen their minds and learn to live freely in harmony. Thus, Matthew Arnold wrote not about culture *or* anarchy, but about culture *and* anarchy. In the ideal community, men would live together without the crutch of external restraints; but unless men fully realized their cultural capacities, they would be unable to live harmoniously in anarchy. Certainly, as Arnold saw it, nineteenth-century Englishmen were unable to do so, and to bring themselves closer to a level of culture at which they could, they should give allegiance to the state, to the representative structure that symbolized the best self of each citizen. But now for many, the established state no longer symbolizes their best selves.

So be it; there is nothing sacro-

sanct about the state. Developed under particular historical conditions, the state was an effective system for concentrating scarce talent and knowledge and for bringing these to bear on the community's practical concerns. The value of the state to human life was not in its formal structures, but in the fact that for a time it helped intellect operate in human affairs; the state permitted men of reason to act on significant problems of importance to all. If in the future, other systems can perform this function more effectively, so much the better; historic continuity depends not on the structure of the system but on the performance of the function.

In any community and in every community, the problem of judgment is inescapable. If there is a common life, public decisions must somehow be made, for life consists in making decisions about vital problems; and these decisions must be sufficiently wise not to lead the community to destruction. In the last century, the conditions under which community decisions are made have changed profoundly. The combination of widespread education, high literary sophistication, growing leisure, and instantaneous global communications greatly enhances the individual's claim not merely to be represented in community deliberations, but to participate actively. Only time will tell whether this enhanced claim will prove sufficiently strong to prevail against the state and to win the allegiance of men to a new system. But notwithstanding Hegel's hopes, the performance of the state has not been so consistently rational to make us shun putting potential alternatives to the test. This test will be possible only if we do our best to make both the

principle of representation and that of participation function as well as they can; and here we arrive at the message on the media.

In times of disorientation, mistakes are often made by those who try to go beyond outworn assumptions to divine the new dynamics of power. A dangerous mistake of this sort is the myth of hot and cool media, the myth that pits electronic media against those of print. Neither moving images nor static ciphers necessarily conduce to either spontaneous emotion or abstract rationality. Emotion and reason are qualities of human activities, not human artifacts; it is a pathetic fallacy for a rhetorician here to commit the pathetic fallacy. Certain minds, not certain media, are perhaps hot or cool, depending on the thinker's character, mood, and intention. The touchstone for all communication is the problem of judgment, the continuous need of man to choose, consciously or unconsciously, to act this or that way in this or that situation. No matter how much man extends himself through mechanical and electronic artefacts, there is no way to discover the qualities of his prospective actions by studying the characteristics of his artefacts, for the qualities of his actions reside not in the artefacts but in his performance with respect to the situation. The original critic of pop culture, Heraclitus, is as acute today as he was 2500 years ago, for he observed that "of all those whose discourse I have heard, none arrives at the realization that that which is wise is set apart from all things."

Technological determinism in the realm of mind is pernicious, and the particular determinism that suggests that print conduces to an indi-

vidualistic rationalism and that electronics induce a tribal emotionalism is a serious threat to political progress. By so misunderstanding media, one simply serves the old order, the representative state, by giving it a wedge by which it can divide and rule. For too long, men of good will have feared mass communications, seeing in them only powerful agencies for manipulating the thoughts and inclinations of uncritical multitudes. The myth that particular human qualities are the inherent result of the media themselves, not the way in which men choose to use them, encourages some to use the media mindlessly, and it confirms in others their original fear of these media. These reactions will feed one another, and appearance will seem to validate the myth. Hence, such a self-fulfilling prophecy helps to isolate the media from individualistic rationalism; and so isolated, the media may merely be a terrible tool of tyranny. To the degree that the media are used mindlessly, they will simply help perpetuate the state. But the media need not and should not be used in isolation from intellect.

Participatory politics cannot escape the imperative of intelligence;

unless a participatory system proves in practice to be wiser than the representative, the state will not wither. The electronic media are an integral feature of the conditions that may make a new form of human organization possible. But in historic matters, conditions are merely the material cause of events; the efficient, formal, and final causes depend on how men act on the conditions. Despite claims to the contrary, the myth of the media is a reactionary bulwark of the status quo, for it discourages men from seeking to act on the media so as to serve intellect. If mass communications can manipulate the mindless, they can equally stimulate critical awareness. Those truly seeking an alternative to the power state should resist every effort to pit print against the picture; both forms should be brought into an ever more varied effort to provoke men, all men, to sharpen their intelligence, discipline their faculties, and furnish their minds. We have at our command great new tools of communication; and when we learn to use these intelligently, we can perhaps realize man's recurrent dream of culture *and* anarchy.

ROBERT OLIVER

"Dr. Kerlinger's Remedy"

To the Editor:

The advent of the computer, analysis of variance, and federal funds for research have created a new optimism among the educational scientists, an optimism reminiscent of the dawn of scientific studies in education. The successors of Thorndike and Judd and Freeman call themselves "behavioral scientists" (a rather strange designation upon reflection but no more strange than "natural scientist"). Among them is Professor Kerlinger, the author of "The Doctoral Training of Research Specialists" (*The Record*, Vol. 69, No. 5, pp. 477-483). The recommendations he makes for reform in the graduate study of education are not unfamiliar; seldom, however, have they been less well stated. Therefore, the unclarity of his argument, as well as his dogma and his practical recommendations, invites criticism.

One assumption, stated forthrightly as a personal opinion, is that scientific research in education is more important than non-scientific research. Professor Kerlinger says:

I am ruling out non-scientific inquiry, like philosophical inquiry, historical research, and what can be called clerical or bookkeeping activity, not because they are not important but because they do not seem as important to me as scientific educational inquiry.

No one can question this; only Professor Kerlinger can say what he prefers. But we may discuss his preference.

A great deal remains to be said (perhaps not as much as has already been said) about the relative importance of science and non-science in the study of the social sciences. I shall discuss only two aspects of this problem here: (1) Can the distinction between science and non-science be maintained? and (2) Are not the social sciences, including education, as successful as the natural sciences in prediction and control?

There are at least three notions of what science is. The naive empiricists—Skinner, for example—are content with the manipulation of behavior, data, or any observable facts. The operationalists, like Bridgman, conceive of science as an account of operations and their results. And there are the theoretical scientists who think of science as a logical system of concepts and experimentation. There are indications that some high level sciences, theoretical physics, for example, are becoming non-sciences. There is certainly some question about whether there is a unique scientific method of inquiry. There is a real question about how scientific discoveries have been made—see Arthur Koestler's *The Sleep-Walkers*. And there is the perennial question about the appropriateness of the traditional scientific method for a field of study that is highly normative.

Also, we may ask what are the non-sciences? Mathematics and statistics are certainly not sciences. Are they to be classified with history, philosophy, and bookkeeping? The simple dichotomy between science and non-science apparently reflects

the dogmatic judgment that science is better than non-science. This kind of preferential dualism has long been a convenient intellectual arrangement of reality among dogmatists.

A more controversial comment, but one that will bear some reflection, is that our discontent with progress in the study of human behavior is due, not to the usual allegation that we have not acquired the ability to predict and to control that the natural scientists have, but to the fact that prediction and control do not mean the same thing to the behavioral scientist as they do to the natural scientist. We can certainly do as much with people as we can with nature, and perhaps, more. Through propaganda and censorship we can control public opinion; by eliminating the slow learners we can raise the level of the statistical average reading students in the public schools; and by the very predicting via the polls who will be elected President of the United States we can increase the probability of his election. However, we derive little satisfaction from this scientific ability. If we want each person to be a free individual and if we value unique personalities, scientific prediction and control in human behavior will have only limited value. It is possible, therefore, to agree with Michael Scriven's statement: "The social sciences are chiefly responsible for the most significant advance in scientific method since the origin of modern physics"¹ and still

find that they are of much less value to us in education than the physical sciences have been to the engineer.

The second general criticism of Professor Kerlinger's recommendations is much more personal. It should, perhaps, be couched in tactful terms lest honesty appear to be the obverse side of the coin of malevolence; but, however, the Marquis of Queensberry would phrase the criticism, it would simply mean that some of the statements in Professor Kerlinger's article are unclear and contradictory; for example:

Educational research is social scientific research applied to educational problems. Strictly speaking, there is very little research of real significance that is in and of itself educational research. In other words, there is no such thing, uniquely, as educational research.

If there is no such thing, uniquely, as educational research, then we can assume that neither the methodology nor the substantive problems in educational research are sufficiently unique to distinguish it from other kinds of social science research. An observation may be made at this point that in the natural sciences, despite the assumptions about a common scientific method and the interdisciplinary approach, there are still discrete, if not unique, fields of research. Paradoxically, biological research has become more distinct with the introduction of biochemistry and biophysics.

Other questions obtrude themselves about the statement that educational research is general social science research, presumably in both method and content. For example, can we expect psychology and sociology

¹ Michael Scriven, "The Contribution of the Philosophy of the Social Sciences to Educational Development," in *Philosophy and Educational Development*, George Barnet, Ed. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1966.

to provide us with the best possible concepts and methods for a science of pedagogy? But, we are diverted from continuing this line of questioning by some of Professor Kerlinger's other remarks. He goes on to say:

I do not believe too much in research specialization separate from substantive theory, content, and training....

There is probably no such thing as educational theory. All one can infer from these statements is that their author believes the substantive theory of education is general behavioral or social science theory, and that researchers in education need not, nay, cannot, get any training in educational theory. But again he goes on to say:

Above all (referring only to "educational subjects"), the researcher needs philosophy of education, the philosophy of scientific inquiry, and some general knowledge of educational administration.

and

I am convinced that concentration on the training of educational specialists without concomitant concentration upon the educational milieu in which the training takes place will not be successful.

The unclarity in this series of statements seems to arise from the fact that the author does not distinguish with any degree of precision among the roles of methodology, theory, concepts, and substantive data in research disciplines. If none of these is unique in educational research, or if those that are unique are not relevant to the nature of the discipline,

then we are compelled to assume that training in social science research is sufficient, and we do not need uniquely educational subject matter of any kind—not even "educational philosophy," "substantive theory," "content," or the "educational milieu" mentioned as necessary. On the other hand, if the study of education involves some unique concepts, curriculum and teaching, for example, and if unique concepts are an integral part of scientific theory, as many scientists would maintain, then we are forced to consider that educational research depends more or less upon a unique science of education.

Finally, Professor Kerlinger's enthusiastic approval of the policy of requiring graduate students to work on their professor's research problems also raises a number of questions. Many graduate students like this arrangement, in fact find it comfortable and reassuring. The question that the author will understand is: how do these students achieve, *ceteris paribus*, with other students who want to, or are encouraged to, come up with their own problems. Sometimes graduate students make outstanding contributions later in life by trying to prove that their professors were wrong; Frederick Jackson Turner, for example. Is this what Professor Kerlinger has in mind? Or does he foresee successions of disciples standing in apostolic ranks from Thorndike and Skinner and others who had some special access to truth? If so, he may want to ask, "What is the evidence on the effect of discipleship on students and professors?"

JOHN WALTON
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Titles in Education from Macmillan

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The Blue Balloon—or Seeing by Logic

Naomi Woronov

Manhattan Community College, City University of New York

If you ask the experts how people as blind as James Joyce or James Thurber managed to get through school, they'll tell you it was by a process of "cognitive interpretation and subsequent conceptual integration of environmental stimuli."* I call it the "see-by-logic" or "common-sense-sight" system.

Of course it doesn't always work: I was with a friend in New York's Washington Square Park on a warm, breezy holiday afternoon just before the last mayoral election. The place was mobbed. Election speeches blared from sound trucks and fused into background noise. A man in a blue shirt stood high above the crowd of several hundred people milling around (and in) the large (dry) fountain. He was orating energetically, anxiously turning here and there that his message might reach all those people—people who seemed a good deal more interested in gawking at local guitarists than in listening to him.

I turned to my friend: "I wonder who's the guy in the blue shirt preaching at all those people."

And my friend replied: "He's a blue balloon."

But common-sense sight does work

* Natalie Carter Barraga, "Teaching Children With Low Vision," *Outlook For The Blind* (December, 1964), p. 323.

well enough for Joyce and Thurber and my sister and my brother and I and several million other so-called "partially sighted" people to get through school (and life) very nicely.**

** Visual acuity (the ability of the eye to perceive the shape of objects in the direct line of vision) between 20/70 and 20/200 falls in the range of partial sight. A person with 20/200 vision ("legal blindness" in most states and by federal definition for tax purposes) receives basically the same impression at twenty feet that a normally sighted person has at two hundred feet. My own visual acuity of 20/200 in the left eye, 20/400 in the right. This disparity in focal ranges, together with an astigmatism (a structural defect that prevents light rays from an object from meeting in a single focal point, so that indistinct images are formed) and a nystagmus (an involuntary rapid eye movement) creates what I imagine are blurred images to other people. Since my condition is congenital and inoperable, I have only a vague idea of what such words as "clear" and "blurred" mean to others. The nystagmus is the only observable aspect of the condition; otherwise I appear perfectly normal. My sister and brother have almost precisely the same vision I have. My parents have extremely good vision as all of their relatives have had as far back as we can trace. I have five nieces and nephews, all of whom have perfect eyesight.

This is the story of my education.

My Father the Optometrist

For his three "cockeyed" children it was the luckiest as well as the most ironic of circumstances that my father was an optometrist. My parents could in good conscience ignore the opinions of eye doctors and educators who counselled them to send us to schools for the blind or at least to sight-saving classes. Furthermore, the notes my father sent to school on his professional stationery undoubtedly carried more weight than they otherwise might and probably, at least in the early years, saved us much unnecessary grief. My father's professional knowledge also accounts in part for the fact that we were never overprotected, and consequently grew up entirely independent.

As far as I can determine, my preschool sensory adjustment to the physical world was hardly different from that of any other child. I established conceptual relationships with the objects around me as any child does. As a child learns, empirically, that his little hand won't hold a large glass of milk, so I learned, empirically, that if I reached for a glass of milk where it appeared to me to be, I'd knock it over.

Perhaps an illustration of a consciously arranged adjustment in later years will clarify this normally unconscious process.

I was not the best-of-all-possible tennis players. Nor was I brilliant at baseball. But I was superb at archery. The target was stationary and so was I. At the beginning of each session I very carefully aimed at that round blur of colors out there and let fly. I heard the arrow go, but of course I

saw nothing. A companion informed me that I had hit the top branches of a tree "way" to the left of my target. Okay. This time I carefully aimed at a farm house "way" to the right of my target. Much better. This time, I was told, I had hit half between the top of the trees and the top of the target just a bit to the left of it. I believe that this game of narrowing the field was as much fun for my companion as it was for me (though the camp was none too happy about all the lost arrows) and we played it until I determined that by aiming at a huge rock nowhere near the vicinity of the target I could consistently hit the bull's eye.

My own continuous little adjustments to physical phenomena in preschool days were just as natural as those of any child, and just as complete (with the exception of a very few objects such as glasses of water which are essentially invisible and which I still knock over on occasion). I was never permitted to ride a bike (I've heard of totally blind children who do), but since we lived on the top of a very steep hill I saw nothing strange in that. There was no difference between my activities and those of my playmates. I had no idea of any physical limitation.

Reading, Writing and Study Habits

This contextual reasoning process saw me without incident through kindergarten and nursery school. In the first grade I encountered my first vision-related problem.

It was apparently requisite for a first grade teacher to train her pupils to hold reading matter at a "proper" distance. I brought old Dick and Jane within my own focal range which was not, of course, the proper distance. The teacher straightened

my arm out and admonished me not to move my hand. So I brought my head down to my hand.

This sort of nonsense went on for several days. I still find it difficult to imagine *anyone* so completely insensitive to a five-year-old child. But such people do exist, and it was a very difficult time for a child too "stubborn" to follow instructions and already unwilling to take her problems to her parents. My parents finally realized that something was indeed amiss; the whole business came out and the first of that long line of notes was issued on my father's stationery. I would guess from reactions of similar kinds of teachers later in my career that a guilty-*ergo*-hostile reaction ensued. But I remember nothing more of the incident or of her.

From that time until college I had no insurmountable reading problems. As I progressed from grade to grade, book print became progressively smaller and I simply brought the books progressively closer to my eyes. Without ever being aware of making adjustments for my handicap, I sought ways of getting light between my nose and my book. If my text had italicized words or phrases, I turned it sideways and read letter by letter. I did what I had to do; there was no one to instruct me as to what someone with my eyesight was supposed to be unable to do. As an adult, for example, I have been told by a number of social workers and administrators in agencies for the blind that I cannot read newspapers. Well, I can and do. Furthermore, just for fun, I have closed my "good eye" and discovered that I could, with difficulty, still manage to read newsprint. With a magnifying glass and all my

interpretive powers I have even deciphered classified ads when it was absolutely essential and there was no one to do it for me.

It is difficult to conjecture what I might or might not have tried to do had I been trained in schools for the blind, or had I had earlier contact with social agencies. I cannot help but think of a college student I know, trained in schools for the blind, who does very badly with print but sight-reads braille beautifully.

The possibility of *rereading* anything never occurred to me; I could not put off full understanding for another time, and I developed the habit of knowing and remembering what I read. Attention in class was essential for survival because I could not read the blackboard; retention of lectures and discussions followed naturally.

I read for about fifteen minutes at a time, then rested my eyes for a like period. I didn't plan this procedure, it *happened* to me, and the prescription has stuck with me. I read (and still read) very slowly. No one seemed to mind much in my school days. Since there seems to be much interest in such matters today, however, let me briefly mention here some of the factors affecting reading speed and accuracy.

The closer a book is held to the eyes the narrower the field which can be focussed on. This precludes the reading of groups of lines, whole lines or even groups of words depending on type size and face and on range of focus, and this necessarily limits reading speed. On a battery of reading tests I took when I entered college, I disturbed psychologists by breaking the bottom of the curve on speed and the top of the

curve on comprehension. The problem of speed never concerned me—for that matter never occurred to me until college when the amount of required reading multiplied substantially.

When I read aloud to my classes now, I occasionally misread words, but it's hard to say which errors are visual and which Freudian. It is true, however, that I have difficulty in distinguishing certain letters, especially vertical letters which are easily fused or mistaken. But one doesn't need to distinguish the letters of words in his native language; the amount of cognitive interpretation normally done in reading only becomes apparent in studying unfamiliar languages. I can't say to what extent this "educated guess" process accounts for the fact that my spelling is so abominable—a shocking fault in an English teacher—or that my handwriting is even worse.

Blackboards and Tests

Until a few months ago, when I acquired a pair of short-range binocular glasses, I had never been able to read a blackboard. Until the blossoming self-consciousness of my high school years, it rarely crossed my mind that anyone else could.

Most teachers use blackboards to emphasize particular remarks or to collect points made in discussion. What is being written on the board normally coincides rather closely in time and content with what is being said. Add to this information the teacher's tone and facial expression (if it can be seen) as well as the number, length and general "look" of words, i.e., capitals, crossed and dotted letters (which you can see the teacher make even if you cannot see the letters themselves), general shape,

etc., etc.. With all this data the human mind is likely to come up with accurate answers a good percentage of the time, and more accurate answers a better percentage of the time the better skilled it becomes at the game. Here again is see-by-logic in action.

The inability to read the board and the necessity of making all these calculations forced me to give full attention to what was being said at all times. This, in turn, made note-taking difficult. I found it easier to remember what was being said for an entire semester than to try to listen and write simultaneously. Furthermore, in grade school at least, I was not at all shy and never hesitated to ask direct or indirect questions about anything said or written.

Blackboard exams were as easily handled. A teacher normally reads an exam aloud to make sure it is legible and clear to all. As it was read I scribbled it out in my own shorthand on the top of the test paper. Half way through many tests, when I could no longer read what I'd scribbled, I would simply walk up to the board and across the room in front of it to read the questions. I had been with most of my classmates for a few years by then; I knew that they were involved in their own exams, and I do not recall having any particular feelings about doing this. This action and/or the scribble at the top of my papers usually prompted teachers to write out tests on a sheet of paper and hand them to me once they were on the board.

One grade school exam, however, remains with me as the best and worst of the early experiences engendered by my sight. Like most kids, I had a

favorite teacher. He had come for an interview at my school when I was in kindergarten there, and was introduced to me as Mr. Le Patre. I was delighted. "Is your name *really* Mr. Potato?" I asked. We were immediately fast friends.

"Mr. Potato" taught the run of history, current events and geography classes. Before I took geography I had taken at least two courses with him, and he was well acquainted with what I could and couldn't see and my ways of dealing with the latter. But geography presented problems I'd never dreamed of. I had never been so forcefully aware that other people really could see things that I could not. The maps which hung all around the room were big globs of pretty colors to me. I could rarely participate in class discussions. I felt left out. I felt frightened. I wanted so badly to do well that I tried to read book maps with a magnifying glass at home, and apply to classwork what little I could discern from them; but anxiety and frustration prevented me from remembering very much.

When, for obvious reasons, I missed the first geography exam, Mr. Le Patre gave me a make-up. He sat me in the middle of a large room with a blank map and question sheet, and left me there. When he returned, I was sitting, chin in hand, staring off into space—space which happened to be occupied by a large map of the world. Mr. Le Patre was furious. He ripped up my test paper and began to rave at me. What was the matter with me? I had been acting peculiar all semester and now this! He had trusted me not to cheat and I had disappointed him. I was struck dumb; I could not tell him that had I seen anything at all

it would have been a huge collection of minute ants crawling around some vaguely defined orange and blue and green and yellow areas.

I played sick for days. When my mother insisted that I was not ill and must return to school, I blurted out the story. A very red-eyed child returned to school with another one of those explanatory notes to find her teacher impatiently awaiting her with open arms and apologies. It was hard, he explained, for people to remember that someone who looked and functioned just like anybody else couldn't see just like anybody else. Teachers would certainly try to help me when I asked for help, but I must try to understand and help them too.

Transition Thoughts

Though new optical devices, Xerox enlargements, large type books and other equipment now available would have facilitated my work and enlarged the scope of my learning, eyesight problems in grade school were few and minor. Almost all of my teachers found ways of helping me without ever physically or psychologically isolating me from my classmates. I can recall no incident in which a child taunted me for peering at things or rubbing my nose in a book. (I cannot say the same about adults.) My parents never breathed the word "blind" to me or to school authorities (or, I am certain, to themselves). I was "incorrectly nearsighted" and that was that.

I am certain that my parents' decision to pretend, essentially, that I had no handicap is immeasurably preferable to overprotection. Nonetheless it is an extreme. No one and nothing in grade school prepared me to cope with the problems—mine or others'—which I was to encounter in

high school. I was barely aware that I had a problem. I continued to use the special learning tools that I had devised, but they no longer covered all contingencies. I adopted my parents' implied attitude: If you can't see it, ignore it.

The Problem Courses

My elementary education was excellent. I had been taught to read, to write clear, correct English, and to reason mathematically. I even had a sound fundamental knowledge of French. My first year in high school should have been easy. In all good faith, my mother contrived to make it difficult.

"My daughter studied French in grade school. Why should she waste a year in beginning French?" So I was tested and placed in a fourth semester class. I was a freshman; all of my classmates were juniors and seniors. All of my other classes were in the freshman annex; French was in the "main" building on the next block. My methods of deciphering blackboard writing in classes conducted in English did not work here: my French-thinking mind did not compute fast enough to make logical assumptions. Too many factors prevented me from approaching the teacher.

I did very badly in French IV, but the teacher offered to pass me if I could pass the second year New York State Regents Examination. I passed. French V was worse. There were many more students and a teacher who chattered away at a furious pace, whitewashing blackboards all around the room as she did so. I failed. Havoc at home.

I am wary of making comments here about anyone's psyche but my own, but my parents' feelings about

my handicap are too relevant to my own to be entirely overlooked. My parents had strong guilt feelings about their children's eyesight. In response to my failure, they accused me of fabricating visual excuses to cover an unwillingness to study. This was true enough to make *me* feel guilty. To make matters worse, I had been invited to join a special English-history course offered to the top thirty-five students in the school and the course hour coincided with that of French V.

My first open battle with my parents was mediated by my sister who recommended a tutor—a compromise acceptable to both parties. As a result of the feelings which flowed during this fight, however, I never again admitted in my house to having any trouble seeing anything. I was unwilling to seek help from anyone in school lest my parents learn of it. As my defenses got stronger, I stopped admitting to myself that I needed help. Minor vision-related problems were permitted to swell into major traumatic experiences.

One of these, which might have been averted as easily as my first grade reading problem, evolved in geometry class. I had done exceptionally well in algebra: the algebra teacher, seeing me with my nose pressed against a magnifying glass half an inch away from the book, concluded that I had trouble seeing and asked how she could help me deal with blackboard work. Math was fun. Then came geometry and Miss Begrunt.

Miss Begrunt insisted on maintaining an alphabetical seating arrangement. "Woronov" didn't show up in the front row. I tried to explain that I could see neither the board nor her from where I sat, and

she, in turn, tried to explain that if I was too vain to wear glasses I would simply have to suffer. All semester she called on me in class, asked me to rise, state my name, and determine the area of "this" trapezoid (pointing to the board) or the volume of "that" sphere. Each time I asked its dimensions, and each time she replied that vanity was stupidity. (I wasn't an entirely satisfactory victim: since I couldn't really see her I could stare her down.)

I somehow managed to scrape through the geometry Regents: I suppose I had absorbed more than I realized from my text. I suppose that I was too afraid of my parents to fail. I *know* that my major incentive to pass was spite.

The rest of my high school career followed the same pattern: reasonable and unreasonable teachers; apathetic and sympathetic teachers; courses such as biology in which I would have done well had I been able to see more; and courses such as chemistry which I might or might not have pulled through had I been able to see more.

There were, however, positive aspects of my high school career, the advantageous elements of complete independence and the pleasant part of taking no cognizance of a physical defect.

I was editor of one section or another of our school paper during the two and a half years I spent at the school. I was Vice-President of the New York City High School Press Council and liaison between that group and the High School UNESCO Council. I frequently avoided school by having to attend "an important conference" at the United Nations, the *Herald Tribune*, or at other high schools. No one

ever asked me how I was going to get to all the places I went or do all the things I did. I never asked myself. I just went and did them. Friends and dates weren't (and aren't) ecstatic about sitting with me in the front rows at the movies (especially those with subtitles); but they did (and do).

Escape

School, however, is more than extra-curricular activities. By the middle of my third year I was flunking chemistry, floundering in French—again—and not doing particularly well in the subjects I normally enjoyed. In April my parents decided that I was obviously bored and unchallenged. They requested school authorities to give me the appropriate four-year Regents exams and permit me to graduate. The school, of course, refused. To my great relief, I was shipped off to a girls' boarding school in New Jersey, thus skirting all the failures I had anticipated in June. This was a school for girls who could not make it elsewhere academically; by default, as it were, I received straight "A's" and graduated in August of my third year in high school. In September, a sophisticated but none-too-mature sixteen-year-old went off to college.

The "Nay" Sayers

The defenses which prevented me from requesting needed help also insulated me against people who insisted on prescribing limitations for me.

The first of these was Dr. Joy. Student Health, apparently unimpressed with my father's and doctor's reports, sent me to the local ophthalmologist. Dr. Joy scrutinized my eyes with every testing device known to man—or at least to *him*—

for three solid hours. He was a nice old man, a sympathetic soul, and I remember feeling a bit sorry for him as he addressed me in his consultation room after the examination. It was his duty to advise me that I ought to pack my bags and go home because no one with my eyesight could possibly make it through college.

I don't think the possibility of *not* getting through college had ever entered my mind before. But I had examples as well as defenses with which to perish that thought. I was never disrespectful to adults. I thanked Dr. Joy for his time, paid him and left. But I mentally advised him that my sister had graduated from Syracuse as a psychology major, my brother in business administration. When I received my degree in journalism I would send him a note to that effect. (I never did.)

I have since encountered a wide variety of people who, for a wide variety of personal reasons, have advised me that I would not make it through a bachelor's degree, a master's degree, as a teacher and, now, through doctoral studies. Occasionally someone whom I admired and trusted fell into this category. One of these was a fine teacher, a Shakespearean scholar and a remarkable woman. When I asked her for a recommendation to graduate school, she told me that I had best go to Katherine Gibbs and become a secretary. I was shattered. I took this as a blunt judgment of my intellectual abilities. I later learned that she was on the verge of losing her eyesight.

Another brief trauma was created by a nervous neurologist who lectured me at length on how to deal with the inter-personal relationship

problems characteristic of all handicapped people. I spent days worrying about why I was so totally unaware of all these terrible problems I obviously must have.

Beginning College

Except for the proliferation of reading requirements, college was much easier for me than high school in terms of visual adjustments. I sat where I would, asked questions at will and found my old see-by-logic method entirely adequate for blackboard work—except, of course, in French which I had guaranteed my mother I would take for at least one more year.

I had a one-year science requirement to fulfill. Remembering Thurber's experience in biology lab, I chose the only non-microscope science in the book: geology. And, indeed, there was no microscope work in geology. Instead, geology lab involved scratching at minute rocks and reading topographic maps. My "D" in geology must have been a gift, for the Dean of Students called me in before the end of my first semester:

"Taking geology, are you?"

"Yes, sir."

"Not doing well, are you?"

"No, sir."

"Don't see too well, do you?"

"No, sir."

"Finish up the term and we'll waive the rest of your science requirement."

"Thank you, sir."

Syracuse had some fifteen thousand students at that time. I was shocked and enormously pleased that the Dean of Students could bother to seek me out on such a matter.

I found equally intelligent methods of dealing with other situations. My philosophy text, for example, printed all important passages and all summaries in italics. So I read *around* all the important passages and all the summaries. I avoided courses that interested me if they were known to be "book heavy." What I did read (I would guess about a quarter of the work in most courses) I read as was my habit, completely and thoroughly. For some reason the idea of skimming books, even for research papers, never occurred to me. (I think I thought it was cheating.) When course reading was not discussed in class (which was rare, incidentally) I studied the tables of contents and indexes. I took exam after exam on books I had never read; attention, retention and the ability to synthesize the little information I had into correct, coherent English saw me through them all.

The Last Half

College offers a student the freedom to decide with whom and on what he wishes to spend his time and attention. A good college also offers him a wide range of possibilities to explore so his choice is not dictated solely by availability.

In my first two years of school I wandered in and out of the journalism, radio-TV, speech and drama departments. I worked as a waitress in one of the campus restaurants and wandered in and out of all sorts of groups of people. When I finally settled down, I found that I had chosen the English department and a group of people who did a lot of painting and sculpting, and composing and writing, a lot of talking and a lot of reading. I had read very little, but I'd always had a passion

for language which I could exploit in the field of English. Now I found a complementary passion for ideas. I wanted to know and I wanted to know everything. Everyone I met dropped dozens of names of writers whom *everyone* had read. Every book now sent my mind reeling in all directions and every book led directly to dozens of others equally important and equally exciting. I was hooked.

I began to read for longer and longer periods of time and then to develop such severe headaches that I couldn't read for days. In examining one or another of my files from college now, I sometimes find entire pages completely covered with the word "headache" in endless varieties of print and script. (This was the beginning of migraines which were to plague me for the next few years whenever extensive reading coincided with emotional strain.) I had never really taxed my vision (or my mind) before, and I had no way of determining what was eye strain and what was psychosomatic.

I made Dean's List in my last four semesters of school. By then I was deeply immersed in other people's theories of literature and was beginning to develop some of my own. I *had* to go to graduate school. But the headaches increased in number and intensity; how could I possibly manage the reading which graduate school would require? I wondered, somewhat vaguely at first, how blind people got through school. It finally came through to me: braille, of course. I who had so long ignored what I could not see, now took myself to the Special Education Center at the University and expressed a desire to learn braille.

What's In A Name?

Fern Root (now with the American Foundation for the Blind in New York) asked me why I wanted to learn braille. If I were legally blind, she said, I could have a talking book machine which would serve my purposes better than braille. Me? I was twenty years old, had been through three and a half years of college. I was incorreclyably nearsighted. I couldn't possibly be legally blind.

But I was. I reasoned with myself that I could see no less today than I saw yesterday because it had a name attached to it. This was an intellectually convincing argument; emotionally it didn't suffice. The idea frightened me, the words horrified me.

I did not write to my parents until I had received confirmation of a full-tuition scholarship to graduate school from the New York State Commission For The Blind, and had been accepted by The University of Chicago. As casually as I could, I informed them of my discovery, my scholarship and my plans. By return mail I got a frantic letter: "Don't tell anybody. If you don't tell anybody, no one will ever know." Needless to say, I spent the next two years imperilling my graduate and teaching careers by pressing my new-found knowledge on anyone I could buttonhole.

I went off to the University of Chicago with funds to cover tuition, fees, books and supplies, but I was no better equipped to deal with my reading problems than I had been the day I decided to learn braille. I never did learn braille, and the State Commission for the Blind decided for some unknown reason to give me a tape recorder instead of a talking book machine. A talking book

machine is just that—a machine (or record player) which plays records recorded at 8 and 16 1/2 as well as 33 1/3 rpm. The American Foundation for the Blind has produced hundreds of superb recordings read by professional readers. Since I learned about this service (years after I left Chicago), I have *listened to* dozens of excellent novels and non-fiction works outside my field which I might otherwise never have read.

The Real World

I did get my M.A. at Chicago and I did become a teacher, part-time, at first, at the University of Indiana in Gary, then full-time at Roosevelt University in Chicago. Grading papers, of course, was and is a pain in the eye. But this is handled, like my studies, by spreading the work out over a longer period of time than other teachers do. In the classroom I have encountered no visual difficulty whatever. It takes students about a week to get used to this nut with her nose in a book—one student told me that I was "probably the only teacher around who knows what paper smells like"—and then they forget it entirely.

In the "real" world, however, arise "real" problems. Take the supermarket. There I am trying to decipher the blood-blurred price on a raw rump roast when the store manager approaches: "Lady," says he, "don't eat the meat here. Take it home and cook it first."

Or there's the business of distinguishing between ladies' and men's rooms.

And whoever said that New Yorkers aren't friendly, helpful people? I have never been able to read a book on a subway or bus without *someone* informing me that I am

going to go blind if I read without my glasses. I've made something of a game of this: can I spot the type who will be unable to refrain from comment? I'm pretty good at it by now. Recently, for example,, with one arm curled around a subway pole and another around a book, I spotted a young man with that "you shouldn't read without your glasses and I'm going to tell you so" look. Sure enough. He approached. I lowered my book and looked up with my now-habitual "yes, thank you" all ready.

"You know," he said, "You'd learn a lot more about men from *real life*."

"Yes, thank you," I said. "What?"

He repeated his remark and got off the train, leaving me to worry about whether or not I'm already getting to look like an old-maid school teacher. And his remark was still souring my disposition when I went home and dropped my book on my desk. There it was, staring me in the face: C. P. Snow's new book about Churchill, Einstein, Stalin, Frost, etc., *Variety of Men*.

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"The new revolt is of the mind...."

Erik H. Erikson has recently written that the crucial issue confronting us today is the creation of a "universal ethics" appropriate to our technological civilization. "This can be advanced," he says, "only by men and women who are neither ideological youths nor moralistic old men, but who know from generation to generation the test of what you produce is the *care* it inspires."¹

We read this in the consciousness of nearing the end of what some are calling a year of obscenities. What we have produced in America has inspired scorn and outrage; we look in vain for "care." There have been two assassinations—of men who understood what it meant to be ethically concerned. There has been an escalation of a brutal war by those who have taken credit for seeking peace. There was a Poor People's Campaign that failed; there were student protests of an intensity never seen before; there were teachers' strikes, community demonstrations, increasingly vicious examples of police control. There were the horrors surrounding the Democratic Party's convention in Chicago; there was the invasion of Czechoslovakia. Repeatedly, hopes have been raised, only to collapse in cynicism and despair.

What does this mean to American teachers and college professors? What *ought* it to mean? Presumably

they are as much concerned with offering young people something to be true to and to believe in as they are with teaching them the cognitive skills they clearly require. They cannot help but think, on many occasions, about the relation between cognition and commitment, or about the uses of intelligence in effecting the renewal that alone can counteract despair.

In a somewhat similar situation two decades ago, John Dewey wrote an essay entitled "Authority and Social Change."² In it he defined several issues which are still alive—although insufficiently attended to—today. His concern was with the obstacles in the way of extending "to the larger field of human relations the control of organized intelligence, operating through the release of individual powers and capabilities." He knew that past history bred pessimism about any such possibility:

But I do claim that the problem of the relation of authority and freedom, of stability and change, if it can be solved, will be solved this way. The failure of other methods and the desperateness of the present situation will be a spur to some to do their best to make the extension actual. They know that to hold in advance of trial that success is impossible is a way of condemning humanity to that

1 *Identity Youth and Crisis*. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1968.

2 *Authority and the Individual*, Essays for the Harvard Tercentenary. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936.

futile and destructive oscillation between authoritative power and unregulated individual freedom to which we may justly attribute most of the sorrows and defeats of the past.

It may be the case that Dewey did not anticipate some of the misuses of "organized intelligence" (in, for example, the social sciences) which later became evident. But he did have a notion of social responsibility that was linked to his conception of intelligence; and this may hold peculiar relevance today.

The situation is far more desperate than it was in 1936, of course, and the "oscillation" Dewey spoke of has in many places given way to polarization. Many young people and many liberal intellectuals seem to have lost confidence in the methods of rational persuasion, in what some sardonically call "procedural liberalism." Their responses, in the extreme, are to take "to the streets" in dramatic confrontations, to engage in "the politics of chaos," or to withdraw to offices, studios, laboratories, the Paris scene, the Matala caves on Crete. There was, of course, a moment of resurgent faith in rationality when Eugene McCarthy began campaigning in New Hampshire, and when Robert Kennedy launched his own campaign. But then despair took over at the time of Senator Kennedy's murder; and cynicism was reconfirmed when Senator McCarthy's voice was drowned out by what Arthur Miller calls the "skull-flattening boredom" of meaningless convention oratory and the chaotic sounds of violence. Children as well as adults were given a sense of involvement in all this by means of television; there was no denying the disorder and brutality,

no way of concealing them. It is generally assumed by now that the mass media are powerful educational agencies, often more effectual than classroom teaching. Can educators ignore Chicago's effects upon the chances of cultivating commitment and fidelity? Can they ignore the continuing erosion of belief in rationality?

The desperation of ghetto residents also—and understandably—finds expression in behavior that has little to do with rational appeal. No young person is unfamiliar with the way in which the threat of violence is used; most young people suspect by now that it "works." On the one hand, they see teachers defying a no-strike law considered (for good reason) discriminatory and unjust. On the other hand, they hear force and threats justified by statements which are unarguable. It is certainly the case that the public schools have not done an effective job of education where slum children are concerned. But there is no evidence yet that better education will be guaranteed by community control. Here, as in many other parts of the social domain, coercion seems to be replacing persuasion as a method of decision-making. Rational norms, fairness, trust—all appear to be irrelevant. And yet the official aim of the public school and, to a large extent, the university is to equip young people to function rationally, to live and think "by the rules."

The irony is that American society has never been so rationalized, so "intelligent." This is demonstrated by our continually increasing technological expertise. J.-J. Servan-Schreiber, in his recent book *The American Challenge*, talks about the unique flexibility of American busi-

nessmen, about the coordinated techniques developed by our government officials, economists, managers, engineers, and scientists, all working together in the interests of innovation. He says the greatest threat to European industry is not in American wealth but in "a more intelligent use of skills." Peering up at the glass and metal towers being erected by the new industries, watching some of the new computers at work, one feels oneself to be in the presence of the efficiency Servan-Schreiber is describing, innovation in its most abstract sense. Certain sculptors symbolize it in what they call "primary structures," which are characteristically huge, anonymous, and cold. The chief accomplishment of the post-industrial society appears to be the kind of order associated with technology. The confused, inelegant needs of human beings seem to be of secondary importance; human expectations, to be acceptable and manageable, must fit into the "modernization" mold.

What has been produced inspires little of what Erikson calls "care," perhaps because it seems so irrelevant to ordinary human concerns. College students here and abroad speak of the computerized society as oppressive and inhuman. Along with a number of social critics, they say that the technological ego, or the individual trained in the requisite skills, is and must be the product of a repressive education. The huge, indifferent institutions characteristic of "the new industrial state," they say, trap the men who serve them, make "good Germans" out of them, deprive them of sentiment and spontaneity. Its vaunted efficiency—even in institutions involved in social welfare—makes the "power structure"

less rather than more appealing. Minority groups and other outraged residents of the slums find efficiency itself oppressive; it seems to them to be the other face of abstraction and indifference. The "professional" becomes anathema because he seems to treat clients or students as subjects or "cases" rather than persons. For the sake of "manhood," for the sake of dignity, they demand to be personally involved in the making of decisions which affect their lives. This is what they mean by "power"; this is also what college students mean by "power." They want self-determination and avenues for self-expression, not the infallibility of the engineering approach nor the smoothness of expertise.

What we are seeing is a tendency to identify rationality and "organized intelligence" with such expertise. Dissociated as it appears to be from values and from human concerns, it is thought to be —by its very nature—repressive, anti-human. A polarization begins; people think in terms of "either/ors": rationality *versus* spontaneity; organized intelligence *versus* what Dewey called "unregulated individual freedom." This may be one reason for the feeling that the Yuppies and the Hippies, with their talk of love and freedom and the importance of the private person's "thing," are the exponents of what is truly human. It may also be a reason for the current preoccupation with art as "happening," with the antipathy to traditional conventions and to "form" itself.

It is at least possible that the schools and universities have helped create this dichotomy. John Goodlad writes (in "Curriculum: A Janus Look," appearing in this issue of *The Record*) of the excesses of the "dis-

cipline-centered" curriculum reform movement, originally developed in reaction against the excesses of "progressivism." Much was gained, of course, through the new concern with the cognitive dimensions of life; but a good deal was lost because of the excessiveness Dr. Goodlad describes. Attention was focused, sometimes exclusively, on initiating young people into the kinds of thinking distinctive of the various disciplines. The intellectual excitement sought was that accompanying the "discovery" of structures and forms of knowledge through the mastery of their fundamental principles. Too frequently, the values of personal encounter were overlooked. The social dimension of school experience was subordinated to the cognitive. Little attention was paid to "real life" issues, to individual-community relationships, to the student's future role as activist and citizen. Overcompensating for the "softness" and permissiveness they reputedly had encouraged, the schools bent most of their efforts to the cause of teaching young people to organize their experience according to disciplinary norms. Given the corporate nature of society, however, and the relentless pressures of status and success, the emphasis too often centered on making technological egos out of the young. The model seemed to be the "cool" coordinator of knowledge and skills, the pragmatic contributor to the "new industrial state." To engage in learning seldom seemed to provide the rich experience of expanding consciousness and widening the realms of meaning. A graded series of "tasks" were to be accomplished; their personal impact was considered secondary. The "self," or the private consciousness, it appeared, was to be

discovered naturally, spontaneously—outside the domains of cognition, outside rationality.

While this was happening in many of the nation's schools, the colleges and universities were also being transformed. Federal and foundation grants were creating a "knowledge industry." Attention began to shift from teaching to research, often government-sponsored research. The university, especially the "multi-university," began to look more like a producer of technological know-how than a community of scholars. Liberal learning—the kind of learning traditionally conceived to be the way of liberating and disciplining the minds of free men—seemed everywhere subordinated to industrial and governmental priorities. Higher education seemed to have less and less to do with self-realization, even as it seemed to have less and less to do with social change. For many, it appeared irrelevant to their deepest needs. No one spoke any longer about the kind of intelligence which operated, as Dewey put it, "through the release of individual powers and capabilities." Not surprisingly, many young people became convinced that individual powers could best be released far outside the House of Intellect.

The point we are making is that the schools and universities, like numerous other institutions in our society, have not accommodated themselves to the necessities of the moment. These necessities seem to us to be what human beings feel they need in order to be fully alive, involved, free. Institutions in a democracy are intended to serve the interests of persons. The test of their values is not to be found in their efficiency or their complexity or their ingenuity. Servan-Schreiber, trying to goad European

businessmen into action, may eulogize the phenomenal skills which characterize Americans; but it becomes more apparent every day that these skills have *not* been applied to the solution of existential problems, what many of us consider to be the really important ones. They have not been used to open the channels required for the expression of our frustrations and our most powerfully felt needs. This is one reason for the proliferation of rebellions, for the increase in violence throughout the country. Arthur Miller, discussing the Democratic Convention in the *New York Times Magazine*,³ wrote:

Violence in a social system is the sure sign of its incapacity to express formally certain irrepressible needs. The violent have sprung loose from the norms available for that expression. The hippies, the police, the delegates themselves were all sharers in the common breakdown of the form which traditionally has been flexible enough to allow conflicting interests to intermingle and stage meaningful debates and victories. The violence inside the amphitheatre which everyone knew was there and quickly showed itself in the arrests of delegates, the beatings of newsmen on the floor, was the result of the suppression, planned and executed, of any person or viewpoint which conflicted with the President's.

In a commencement address delivered at Tufts University last June, John Kenneth Galbraith said that we are in trouble "because an old and established formula has run out. And

we have new problems for which we have failed so far to find a formula of any kind. From both failures come frustration and disorder." And, a few moments later, he said: "The new revolt is of the mind. It is against the old values and beliefs and against their old and pompous exponents, including a certain number of musical comedy figures who have been posing as statesmen or parading as architects of the American dream."

This—along with Erikson's call for the creation of "a universal ethics"—seems to us to be the crux of the matter. If the "old and established formula has run out," if there is a revolt "of the mind" against "old values and beliefs," it is necessary for us to use our minds in shaping an ethic by which we can decently live. It is necessary as well for those who work in schools and universities to do what they can to restore confidence in the uses of intelligence. We mean the kind of intelligence which is best expressed, not in technological innovation, not in computerized modernization, but "through the release of individual powers and capabilities." We mean the kind of intelligence whose fruits are to be found in the recreation of the flexible forms Arthur Miller says have broken down, in the creative adjustment of diverse interests, in a continuing effort to satisfy diverse human needs. We mean the kind of intelligence which involves a critical, open-minded consideration of contending values and a willingness to consider the consequences for living human beings when choices are made.

We are fully cognizant of the fact that value judgments can never be proven to be absolutely right or just. We know very well that a conception of what *should be* cannot be

³ "The Battle of Chicago: From the Delegates' Side." September 15, 1968.

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deduced knowledge of what *is*. We sympathize with those who find themselves living in an open, silent universe where there are no ultimate sanctions, where even the traditional cultural norms seem to have decayed. But we do not believe that the only option is the entirely arbitrary choice or the wholly gratuitous act. We believe that our hope lies in choosing ourselves as intelligent beings, capable of revolt "of the mind."

It may still be possible to create an ethic in America, an ethic of human concern. It may be possible to break through despair and draw from some of the traditional values which have been and are being ignored. Only if we regain belief in rational democracy—in the power of human beings to direct social change in the name of some significant ideal—can we call a halt to obscenities and counteract despair. And only then will we be able to produce something which inspires care.

MG

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The Negro Critic: Invisible Man
in American Literature

An Essay Review

Addison Gayle, Jr.

The City College of the City University of New York

Although the Negro novelist has made a breakthrough of sorts into the long barricaded halls of the universities, the Negro critic remains outside much like Shelley's nightingale, singing to cheer his own sweet solitude. As writers of fiction, Richard Wright, James Baldwin, and Ralph Ellison are studied in more college classrooms today than any Negro writers heretofore; and yet each of them has written competent criticism—a fact unknown to those who appreciate their creative efforts.

If, then, Wright, Baldwin, and Ellison are neglected as critics, the censure is much more severe in the case of such competent, professional critics as Alain Locke, Stanley Braithwaite, and Saunders Redding, to name but a few. Not only have these critics contributed to the understanding of Negro literature, but also, they have contributed those ideas without which, to paraphrase Mathew Arnold, no creative epoch is possible. Yet, in the America of today, renowned, as one critic has remarked, for its great criticism, Negro critics have died the death of public and academic anonymity.

One may advance several reasons for the academic neglect of the Negro critic, yet three stand out with more prominence than the others. First and foremost is the incontestable fact that Negro literature has never been considered an integral part of American literature. Second, and an out-growth of the first, is the consensus among Americans, black and white, that whites are more capable of rendering objective, unbiased opinions about Negro literature than Negroes. (This idea pertains to every facet of Negro life. Books and magazine articles abound with self-appointed experts on the Negro—the majority of such experts being white.) And third, the persistence of the myth, in colleges and universities, that Negro critics lack the sensitivity and perception necessary for literary criticism.

In 1940, Richard Wright's *Native Son* was hailed as "A great American novel." In 1952, Ralph Ellison was awarded the National Book Award for *Invisible Man*. Gwendolyn Brooks won the coveted Pulitzer Prize for Poetry in 1950, and in 1956, James Baldwin was hailed as the "greatest American essayist since Ralph Waldo Emerson." Despite these accomplishments

however, Negro literature remains an unwanted and unacknowledged appendage to the vast body of American literature.

In part, this results from the effective use of the term "protest literature" which is bestowed upon any work by a Negro author. It is as if white critics were capable, en masse, of undergoing the experiences of a John Howard Griffin, of viewing the Negro world from within, and thereby drawing the conclusion that anyone relegated to permanence in such a world cannot help but scream, yell, and shout.

However true this may be, in much of Negro literature, the shout of racial protest is missing. In much of the poetry written by Phyllis Wheatley during slavery, under conditions which necessitated protest, neither shout, yell, nor scream was heard. And in many contemporary Negro novels, the search for racial protest is unrewarded. Where is Baldwin's protest against the racial situation to be found, for example, in *Giovanni's Room*? Or in Willard Motley's *Knock on Any Door*, or *We Fished All Night*? Or in the novels of Frank Yerby, novels made conspicuous by their total neglect of Negro life experiences? Evidence of such protest is hard to come by; for to argue that the condition under which the Negro lives mandates a literature of protest is one thing; to argue that the Negro author will obey such dictates is another.

However, the most important reason for the inferior status of Negro literature stems from the social mores deeply embedded in the American psyche. A nation incapable of recognizing Negroes as other than inferior beings—hewers of wood and drawers of water—has been unable to transcend the myths used to buttress the arguments of slave-holders and modern-day segregationists. Even so gifted a writer and liberal thinker as Norman Mailer can be found parroting (in "The White Negro") the most popular of such myths: "... the Negro ... could rarely afford the sophisticated inhibitions of civilization, and so he kept for his survival, the art of the primitive .. he subsisted for his Saturday night kicks, relinquishing the pleasures of the mind for the more obligatory pleasures of the body."

Such concepts have led to certain corollaries: Negroes are unlikely to produce important literature, or to undergo the kinds of experiences, universal in character, which form the basis of competent literature. For if one views the Negro through the sociological microscope, his inferiority mandates that his progeny too will be inferior. The old myths, therefore, remain. Black is inferior, of a poorer quality than white; black people as a result are different beings, existing in narrow worlds, enclosed by petty experiences—experiences unrelated to the national character.

Viewed in the light of such deeply ingrained concepts, Negro literature is simplistic, immature, and unimportant. A distinguished editor of numerous anthologies remarked caustically, when asked why no Negro writers were represented in his latest work: "I never thought about it." Neither it seems have other anthologists, for anthologies today are noticeable by their omission of selections by Negro writers. Well might Robert Bone lament in *The Record* a year ago: "For it is a fact that Negro poets are virtually unknown among the teachers of American literature. Their poems

appear but rarely in the textbooks and the anthologies; and their voices are seldom heard in the high schools or the college classrooms."

An outgrowth of the concept of Negro literature being inferior is the widely held belief that Negroes are incapable of objectively criticizing efforts by other Negroes. Such a task, therefore, can best be performed by whites. Thus a major publishing company, seeking an editor for a collection of Negro writings, settled upon a white man who had little or no previous literary experience. The most publicized study of Negro literature remains Robert Bone's *The Negro Novel in America*, whereas Saunders Redding's equally perceptive *To Make a Poet Black*, and Hugh Gloster's *Negro Voices in American Fiction*, have long been out of print, with no new editions in sight.

But Negro critics have seldom been partial to their brother writers. Indeed, some of their polemics are reminiscent of the days of John Dryden and Thomas Shadwell, of Alexander Pope and Lewis Theobald. For example: neither Baldwin nor Ellison have been reticent in attacking *Native Son*. John Killens' attacks on *Invisible Man* have been vehement, and no more scathing an attack has been made on any literary work than that by Saunders Redding on *Another Country*. Far, then, from being partial, Negro critics have assaulted the works of other Negroes with a vengeance that makes Samuel Johnson's critique of the works of Thomas Grey judicious by comparison.

However, the oft-stated argument that Negroes lack the sensitivity and perception indispensable to the critical appraisal of literature is of far more import than the preceding ones, if for no other reason than that such arguments are vigorously set forward by members of the academic community. In his *Record* article, "American Negro Poetry: On the Stage and in the Schools," critic Robert Bone becomes the Danton of the literary establishment. Bone writes of two Negro critics, Pearl Thomas and Carolyn Reese: Miss Thomas "... is ... a birthright critic, miraculously schooled in Negro literature by virtue of her race alone"; and Miss Reese "... cannot deal with Negro poetry because at bottom, she has failed to acquire the necessary skills."

Bone's argument is that these critics approach literature from a sensitive and perceptive vantage point, sharpened primarily by their racial experiences, which to Bone are inadequate. What is demanded is a knowledge of the critical tools sanctioned by the academic establishment. Writes Bone: "For the poet ... teaches us to recognize our murderous and self-destructive feelings and to master them through form." Ralph Ellison, Bone's personal Negro writer in residence, has said something of the same: "Since fiction is always a collaboration between writer and reader ... if a moral or perception is needed, let them [the readers] supply their own. For me, of course, the narrative is the meaning."

Through form, through the aesthetic presentation of the work of art, the writer communicates with the reader, allowing the latter to share aesthetically the varied nuances of the writer's experience. Form thus becomes a *deus ex machina*, a mechanical construction leading to "a heightened ap-

preciation and awareness of life." Another way of stating the same argument is that form is the most important element in a literary work, while content is only ancillary, a necessary appendage, yet useless as a monitor or approximator of life. Literature is, then, reduced to mere artifact, timeless symbols of enduring beauty, much like the artifacts of Yeats' "Byzantium," appealing to man's natural propensity for beauty, and thus, to paraphrase John Keats, truth. In the final analysis, art is a luxury, the sole prerogative of the aristocracy—a new aristocracy, born of the academies—to be judged and evaluated upon those canons established by the aristocracy whose needs it serves.

The Misses Thomas and Reese, like Negro critics in the main—and there are exceptions—begin from an entirely different concept of the function of Negro literature. They are one with critics from Aristotle to Tolstoy who have demanded that literature, above all else, be moral; and with Samuel Johnson, they would argue that the academic critics "seem to think we are placed here to watch the growth of the planets, or the motion of the stars . . . what we [have] to learn [is] to do good and avoid evil."

This emphasis upon a moral literature may appear medieval to many in the context of the amoral atmosphere of the twentieth century. For the Negro, however, and for the Negro writer, the emphasis upon morality, a clamor for men to do justice and avoid evil, has been the hall-mark of his struggle in America, and his most fervent pleas to his country have been couched in moral terms. None of America's minorities believe more in the American creed; none have staked more upon the Constitution; none have depended more upon man's natural instincts for justice and tolerance; and none have shouted with more patience, with more passion, with more eloquence—white man, listen! The Negro has been concerned with the problem of life, in a physical and moral sense, in a society in which Negro life has been the most expendable commodity. Such a concern is a moral one, for "the question how to live is itself a moral idea."

In this context, the Negro critic approaches the work of art from a moral perspective, believing with Mathew Arnold that "It is important to hold fast to this; that poetry is at bottom a criticism of life; that the greatness of a poet lies in his powerful and beautiful application of ideas of life—to the question: How to live."

This is not to imply that the Negro critic eschews aesthetics. All realize, of course, that aesthetics are a necessary requirement of art. Most are opposed to the naive, unmeaningful, critical formulas vouchsafed by the academic community. Criticism which attaches importance to the investigation of the contortions of lines, the hidden meanings of punctuation marks, the ambidextrous usage of words may be of value to the "New Aristocracy," yet completely worthless to men and women seeking an affirmation of life in positive terms.

Again, criticism based upon the search for metaphysical themes: Who am I? What is my identity? What is my relationship to the universe, to God, to the existential other? is of no value to a Negro community daily confronted by the horrors of the urban ghetto, the threat to sanity and life in

the rural areas of the South, and the continued hostility of the overwhelming majority of its fellow citizens.

Though convinced of the importance of aesthetics—a point which has never been seriously contested—Negro critics are wary of theories applicable only to a non-existent golden age. Believing with Robert Lehan that “the writer is the last remaining hope for the modern world...” the Negro critic has demanded that the writer concentrate on life, that life, despairing, laughing, hoping, and dying in the ghettos of this country. To be sure, the Negro critic has used his Negroness as a vantage point, a point which enables him, unless he has been quite lucky indeed, to view the American scene from a moral perspective. In so doing, his insights and perceptions have been sharpened to deal morally with that material which is, or which should be, the preoccupation of the Negro writer. And what Gwendolyn Brooks said in regard to the Negro poet is applicable to the Negro critic: “Every poet has something to say. Simply because he is a Negro, he cannot escape having something important to say.”

Here too, Robert Bone's statement is applicable: “By virtue of his deeper insight, he, the Negro writer, can exorcise the demons that threaten his people from within.” But it is equally true that he can exercise those demons which, today, rend the American society. For the Negro writer is America's conscience; and the Negro critic must be the conscience of them both.

This role of the Negro critic as moral adjudicator has never been more necessary than at present. And no period of Negro literature has demanded that the Negro critic exercise his critical sensitivity and perception for more moral reasons. For today, a dialogue persists in the community of Negro writers, which threatens the moral foundation upon which Negro literature has, in the main, been predicated.

Alain Locke planted the seeds of the dialogue in 1925 in his introduction to *The New Negro*. Wrote Professor Locke: “... it is the Negro problem rather than the Negro that is known and mooted in the general mind. We turn therefore ... to the elements of truest social portraiture, and discover in the artistic self expression of the Negro today a new figure on the national canvas.... In these pages ... we have ... commented upon self expression and the forces of determination. So far as he is culturally articulate, we shall let the Negro speak for himself.”

The idea that the Negro should speak for himself was not new. Though much of early Negro literature was marred by propaganda, still Frederick Douglass, W.E.B. Dubois, James Weldon Johnson, and Langston Hughes spoke from that deep well-spring of Negro experience which represented the extent of Negro culture of that time. What was new, however, was Locke's insistence that the time had come for Negro writers to turn from moralizing, from attempts to force their just cause upon the conscience of the nation. Because attempts to make white men listen had aborted, the New Negro was admonished to forego such attempts and to turn inward to self expression.

To do so, however, called for a new kind of literature and a new Negro to write that literature. Albert Barnes (in *The New Negro*) characterized

both the literature and its creator: "The later Negro has made us feel the majesty of nature, the ineffable peace of the wood and the great open spaces. He has shown us that the event of our everyday American life contains for him a poetry, rhythm, and charm which we ourselves had never discovered.... His insights into realities have been given to us in vivid images loaded with poignancy and passion. His message has been lyrical, rhythmic, colorful. In short, the elements of beauty he has controlled to the ends of art." And perhaps Stanley Braithwaite stated the argument more succinctly: "Negro poetic expression hovers for the moment, pardonably perhaps, over the race question, but its highest allegiance is to poetry...."

This philosophy has been stated anew by Negro writers today. Ralph Ellison has written: "If *Invisible Man* is 'free from the ideological penalties suffered by Negroes in this country' it is because I tried to the best of my ability to transform these elements into art." And, demands Ellison, "I can only ask that my fiction be judged as art; if it fails, it fails aesthetically." James Baldwin, theoretically at least, was certain of the saving grace of art: For him the only concern of the artist was "to recreate out of the disorder of life that order which is art."

Not until 1940 were these arguments, first set forth by the proponents of the Negro Renaissance, effectively challenged. The challenge came from Mississippi-born Richard Wright, who as artist and critic, transformed a monologue into a dialogue by presenting dramatically, forcefully, and persuasively, the other argument. Wright argued, in essence, that conditions in America had not changed to the degree that the Negro could desert the race question, engage in an art for art's sake endeavour, or wander free in the sunny utopia of abstraction in an attempt to desert the harsh reality of being black in the twentieth century. "The grinding process of history," wrote Wright in his 1945 introduction to *Black Metropolis*, "had forged iron in the Negro's heart [and therefore] we heard a new and strange cry from another Negro. And this cry came from the pen of Claude MacKay, the *enfant terrible* of the Negro Renaissance, in bitter, vehement protest, in the militant poem, 'If We Must Die.'"

Though certainly not antagonistic to artistic principles, Wright realized that an era of oppression was not one in which "art could be the only consideration." Negroes capable of ignoring the brutal, inhuman treatment of other Negroes, were, according to Wright, Negroes "who recorded the feelings of a Negro reacting not as a Negro."

So central a part does this thesis play in Wright's critical theory, that he returns to it in 1956: "... the fact of separation from his native land has now sunk home into the Negro's heart; the Negro loves his land, but that land rejects him.. Here we can witness the emergence of a new type of Personality." That personality was George Moses Horton who: "... was an emotionally trapped man; he lived in a culture of which he was not really a part; he was a split man believing and feeling something which he could not live;... Horton's cry for freedom was destined to become the lament, was to roll down the decades swelling, augmenting itself, becoming a vast reservoir of bitterness and infrequent hope."

But Richard Wright died in 1960, and no other Negro writer of his stature has arisen to enjoin the dialogue, presented today by the new proponents of a Negro Renaissance. The New Negroes of the 1960's, apropos of their namesakes of the 1930's, have, as Herbert Hill puts it in *Soon One Morning*, "... made the creative act their first consideration.... As the Negro writer moves beyond anger, he develops a new concern for the writer's craft, for literary discipline and control and seeks an involvement in the larger world of art and ideology."

The Negro critic remains, then, to present the other argument. He must, like Richard Wright, take an active part in the dialogue, not as a Lycurgus dispensing arbitrary laws and rules, nor as Polonius brandishing answers and solutions, but instead as an engaged participant, fully respectful of both sides of the dialogue. His criticism must be guided by a temperament which allows him to explicate the work of art in terms of its contribution to the alleviation of those problems which have confronted humanity for too long a time. This entails a sensitive and perceptive awareness which can only, in part, be conditioned by the academic establishment. Robert Bone's cry of despair, therefore: "But you really must know Ezra Pound, Hart Crane, and Charles Olson if you hope to understand Melvin Tolson, Robert Hayden, and LeRoi Jones," is presumptuous; for the understanding of such poets depends equally upon a critical perspective conditioned by the many faceted experiences of the Negro in the turbulent American society.

On this point, the Negro critic and the university will remain at odds. If the day ever arrives when Negro literature is accepted as an integral part of American literature, the Negro critic will still remain invisible. For his is the predominant voice in American criticism which calls upon the Negro writer to dedicate himself to the proposition that literature is a moral force for change as well as an aesthetic creation. In so doing, he risks not only continued invisibility, but denigrating charges that he does not know enough, coupled with insistent attacks upon his credentials as a critic.

This cannot be helped. Though the moral argument has little relevance in America at present, still, the Negro critic must demand that the Negro writer articulate the grievances of the Negro in moral terms; for the time is far distant when the Negro writer can cry out in sweet delirium with John Keats:

Away! Away! for I will fly to thee
Not charioted by Bacchus and his pards
But on the viewless wings of Poesy....

Growth Through English: A Report Based on the Dartmouth Seminar
John Dixon. National Association for the Teaching of English: Reading, England, 1967 (Distributed by the NCTE).

The Uses of English: Guidelines for the Teaching of English from the Anglo-American Conference at Dartmouth College
Herbert J. Muller. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1967.

These two reports of the Anglo-American Conference on the Teaching of English (the Dartmouth Seminar), should, if logic prevails, have the same impact on the field of English that Bruner had on the field of Education and McLuhan had on Media. It's not that the findings and suggestions are new. It's that they have finally been set down with the clarity of the Roman Twelve Tables for all to see.

The best ideas always have inherent the qualities of logic and simplicity. One wonders why they were not previously conceived. So it is with the Dartmouth Seminar. How eminently logical it was to convene fifty authorities from Great Britain, Canada, and the United States to examine seriously the deceptively simple question, "What is English?"

Meeting in late summer, 1966, the Seminar discovered a surprising basic difference, important points of agreement, and an overall philosophy which should be studied by every present and future teacher of English. The Muller version has been designed for the general reader; the Dixon book for the professional community. Both should be read for depth understanding of the proceedings.

At the outset of the Seminar a strange paradox was found which affected the basic viewpoints of the British and American delegations. The British, whose tradition had been strongly weighted on the side of academic knowledge, were breaking away from that tradition and so were primarily concerned with the operational use of English which gives child growth and experience primary importance in the development of curriculum.

The Americans, on the other hand, were more concerned about the structure of the discipline. They were "reacting against ... slackness and confusion dating from the excesses of the progressive movement in the last generation."

One delegate remarked that "the two delegations passed each other in mid-Atlantic," but, in actuality, the groups found that they were closer than was immediately apparent. Both wanted freedom and discipline, a middle-ground between "anarchy and regimentation," and a way of proceeding which was "less specific than a curriculum and more ordered than chaos." Members of both delegations were able to move from the attempt to define English in terms of skills and proficiencies to "definition by process," that is, to "a description of the activities we engage in through language."

Consensus was reached on a number of points. Both groups condemned tracking (or streaming) which carries negative psychological implications

that far outweigh the supposed advantages. Both agreed that there is much deadwood in the present curriculum, that literature should be studied for its own sake, that some study of mass media should be included in the curriculum, and that there should not exist a uniform syllabus or fixed program for English. There was general accord that most teachers need to be retrained and the curriculum drastically revised if linguistics is to receive its proper place in the discipline.

To this reviewer, the most important concept espoused was the one that gives primacy to a model of English based on first-hand experience and relevance to the real life of the pupil. This idea, another way of describing what we used to call "learning by doing," has as its clarion cry the statement that "language is learnt in operation, not by dummy runs."

This operational model places at its center the creative aspects of learning, in contrast to the cultural heritage model in which content is passed on to passive students by the teacher-authority. This model also relegates to the past the skills model of English in which the means, such as grammar teaching, have for so long a time been confused with the ends.

These reports make clear to the reader the difference in approach of the operational model. Throughout, the teacher's role is that of sympathetic guide, not of authority figure. The emphasis is on student involvement and engagement as the criterion for value.

For example, this point of view perceives student writing as the antithesis of the assigned composition. Writing is seen as emanating from the desire to share an actual experience through language. The Seminar reaffirmed the importance of *creative* writing "as a means of combatting the inhuman trends in modern civilization" and pointed out that creative writing usually stops in the fifth grade in the United States but continues through high school in Great Britain.

Student "talk" was also viewed as an important aspect of the creativity of the operational model by the Seminar. Despite the truism that talk underlies all of the subjects in school this is the area of language in operation which appears to be least understood and most rejected by teachers of all subjects. Teacher talk and not student talk dominates the average classroom. The Seminar stressed the importance of meaningful talk for real purposes, and indicated that without this English was in danger of losing contact with the humanities and of becoming a kind of parlor game.

The Seminar saw drama as arising naturally from talk and gave it far greater emphasis than has generally been the case in the English classroom. But the drama they advocated is not merely the reading of plays as literature but is similar to the improvisational type of dramatic play which customarily ends in the primary grades. The discussion, analysis, and experimentation of creative dramatics were seen as central to English at every level.

This new vision of the central activities of the English classroom "depends on a new vision of the classroom." Changes are implied in the relations of teacher to pupils, pupils to pupils, and of group work to class work. The primary method would be the workshop method in

which individuals would work with each other in groups of changing patterns.

Teachers will need a different kind of training for this role. The methods course in which students listen to lectures will have to be thrown out as "dummy runs" and teachers will themselves have to use language in operation for all of its central purposes—in imaginative drama, writing and speech, as well as in response to literature. As Dixon states:

Teachers without this experience—who would never think of writing a poem, flinch at the idea of "acting," and rarely enter into a discussion of the profounder human issues in everyday experience—are themselves deprived and are likely in turn to limit the experience of their pupils.

To this reviewer, who regularly sees a predominance of classes in which a sterile, irrelevant curriculum is transmitted to bored students locked in joyless symbiosis with uninspired teachers, the opening of classrooms to excitement and creativity is far overdue. No one can dispute the need for revitalization. One million students drop out of high school each year. Although it would be incorrect to place the blame for this on any one subject or societal factor, it is evident that English is not reversing the pattern by engaging these students.

The Seminar has pointed the way for revitalization in the following way, described by Muller:

While providing for the basic skills that all students need for their practical purposes, it subordinated these to human values. Its objective was not merely proficiency but pleasure in the uses of language and literature, and these uses as a means of learning how to live, exploring as well as communicating experience, illuminating, deepening, and enriching it. Similarly its stress was on personal experience, the development of children as individuals, with provision for their different personal needs and potentialities. It took seriously the ideal of not only a "worthy" but a humanly satisfying use of leisure. In effect, it was most interested in saving people, not just "society."

To our technocratic society, engaged in body-counts, the Seminar's recommendation that "the study of language and literature can and should contribute more directly than any other major subject to the realization of both our common humanity and our personal identity," is an important reminder of what education can be.

Although the millenium seems to be nowhere in view, the study of these two reports in methods classes and in In-Service Workshops can begin the dialogue which will shake entrenched shibboleths. This is where change really originates.

Both Muller and Dixon have rendered a fine service with their concise and well-written presentations of the events of this Seminar. Their vision of the future should be welcomed by every English teacher.

Sheila Schwartz
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Catholic Education in a Changing World

George N. Shuster. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967, 241 pp., \$5.95.

The Changing Catholic College

Andrew M. Greeley, with the assistance of William Van Cleve and Grace Ann Carroll. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 220 pp., \$5.95.

One need not be a cliché-monger to assert that Catholic education is in transition. The nearly 300 colleges and universities, 2,000 high schools, and over 10,000 elementary schools add up to an enterprise that is as huge as it is diverse. The two books under discussion here approach parts of this loosely-structured "system"—for no one yet comprehends the whole—from different but overlapping perspectives. We find in fact interesting variations from the approaches of the disciplines these men represent, with the litterateur Shuster employing statistical data at times to make his case; and the sociologist Greeley relying on evidence gathered more by interview and subjective impression than by rigorous sociological methodology.

The Shuster book, meant as a companion volume to the Carnegie-backed Notre Dame study of Catholic elementary and secondary education (*Catholic Schools in Action*), addresses a great many matters presently troubling both friends and enemies of Catholic—and other church-sponsored—education. Among these are: the question of how "effective" religious education can be, and whether it is reasonable to expect all students, especially in the colleges, to remain the kind of Catholics they were in high school; the contributions of lay and religious educators; the knotty problems surrounding the financing of Catholic schools; the age-old tension between faith and scholarship; and some of the new directions of Catholic education in a post-Council climate of change.

Shuster begins by recalling some of the findings of the Notre Dame Study. In 1962-63, the year the Study data were collected, 52.2 per cent (4,342,273) of the Catholic elementary school children were in Catholic schools, and 32.2 per cent (1,009,081) in Catholic secondary schools. But this was nowhere near the once-cherished "every Catholic child in a Catholic school." American Catholics never came close to this objective, nor is it the goal of any serious Catholic educator today. The questions they are presently asking are, rather: "How can we accomplish the greatest good for the largest practical number?"—"What segments, if any, ought to be lopped off, and according to what criteria?"—"What innovations ought we to make?"

While not all will agree with the Shuster assumption that the major purpose of the Catholic school (even he would not say the university) is "primarily to develop religious knowledge and practice," it would seem difficult to justify their separate existence if Catholic grade and high schools are in no way different from their public counterparts. And it is not easy to quarrel with his "grammar of assent" for the high school years: "everything will depend, at least for the most gifted and restless, upon how ably and deftly the young person is led from the land

of obedience to the symbol to the other domain of freedom to question and to weigh answers." Because of this concern, Shuster would seem to prefer jettisoning the grade rather than the high schools, should such a choice have to be made. (He is not unaware that the Greeley-Rossi Report—cf. *Record*, October 1966—indicated that no one segment of Catholic education was most "effective," and that, indeed, there seemed to be a *cumulative* effect for those attending Catholic schools all the way through college.) His choice is admittedly more intuitive than scientific, but he cites, in support of it, the shorter length of secondary education, making it more likely that all parents who so desire could provide a Catholic high school education for their children; and two other trends, the upgrading of the preparation of the religious sister or brother (he might also have mentioned their increasing devotion to "professionalism"), and the growth of clerical-lay diocesan boards concerned with secondary education.

Catholic educational institutions at all levels have long profited from the contributed services of priests, brothers, and sisters. This had negative side-effects, of course. Shuster points out quite accurately that the immigrant equation between college education and the life of a religious "was an important cause of the now-well-known dearth of Catholics dedicated to intellectual pursuits." The situation was exacerbated by their vows of celibacy: no children were being directly raised by the bulk of the educational elite. Those who did become interested in things academic faced other difficulties. The Notre Dame Study showed the deplorable lack of lay administrators in the Catholic schools of the early 1960's. There have been not only lower salaries, but fewer career opportunities. This is why many teachers prepped in the Catholic system, then promptly abandoned it when they had accumulated sufficient credits and experience to move into the public schools. But recently lay teachers have been turning up more frequently than their religious counterparts: in little more than a decade, their numbers increased by 169 per cent in secondary schools, and 589 per cent in the grades. This is one of the reasons for the current push for lay-dominated diocesan school boards (although, as Shuster points out, one problem with changing the present structure of the parish-linked grade—and a few secondary—schools is that the parishes have been the most effective collectors of revenue; there is some experimentation with diocese-wide funding, but it is too new a venture for us to know how effective it will be). Another changed circumstance is that it is increasingly expensive to train the teaching religious, and it may be that many will be forced to turn to higher education—perhaps even in non-Catholic colleges—to earn enough for their communities, which have suffered heavy financial—as well as moral—blows by the recent loss of so many of their members, who take their expensive degrees with them.

Despite the present shortcomings of Catholic elementary and secondary education (such as the almost complete absence of honors programs in 1962-63, despite the findings that nearly three-fourths of the high school students polled indicated they expected to go to college, and that 84 per cent of the elementary pupils had achievement scores at or above

the national norm), Shuster is cautiously optimistic about the future: "It is impossible to go back to where Archbishop Ireland was and create a place in the public school system specifically for Catholics. Or for Protestants and Jews. It is equally impossible to abolish the Catholic school system. Despite the criticism directed at it by a new group of Catholics, it is too deeply rooted in the respect and affection of the vast majority of the Catholic people, and in the dedication of religious communities."

What of higher education? Carnegie also funded the research of the survey team headed by Andrew Greeley, who has probably done more significant sociological work on Catholic education than anyone. Greeley begins by presenting some interesting and useful sociological data on Catholic higher education, most of it from his and the National Opinion Research Center's earlier research. He then describes the findings of the three investigators who tried their collective hand at determining to what extent institutional differences intuited and uncovered by interview would be supported by tougher-minded evidence. Their impressions, and subsequent rankings of the schools, were checked against more objective measurement of academic improvement in Catholic colleges, determined independently by two other NORC staffers, who developed an index of college growth by preparing "a regression of school quality in 1956 on school quality in 1964." Construction of the "Index of Institutional Improvement" is described by Donald Treiman, in an Appendix. The objective measures used in developing the Index were tuition cost, per-student library holdings, and the proportion of faculty who were laymen (based on the assumption that a faculty with a large proportion of religious will be dominated by the religious order historically sponsoring the college). Taking the proportion entering graduate school as their indicator of a college's excellence—which means there was no real control for input, although recent studies have shown this to be the key determinant of graduate student production—it was found that tuition charged was the best single predictor of a school's record in graduate school going, so that "the regression equation on which the choice of schools was based consisted essentially of a regression of 1964 tuition on 1956 tuition." It was this regression on which the "objective" ranking of schools was based.

Nineteen Catholic colleges from various points along the regression line were then selected for the survey team to visit, along with six non-Catholic schools, for comparison of problem areas. Five of the nineteen were small women's colleges, 12 were coeducational universities, and the remaining two were entirely male institutions. (One of the women's colleges, and a non-Catholic college in the original list, failed to cooperate with the researchers, and were replaced with comparable schools from the regression analysis.) Of the nineteen Catholic institutions, nine were colleges, the remainder universities. Two were in the South, three west of the Mississippi, and the remainder in the Northeast and Midwest. Nine were Jesuit schools, five others were administered by communities of religious women, one was sponsored by a diocese, and the four remaining

were under the direction of religious orders, such as the Basilians and Congregation of the Holy Cross. Approximately one-fifth of the Catholic college enrollment in 1964-65 was found in these nineteen schools. An additional eleven schools were visited on the tour, "either because they happened to be readily at hand when we were inspecting another college or because there was something in particular about the school that made it worth visiting." During the two to five days spent on a campus, Mr. Van Cleve could talk to about ten administrators, Fr. Greeley to about thirteen faculty, and Miss Carroll to perhaps twenty students. Interviews were almost entirely open-ended.

A question might well be raised about the reliability of their sample. The author reports he did do a "reality check," but this was limited to asking the local AAUP presidents if he did indeed have an "honest sample." Greeley does not feel this influenced the results, however, since they were "much more interested in the tone, the color, and the style of the school as it could be conveyed ... in a relaxed, casual conversation" (p. 17). (If the reader is looking for the middle term in this syllogism, so is the reviewer.)

Results are discussed in three chapters on "Rapid," "Medium," and "Low Improvement Schools," each organized under the headings of Administration, Faculty, and Students. An entire chapter is later devoted to each of these areas (7-9), where some matters are elaborated, but with considerable repetition. The report is critical of Catholic higher education, although more for the ways in which it is like the American higher learning generally, not for atrocities on which the Catholic educators have a monopoly.

This reader found the "Middle Improvement Schools" chapter the most interesting of these; perhaps bridesmaids are always rather more intriguing to some of us than brides, but the illustration of ways in which these universities came close, but—at least to date—missed, is particularly fascinating (and ought to be required reading for every college administrator). One of the things characterizing such schools seemed to be a pattern of strong presidents, but weak deans, so that department chairmen could emerge to preside over baronies, and it was their departments which got more than an equitable share of a university's resources. This is one of the reasons such schools' growth was so spotty. Further, at these universities, "growth and development was almost out of control and ... administrations were being carried along by decisions of the past that were defined as both irreversible and uncontrollable" (p. 78). Each reader will have his favorite example here.

A short Sixth Chapter presents the results for correlations of several socioeconomic, ecological, and social organizational variables with the colleges' growth. While such things as the proportion of Catholics in the immediate area, the economic backgrounds of students, and the complexity of graduate programs showed some relationship to academic growth, none seemed so strong a predictor as the survey team's evaluations of an academic administration's sophistication and leadership. The researchers had rank-order correlations in the .80's and .90's, with the

highest correlations for their rank-ordering of the five women's colleges (Miss Carroll—the least experienced—the highest of all).

One cautionary note ought to be entered here, however: it should be clear the team *expected* to find that "the amount of enlightenment and independence observed at the administrative leadership level . . . ought to be highly predictive of academic improvement in Catholic higher education" (p. 10). It would be difficult to overemphasize the importance of enlightened and charismatic leadership, particularly for determining which of several institutions at a take-off stage really begins to fly. But Greeley is perhaps too enamored of a great-man explanation in his recent work. Whether one is discussing the historical evolution of an immigrant church (*The Catholic Experience*, 1967), or the growth and development of an educational institution, it would be more satisfactory to state clearly the social and historical factors which can be considered predisposing, and the particular events and personages which might be termed precipitating. Thus, such things as student backgrounds and expectations, faculty orientations, institutional objectives, diocesan climate, and endowment may be among the factors determining readiness for take off (or preparing for a "critical growth phase," to change the metaphor); and such things as quality of leadership and a clear delineation of the relationship between college and religious community are likely to be crucial for precipitating either greatness or mediocrity. But certainly things are more complex than the reader of this volume is led to believe. Indeed, almost as high rank-order correlations as those obtained by the survey team's ratings of administrative leadership were found when schools were ranked by the loyalty of undergraduates to their institutions. (And, since each of the "Rapid Improvement" schools is almost exclusively male, they might have concluded that this was the key variable.)

Shuster's remarks on Catholic higher education are scattered throughout his rewarding book. For example, the reader can find in Chapter Seven about the strongest case against the Catholic university he'll ever want to read; and just when he's convinced, he will come across one of the most persuasive arguments *for* the Catholic university he will see for some time. Admitting that the choice of a Catholic college *primarily* to safeguard the faith of students is now all but forgotten, Shuster believes that the task of the college must now be "to demonstrate that it exists in order to provide first-rate education within the context of a Catholic community." By first-rate, he means that the college must inculcate deep awareness of the problems and situations of concern to modern man, and attempt to solve them; stimulate student thinking "to a degree of intelligent intensity which all but a few could not generate if left to their own devices;" foster man's affective and aesthetic life; and generate social responsibility "in the spirit of the Second Vatican Council."

Shuster makes it clear that the Catholic university—he is not as unequivocal about the college—"cannot be a mouthpiece for the magisterium," the teaching authority claimed by the Roman Church. (And Greeley would be the first to affirm this, as his very useful section on the relationship between the university and the religious community makes ap-

parent. Any number of potentially charismatic Catholic college presidents have languished in oblivion because they appeared to be "dangerous innovators" to their religious superiors. The colleges they might have led to greatness now bring up the rear of Riesman's famous academic procession. Yet such neurotic caution still prevails in more than a few Catholic schools.) But Shuster does assert that "Catholic scholarship has the task of discerning what in the continuing life of the mind reflects the tradition and the insight of the Church," and goes on to develop a fascinating elaboration of his suggestion that a Catholic university contains a "company of gamblers," who "strive to deepen our realization of what our acceptance of Pascal's wager means." Although it makes all the difference to a committed Christian whether his colleague bets for or against the existence of God, he is also fiercely persuaded that his colleague is a member of the human family, guided by conscience and evidence which all must respect. And of course the Catholic university must also have scholars of differing traditions, to "provide the breadth of association with the whole human family which is the proper mode of the life of the Church."

An additional question raised by Shuster is whether *every* Catholic university need have a department of theology, or whether—as indeed was more often than not the case in the Middle Ages—there should be a concentration of resources in two or three places; such an approach might result in an even more fruitful theological focus in the many other Catholic colleges, with the spontaneous combustion in the two or three universities generating the kind of theology which rarely comes out of the colleges today, as the Greeley volume illustrates. (Perhaps the Catholic educators should consider adopting such a model for almost all of the academic disciplines, to attempt elimination of the great duplication of effort and spreading thin of resources which now characterizes the plethora of second-rate English, sociology, and education departments, to name only three.)

As should be apparent by now, this reviewer found the Shuster book more satisfying than Greeley's. The one bothersome thing about the former is Shuster's tendency to be unsympathetic to the social sciences; not only does he insist on putting quotation marks around such commonly used terms as "median," but tends at times to place more credence in his personal experience, and even perhaps his hopes, than in evidence of a rather firmer sort. Thus, he suggests that the estimate that at least seventy per cent of college-age Catholics will be in non-Catholic schools in the near future is too high—when all the data indicates it will be even higher: eighty or eighty-five per cent. But Shuster's scope and brilliance make it easier for the reader to indulge him here, and attend carefully to the insights and wisdom of this most important book.

The Greeley volume will serve some important short-run purposes: it ought to be of especial concern to those who would guide their changing Catholic colleges; but the Shuster book is built to last: it will be reread decades hence.

Robert Hassenger
University of Notre Dame

A Critical Approach to Children's Literature

Frank Steel Smith. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1967.

In this book, there is a break with the traditions long associated with the teaching of what is known as "Children's Literature." College teachers of "Children's Literature" have become accustomed to books in this field in two patterns of dealing with content. In one of these patterns, attention centers on naming what are considered good books and authors, and assessing their contributions to the field as a whole. In the other pattern, an anthology of examples from the writings of well-established authors is made available, accompanied by short introductions to the groupings of the writings under such headings as "Nursery Rhymes," "Nonsense," "Fantasy," "Realistic Fiction," and the like.

Smith knowingly breaks with these traditions. What he is attempting to do is to find "fundamental criteria common to all literature" and to consider "the special characteristics of form that distinguish children's literature and adult literature from each other." Smith believes that the basic problems of creating in literary form do not differ with the audience; rather, the differences are found in the selection of what can be effectively communicated in what length and dimensions to a young audience. Smith's viewpoint is much the same as C. S. Lewis's in this regard.

This book, then, becomes an attempt to help the reader become a better critic of children's literature, to guide the reader to the application of relevant questions, which the critic must ask, to a children's book as a serious literary work.

The task that Smith sets for himself is not without pitfalls, into which he slides from time to time. But, despite some such sliding, he makes a contribution by coming to this field with the proposal that children's literature must be viewed primarily as literature, "not mainly as psychology or as cultural history or as ethical instruction or as a source of historical, scientific, social or other information."

Smith begins his books with an elaboration of this thought, which, in essence, is a critique of what has been done in much of the teaching of Children's Literature. He discusses such ways of coming to the study of the field as: historical orientation; subject-matter emphases; psychological "needs" approaches; and educational applications. While he does not deny these possible ways of looking into literature for children, he thinks they all by-pass the central consideration, which is to come directly to the development of the critical comprehension of the works themselves, by the means available to literary critics generally.

In order to induct the reader into his critical approach, he uses three foci: the nature of literary value in children's literature; literature as sense; and literature as sensibility. What Smith means by "sense" is realism. Sensibility he uses to point up the literary world of the fanciful. The common denominator for the two is wonder. By using these pivots, Smith inducts the reader into his conceptions of various modes, genres, and forms, and presents bases for criticism of children's prose.

Yet there are some matters that he seemingly does not know how to handle within the larger scheme which he has laid out. So topics like humor and the children's classics get pulled out as separate chapters. Despite numerous quite insightful observations about these matters, the chapters dangle somewhat outside the larger conception of literature proposed. And if humor deserves such consideration, why not adventure, or tragedy also?

Seemingly this writer has not yet developed a design within which he can account for all the aspects of children's literature which he feels he must discuss. Not that anyone else has either. But one still can hope Smith might have been able to do so.

The chapter on poetry is quite a lively one. The central consideration dealt with here is the sort of poetry the poet created out of his subject. As he sees it, poems for children can be discussed as those that: make sense; make nonsense; make story; make ethical statements; and make fantasy. His discussions of poems thus formed are no mere duplication of what is to be found in other books on children's literature. Smith has done his own homework on poetry.

As was said earlier, Smith has set himself a large task, and there are pitfalls into which he slides on occasion. The pitfalls show when he does not keep his eye clearly on his central proposals. For instance, he does include, early in the book, a capsule history of children's literature. He has a chapter on educational applications. He discusses the adult audiences who have a hand in book selection—parents, teachers, librarians. And, for some reason not immediately discernible, he places these chapters in between those that move ahead the discussion of children's literature as literature. It is as if he could not quite be sure he could hold his audience without these side trips.

Already several critics have made it clear that they prefer the older, standard approaches already mentioned. One is not surprised. New vantage points rarely are eagerly espoused. As Smith has clearly indicated, he is presenting his way to provide "a critical approach" to the study of children's books. To this reviewer's knowledge, this is the first full-scale attempt in this direction.

Smith demonstrates the feasibility of a critical approach to children's literature. The weaknesses inherent in his present work imply that those devoted to this field of study have their work cut out for them. Had more authorities in this field been thinking along the lines Smith is, his work would have reflected the benefits of such collegueship. As the book stands, however, those college teachers as well as supervisory personnel charged with inservice education who want prose and poetry for children to be more than the pleasant stepchild of literature will find Smith's book appealing. It will serve well as a springboard from which to move to more substantial, disciplined insights about the literary experience for children.

Leland B. Jacobs
*Teachers College,
Columbia University*

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Humanities and the Human Condition

Germaine Brée

University of Wisconsin

My topic was suggested to me in part by the recent Hampton Institute publication of a series of papers centering on the theme of Négritude in Francophone African literature. In these the name of Jean-Paul Sartre recurred frequently. In part too it seemed to me that, in the mid-century years, Sartre and Albert Camus voiced some of the dilemmas, conflicts and tensions that beset us as "intellectuals" whose field of interest lies in some realm of the Humanities, more particularly perhaps in literature. For we, in the Humanities, are being challenged today to come out of our academic security and to show in what manner our disciplines are relevant in the social context that is ours. We are being challenged doubly: first by our students; secondly by our government who for the first time with the founding of the National Endowment for the Humanities is recognizing our presence and indirectly asking us for some kind of assistance. And the two challenges do not necessarily concur; in fact on the surface they may often appear at present entirely divergent. We are in a difficult position.

I shall not therefore be concerned so much with, for example, trying to assess whether these two writers have added new masterpieces to our literary history; or, in the case of Sartre, marked a milestone in the development of philosophy. What I shall try to distinguish is how these writers have affected the very texture of our awareness, what Sartre calls our "entreprise de vivre" and Camus the "art of living" with integrity in violent times. In Sartre's latest original play to date, *The Prisoners of Altona*, Frantz, the main character, speaking to the men of the future, makes a kind of presentation of his—our—time: "Centuries, here is my century, solitary and misshapen, accused." Both Sartre and Camus have been passionately preoccupied—as we are—with the shaping of that century; disconcerted, as we are, by the callousness, the violence attendant upon its transformations. The fame of both men was born in the early forties, during the occupation of France by the Nazis in a climate of defeat, dis-

Internationally known and highly regarded for such books as CAMUS and (with Margaret Guillon) AN AGE OF FICTION: THE FRENCH NOVEL FROM GIDE TO CAMUS, Professor Brée here discusses the contemporary challenge to those involved with the Humanities. Focusing on the work of Sartre and Camus, both of whom have deeply affected "the very texture of our awareness," she suggests that each in his own way reformulated the function of the Humanities for the modern age. Heeding them, heeding Germaine Brée, we may become clearer about our responsibility for shaping a better world for man as man. (The article is based on Dr. Brée's Keynote Address, delivered at the Hampton Institute Centennial Humanities Conference in April, 1967.)

tress, oppression, anger and self-questioning. Camus gave it fictional expression in his novel *The Plague*; Sartre describes it as a feeling that one suffered some inner undiscernible hemorrhage that one lived in zombi fashion, expropriated from oneself. The system of values the French had taken for granted had collapsed. Consequently each individual to some degree experienced a sense of uncertainty, anxiety. In the preceding years, the nation as a whole it seemed had "gone to sleep," to use one of Sartre's favorite expressions. To "go to sleep," in his terms, is to live securely within a mental framework that has ceased to be relevant to reality. The awakening had been rude.

Sartre and His Circle It was in this atmosphere that the Café de Flore, in Paris, became a center of French intellectual life. There a group of virtually unknown newcomers—Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir, Mouloudji, the North African writer and, on occasion, Camus—formed a small circle to whom disconcerted young people turned for some sort of orientation in their difficult lives. The influence of Sartre and Camus first spread by word of mouth. They were really, for a few years, "masters." This, of course, is a role that French writers had increasingly assumed throughout the 20th century; this is, I think, the role that we, as humanists, are being called upon to assume here and it is not an easy one. The positions of the two men evolved with the years and their subsequent debate was bitter. But there is no question as to their complete integrity. That is why, despite their limitations, and the differences in our own situation, they can perhaps help us along our own way. Being of their generation, I can hardly claim detachment, only perhaps a sense of the inner tensions and outer pressures that shaped their thinking and the decisions they made. I shall turn first and mainly, although all too briefly, to that most complex and irritating of men, J. P. Sartre. Certain catch-phrases with which we are all too familiar, "Sartreisms," soon were taken out of context and rapidly turned into slogans, with or without reference to the totality of Sartre's thought: "Existence precedes essence;" or "Hell is others." But Sartre's influence ran deeper than that.

Defying Authoritarianism First, and particularly invigorating for young people living under the burden of occupation, was Sartre's unmitigated hostility to all forms of authoritarian displays of power. "I saw a fat man with a face of wax whisked away in a carriage drawn by four horses: I was told it was Napoleon." So begins via a quotation by some memorialist an early essay of Sartre's who then goes on in his own name, interpolating as is his wont "I was told it was Napoleon" . . . It seems probable that I saw the Emperor, but the man, that dismal and yellow flesh, I'm quite sure I

saw him..." One of the targets of Sartre's devastating satirical verve has always been the "Emperor," the "official portrait," the invulnerable statue of the "man on horseback," installed in the city square; all public representations that dignify and justify official images of self-righteous power. No one who has read Sartre's first novel *Nausea* will easily forget the protagonist's solitary meditation in the Town Hall gallery of portraits where the city fathers have enshrined, in portrait after portrait, their own immortal mythical image. Nor can one forget the violently ironic ending he addresses to the portraits: "Farewell, beautiful images, elegant in your painted little sanctuaries, lovely lilies, our pride and reason for existing, goodbye, bastards!" Sartre's revolt is deep against the abstract "Function" that masks our shared human condition as beings made of the same pathetically vulnerable flesh and blood.

There were, in a France defeated, few shrines, and Sartre's uncompromising glance beyond the outer trappings of invulnerability to the human reality was a welcome relief, a reminder of what Montaigne, in times as chaotic, had more gently said: That a king, however high his throne, "sits on his buttocks like the rest of us."

Remaking the World But Sartre knew the limitations of emotional revolt. He also distributed a more drastic medicine for a desperate time. He taught his listeners that the situation was no worse, in fact no other than our human situation at any other time. To live under some form of oppression was an image of the human lot; a trap sprung, in regard to which little help would be forthcoming from outside. But it was a trap which *in itself* held no meaning. For no oppression or defeat was real until accepted as such from within by each individual. And if the occupation of France by the Nazis had as Sartre put it, "expropriated" the men and women of France from their own future, what mattered was the meaning which by their outer involvement and inner attitudes they themselves would give that situation. They could accept the trap, see themselves, individually and collectively, as decadent and defeated; or they could reject that image. What counts, Sartre taught and was to maintain almost to this day, is what each human makes of what has been made of him: a therapeutic future-oriented ethic of conditioned freedom, an ethic of autocreation. There was "a world to be remade," and it could be remade. It was in those years that existential terms rapidly jumped all geographic barriers and people began to speak of situation, choice, commitment, responsibility and bad faith rather than of justice or freedom as absolutes.

Sartre's whole difficult career can be seen, I think, in the perspective of the exceptional, highly dramatic situation of the occupation and immediately post-occupation years. These are the years that Walter Kaufmann has designated as

the high-tide of Sartre's creativity, the short six-year span between 1943-1949 which saw the publication of the bulk of his work. This is the period when he left no facet of French contemporary life untouched and became not only France's most conspicuous writer, but also a world figure, a new experience for a writer which we know puzzled Sartre and which is explicable largely by the efficacy of our modern communications media. These too were relatively serene years for Sartre, when he could write what a critic has described the "jubilant and apocalyptic passage" that ends *Being and Nothingness*: "Existential psycho-analysis is going to reveal to man the real goal of his pursuit. Existential psycho-analysis is going to acquaint man with his passion." Sartre is a hortatory writer, to be sure, who gets caught up in his own eloquent rhetoric. But, in 1943, as his friend the philosopher Merleau-Ponty tells us too, he felt he could set up an "absolutely positive ethics and politics" efficacious in today's difficult world. In this he was reluctant to admit he had failed. "For a long time," he remarked rather wistfully in his autobiography *The Words*, "I took my pen for a sword."

In the course of his childhood he had, he tells us in *The Words*, absorbed a myth, carefully implanted in him by his grandfather: the myth of the writer as a man set apart, the spiritual guide of humanity along the road of progress, a banal and more specifically French concept. After Hugo, in young Sartre's dreams, would come Jean-Paul Sartre. Humble and effaced, he would accomplish his appointed task and, "metamorphosed into a row of books on a library shelf," he would continue his posthumous life, a man indispensable to all men. One day when he was in his early teens, Sartre relates, referring to his atheism, God tumbled out of the sky. In his place, abetted by his grandfather, he forthwith placed the universal Hegelian spirit of mankind doubly incarnate in himself as future writer and as the teacher of philosophy his grandfather persuaded him to become. He was thus heir to and legislator of the world of words.

Mistrust and Good Faith What then happened

to him, and how did he evolve? In order to clarify Sartre's concern, I shall turn briefly to one of his contemporaries, Alan Paton, the South African writer, author of *Cry, The Beloved Country*, who was born two years before Sartre and who, I think, states in simple form with regard to the situation in South Africa what Sartre speaks of in much more complex language: "One of the big lessons that life has taught me is that my earlier understanding of man and his society was wretchedly inadequate. . . . Just how it happened that my understanding was so inadequate, I don't quite know. This faulty understanding of man and life has been called by some the romantic illusion. . . . The world was good, and it was going to stay good, perhaps even become better. I had no conception at that age of the way in which man could create tremendous, noble-sounding

slogans and could shout them aloud while doing ignoble actions. . . . Nor did I realize that man could so easily deceive himself that his highest religious and ethical values were identical with his whole self-interest."

There is nothing exceptional in Alan Paton's discovery except the violence of the racial situation in which he made it. It was a state of mind that had been latent in the post World War I wave of nihilism, succinctly expressed by Jacques Vaché, Surrealism's exemplary hero, as a sense of "the theatrical uselessness—without joy—of the world once one knows." To this deep-lying mistrust of collective complacencies may be attributed Sartre's violent animosity toward the bourgeois world, certainly one of the more worn-out themes of the era. But Sartre felt it cruelly, in a personal way and turned it against himself—against the complacent bourgeois intellectual he symbolized in his own eyes. And it led him as he says to "think against himself," a healthy exercise but also an exceedingly dangerous one. What happens besides, to a writer of his kind who, dogged by the fear of that persuasive form of self-deception, mental blindness which he calls "bad faith," begins to question the very substance of his vision? What is exceptional in the case of both Paton and Sartre is, once they became aware of the intimate relationship between their social condition and their way of seeing things, the firm resolve with which they set out to think their world anew in order to help reshape it. This was singularly disruptive. Sartre in his early years had felt that he could understand "the human condition in its totality." Events taught him he had been mistaken. He had in fact been living in an imaginary, illusory context in which the reality of war and violence had had no place. The world he as writer had described, for which he considered himself responsible to his reader, had then been erroneous. He had unwittingly perpetrated a form of mystification. He felt he had to re-adjust his sights, to become involved. To confront himself, put his options and ideas to the test of practical reality.

He began to "think against himself," in order to remove the blinkers, to become a "total man," who could think and write in terms of a "total" free society. In the next few years he was to define himself more and more stringently. In the thirties he saw himself as a free consciousness, facing an open future, evaluating, judging, acting according to absolute standards of right and wrong. He then discovered he was a Frenchman, situated at a moment in history that limited his freedom, whether in terms of occupation or in terms of the cold war being waged between two world powers which would determine the future of his country. He then recognized the importance of the history-making process in determining a future which no longer seemed open, and sought to understand its patterns so that he could situate himself responsibly within that reality, accepting the Marxist perspective and theory of class conflict. He now

saw himself as a *petit bourgeois* intellectual, in a revolutionary world; and finally as a white *petit bourgeois* intellectual facing the rise of the third world, whose consciousness challenged his own. This was a process of identification through self-elimination, which proceeded through a set of dichotomies and uncompromising options: for France against the Nazis, the easiest and the one in which Sartre seems most fully to have coincided with himself; for a "socialist" Russia against "imperialist" America; for the proletariat against the bourgeoisie; for the third world against the white. These reactions are the instinctive reactions of many thoughtful people; but because of Sartre's uncompromising need for theoretical consistency they led him in fact to an ideology of self-rejection in which his original position—what matters is what a man makes of what has been made of him—turned into something quite different, as he peeled off the layers of his self-complacency: "We become," he now said, "what we are only by the intimate and radical negation of what was made of us."

The Ethic of Camus In direct contrast to these words echo Camus's: "Instead of killing and dying to produce the being we are not, our job is to live and make live in order to create what we are," a positive ethic. A boy from the slums of Algiers, Camus had not had, like Sartre and Paton, to discover social injustice. He had very early discovered social injustice as inherent in the human lot because he experienced it daily. And he knew at first-hand that an accepted social framework of values can seem quite irrational and meaningless to those who are outside it. His first novel, *The Stranger*, in one of its dimensions develops just this theme; and his first play, *Caligula*, projects the revolt that accompanies a young man's first awareness of the limitations and inadequacy of our routine intellectual and social consciousness, coupled with our basic indifference to human suffering. He saw too that there were forces in each individual at work against that basic indifference and with these he wished to align himself, as journalist and as writer. When he was in his early twenties he entered the Communist Party. There he encountered complacency of another kind: the use of an ideology, of an abstract terminology to justify concrete acts of injustice perpetrated against individuals, a falsification of truth for immediately opportunistic ends, polarizing violence and countenancing what he called "complacent murders," i.e. the ruthless extermination of masses of people guilty of ideological dissent.

As his experience developed—the concrete experience of resistance during the war coming after the no less concrete fight for the respect of human rights in several well-defined situations in Algeria—Camus became more and more concerned with the abstractness of the solutions brought to bear on human problems in what is now called our "technetronic" age; in particular he was

aware of the dangers of negativism and inhumanity inherent in the kind of cerebration and utopianism so characteristic of Sartre. He saw that any attempt to account for all the ills of humanity within an ideological framework whether that of Stalinist Marxism or any other or to offer an overall infallible cure had inevitably led to the persecution and murder of millions of people in the name of freedom, justice and peace. The plague he saw at work in our society, and which was the topic of his novel entitled *The Plague*, is the temptation, in the name of ideas and logic, to hold human life cheap, to connive with the evil one started out to combat in the attempt to resolve all self-contradictions. Like Sartre, he felt that the artist in time of crisis could not keep out of the political arena. But he felt that, as artist, his concern must be with concrete human values. That he must resist abstract codifications, and the excesses and violence of mass movements. The most pressing task of the artist, as he saw it in our callous age, was to reawaken our imagination and sensibility to "the other," unique and vulnerable as ourselves, openly to fight what he called the death instinct at work in our society. The myth a writer creates, he felt, must be a translation of values experienced in action and of truth communicated in its complexity. Sartre maintained that there could be no individual ethics in an unjust society. Camus said that we should not compound the injustice of society with injustices we perpetrate as individuals.

In a sense, each in his way had come to reformulate two of the basic functions of the Humanities, that must be both "breakers of images" and "makers of images." As historical conditions change and the manner in which people look at things is no longer adequate and as institutions become obsolete, it is the function of the humanities to remove mental blinders, and often therefore to go against the prejudices of the age. In times of rapid change, we can hardly be the maintainers of the status quo. But it seems essential too that, if our action is to be constructive, we must act as mediators, distinguishing between what it is necessary to destroy and those hard-won values which must be maintained. And the role of the mediator, in times of violence, is a hard one. Yet it must be ours if we in the humanities are, in the words of a social scientist, to create a better society for man, as man—not as consumer, capitalist, or proletariat. And this perhaps we can do, as humanists, in the spirit of free examination inherent in the humanities, in Camus's words, "By acknowledging our ignorance, refusing to be fanatics, recognizing the world's limits and ours, giving attention to faces we love and, in short, to beauty."

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Education and the Image of Man

Maurice Friedman
Temple University

"Knowledge for What?" That was the title of a famous book on education by Robert Lynd. For what indeed!

The greatest contribution that Plato has made to the lived moral life of mankind is not his idea of the Good or the subtleties of his dialectic but his image, in the *Apology*, of Socrates—the man who showed in his life and death what it means to say that "an unexamined life is not worth living." The value of education and the education of values are inseparably connected with the image of man.

The "image of man," as I use the term in my books, *Problematic Rebel* and *To Deny Our Nothingness**, is an integral part of man's search to understand himself in order to become himself, of his search for an image of authentic personal existence. "Authentic personal existence" does not mean some moral standard imposed from without or some universal "ought" that need only be applied. It means a meaningful personal direction, a response from within to what one meets in each new situation, standing one's ground and going out to meet the world with the attitude that is rooted in this ground. Man cannot live without seeking for authentic existence; for man, as Nietzsche said, is a valuing animal. However a man may think *qua* scientist, technician, observer, as a *person* he must be concerned again and again with potentiality, choice, decision, with the better and the worse, with discovering an authentic response to each situation that he faces.

That we are all "men" is the commonest presupposition of our social intercourse. What man is, can be, and ought to become is continually changing, however, not only with each new culture and period of history, but with each new individual. Man comes to awareness of himself as a self not just through his in-

Maurice Friedman, now Professor of Religion at Temple University, is well known for his studies of Martin Buber and for his writings on "the image of man." Before going to Temple, he taught philosophy and religion at many institutions—including Sarah Lawrence College (1951-65), the University of Chicago, Washington University, Ohio State University, Vassar, Columbia, and various schools of psychiatry. He is the author of *MARTIN BUBER: THE LIFE OF DIALOGUE*, *PROBLEMATIC REBEL*, and *TO DENY OUR NOTHINGNESS*. In the article we are now privileged to present Professor Friedman relates his focal concern for "personal authenticity" to the question of the VALUE of education for the individual. The ultimate value, as he sees it, is to be discovered in the "image of man" a student acquires through his unique responses to the books and men he is confronted with.

* *Problematic Rebel: An Image of Modern Man*. New York: Random House, 1963. *To Deny Our Nothingness: Contemporary Images of Man*. New York: Delacorte Press, 1967; Delta Books (paperback), 1968.

dividuality and not just through his differences from others but in dialogue with other selves—in their response to him and the way they call him into being. Because man lives as a separate self and yet in relation to other persons and to society, present, past, and to come, he needs an image of man to aid him in finding a meaningful way of life, in choosing between conflicting sets of values, in realizing his own unique potentialities. Our human existence itself is at once tradition and unexplored future, acceptance and rebellion. The image of man is an embodiment of an attitude and a response. Whether it is an image shared by only one man or by society as a whole, the individual stands in a unique personal relation to it.

Seeking an Image of Man The very universality of our age makes us all too aware of the conditioned, culturally limited, and relative nature of all our modern images: we look on them as merely pragmatic means of fulfilling already established values. The "ought" of modern man tends to be a mere aspect of the "is": instead of giving genuine direction to the ever-expanding "is," it tends passively to reflect it. Sexual "morality," for example, is thought of more often in terms of what "one" does or of the statistics of the Kinsey reports than in terms of any genuine moral claim!

Every society has an image of man it wishes to educate in its young, and the teacher properly represents the society in this task. Yet he does not fulfill his task through imposing an image but through confronting his student with it and through allowing him to develop in free dialogue with it. Nor will the image the student develops ever be identical with that of the teacher or the society he represents. It can at best be a creative response to that image. Education must certainly be social and political education for life in a democracy. But it cannot be an "instrument of national policy," as James Bryant Conant, Dwight Eisenhower, and other prominent educators suggested in 1949.*

If the approach to education as a mere technique for moulding patriotic and useful citizens is fallacious, the approach to education as the means to self-realization and the fulfillment of potentialities is almost equally so. The whole notion of the I.Q. in our country has led the student to substitute potentiality for actuality, to consider being brilliant more important than being faithful in response to what he learns. But it has also led to seeing man not as a *person* in the process of becoming but as a bundle of potentialities seen from the outside, an individual whose value is to be judged solely by his potential or actual contribution to society. I once had a student who refused to continue her study of music in college, despite such great talent that her teacher thought she could be-

* Report on "American Education and International Tensions," approved by N.E.A. at its annual meeting in 1949. Report signed by Conant, Eisenhower *et al.*

come a composer, because her father, after being told that she had musical "talent," forced her as a child to sit two hours every day at the piano and sat beside her to make sure that she did so!

Self-Realization as By-Product Even "self-realization" is not a valid goal for education for we do not know what self it is that we want to realize. Our potentialities are legion. To become a real person means to give them direction in response to the claim of situations that cannot be reduced to functions of our own subjectivity. We do not "express" our *selves*. When we have encountered something real, what we express is our meeting with it, our response to it. Similarly we do not realize ourselves except as we forget ourselves and move spontaneously and wholeheartedly to answer what calls us out—in art, in religion, in social problems, in science. Self-realization is neither the end nor the means. It is the by-product. "By never being an end in oneself, one endlessly becomes oneself," says Lao-tzu.

The true teacher has always been aware that above all he is confronting his students with images of man and that it is precisely through this confrontation that he *educates* the student. The unique response of every student to the image of man is that which draws out of him the potentialities of becoming and makes him at last into an "educated" man—one who has made tradition his own and just thereby has become more uniquely himself. This is clear enough in the study of literature, but it is also central in philosophy, the social sciences, and even in psychology when it is approached in a humanistic fashion. This recognition of the central significance of the image of man is opposed, of course, to the view of education as mere training in techniques or adaptation to the environment. It is equally opposed to the focus on the classics or the "Great Books" as abstract, objective truth to be apprehended by the analytical intelligence and stamped on the unformed mind.

Education must, of course, help the student to become a mature adult, an active member of family and community groups, a citizen of a democracy. But it must also educate him to live in a world of stresses and strains, of crises and wars—a world of "the death of God" in which we no longer have a direction of authentic existence, in which not only our values but the source and ground of these values is relativized, called in question, shattered, or rationalized away. Our greatest educational need today is precisely the education of character, the education of men who will be ready to respond to unforeseen historical and personal situations with integrity, with flexibility, with openness, with strength.

Against Adaptation The image of man offers a fruitful alternative to three classical educational dilemmas. It does not have to

ask whether human nature is *evil* and to be controlled or *good* and to be developed. Rather it confronts and evokes, trusts and encourages, guides and sustains. Secondly, it need not be hung up on the question of whether education is for the sake of preserving the traditions of the past or creating the future. It sets the student in creative relation to the past and just thereby enables him to respond to the new situation and bring real value attitudes to it. It frees him from the sterile conflict between conformity and rebellion and allows him to find a ground of his own from which to relate and contribute to the social whole. Thirdly, it need not be anguished over the question of whether the teacher is educator or propagandist so long as it makes the heart of education that genuine dialogue in which the teacher presents and points to images of man yet encourages the student to respond to them—accepting or rejecting—in his own unique way. The image of man avoids the fallacies of social psychology and educational theory that have plagued American education—the fallacies of education for adjustment, of the introjection of the Generalized Other, of instrumentalism and environmentalism, of “culture” and the Great Books, of education as the development of potentialities, the realizing of the self, or the forwarding of national policy. Education which simply adapts one to society does not fit one to live in and contend with society. It robs society itself of the creative and unique contribution that a modern Socrates or a modern Amos might make who stood his ground and witnessed for a true word in a historical situation. Even education for the space-age must be subject to the challenge and test of why we are racing for the moon and what it is in our national way of life that, through the competition of science and arms, we are trying to defend.

Between Role and Stance In assessing the values of education we cannot leave out of account the tension between one's social role and one's personal stance. The young man or woman who leaves college to enter on a vocation must make the assertion that he has a calling to which he is called—an assertion which must often seem a ridiculous piece of play-acting to the doctor, lawyer, psychotherapist, teacher, or minister who plays his social role for the first time. If one does succeed in making his assertion that he is a doctor, a lawyer, or a business man “stick,” this does not mean that he will have escaped for good from that painful loneliness and responsibility that comes of being a separate individual who, if he is to be a real person, must acquire the courage and the strength both to meet others and to hold his ground when he meets them. To be confirmed in one's social role is not necessarily the same as being confirmed as a person—as the unique person that one is, apart from all social classifications and categories. It may even happen, on the contrary, that the more successful one is in one's social role, the less one feels confirmed as a

person. This is bound to be the case where one's social role remains mere "role-playing" and is never integrated in any thoroughgoing fashion with one's existence as a person. It is particularly true of those whose social roles make it necessary for them to profess attitudes, convictions, and ideals that they may not really hold. But it is also likely to be true of anyone who, in his desperate need for the confirmation of others, prefers to sacrifice his personal integrity rather than run the risk of not being established in a definite, socially approved position.

The student who enters the world stands, therefore, in the tension between personal and social confirmation. He cannot resolve this tension by renouncing social confirmation, for no man can live without it: everybody must play a social role, both as a means to economic livelihood and as the simplest prerequisite of any sort of relations with other people in the family and society. On the other hand, he cannot resolve the tension by sacrificing personal confirmation, for this suppression of his own uniqueness will result in an anxiety that may be more and more difficult to handle as the gap between what he is as a person and the role that he plays widens. To stand faithfully in this tension is to insist that one's confirmation in and by society be in some significant sense also a confirmation of oneself as a unique person who does not fit into any social category. The extent to which education enables the student to stand in this tension is one of the most decisive tests of its value—from an economic as well as any other point of view.

Values and Necessities One of the sad things about even the best of educators at even the most enlightened and progressive of institutions is the tendency to keep educational values in one compartment and practical economic necessities in another. One of the reasons for this is the tendency in our culture to regard values as static ideals—a sort of inspirational icing on the cupcake of the quotidian—rather than as a direction of movement which informs one's decisions concerning change, starting from the situation in which one finds oneself. The very notion of the inherent conflict between the ideal and the practical assumes a static nature of both. No ideal that disregards the actual situation from which one starts is worth anything. But a "practicality" which regards the situation as a necessary evil and leaves change up to *ad hoc* decisions is only specious.

Another reason for the gap between educational values and practical economics is the problem of communication. The structures of most academic institutions, even the small ones, tend to obstruct quite as much as to promote communication. "Values" often become monolithic abstractions imposed from above by presidents, deans, and committees, and the real meaning of education

to the student and even to the teacher is lost sight of. Instead of the continuing dialogue between administration, faculty, departments, and students out of which the practical implementation of educational values should arise, formalism and mistrust all too often become the order of the day.

It is obvious that the practical economics of the quality of education must be different for a university than for a college, for a large institution than a small one, for a state-controlled institution than a private nonsectarian or denominational one. Yet this does not mean that in each of these types of institutions one cannot work toward implementing the educational values of dialogue and the image of man. To do so means willingness to make real structural changes and even sacrifices. I do not believe, as I once did, that effective learning takes place only in small discussion classes and not in lectures. But I do believe that real discussion classes—small enough for everyone to take part and open enough for genuine interchange and interaction—are an absolute necessity for *any* educational institution that is seriously concerned with education. Question-and-answer quiz sections are not enough for real learning to take place. All methods of education have their legitimacy—from the private conference, the seminar, the small discussion group, and the regular classroom to the lecture hall, the TV class, and the national telephone hookup. We must continue to expect small liberal arts colleges that center around the individual, like Sarah Lawrence, decentralized systems of colleges that group into a university like Santa Cruz, and multiversities like the University of California at Berkeley. But this does not mean that the multiversity must cut adrift entirely from Mark Hopkins' definition of a college as a log with a teacher on one end and a student on the other. When I spoke to a small group of professors and administrators at the University of California at Berkeley on Martin Buber's approach to education, Chancellor Strong said that he was fascinated with the notion of education as dialogue. It must be fine for a small college like Sarah Lawrence, he added, but he could not see how it could be applied to a large university like Berkeley. There can be dialogue in lectures, too, I replied, but the student must have some chance of checking what he has learned with the teacher. And if in the present structure he has no such chance, then some of the vast sums that go into buildings and scientific research should be diverted to this purpose.

From Mistrust to Dialogue I did not know at the time that Berkeley had classes of two thousand. But this conversation and the parting words of the Chancellor—that he had to go to a meeting where he expected hidden microphones to be planted in the room by his opponents—came back to me with new meaning at the time of the Berkeley student riots. The large and impersonal nature of the University of California plus the atmosphere

of mutual mistrust were quite as important factors in the rebellion as the issue of freedom of speech. It is ironic—indeed tragic—that an era of unprecedented expanding education should be an era of contracting contact between teacher and student. How can one reconcile education as dialogue with the programmed teaching box? With the competitive pressure of grades and examinations which results in the instrumentalization of knowledge, the dehumanization of the humanities, the false departmentalization and provincialization of knowledge, the gap between the “two cultures”? Values cannot be just the possession of the elders who know better. However much the student rioters all over the country may be “problematic rebels,” to use the title of my own book, they are not rebels without a cause. Teaching, curriculum, requirements, grades, examination, large classes—all suggest that even the cost of student protests and demonstrations may be a legitimate educational expense. This is true, of course, only if it promotes communication. But in a situation where there is no dialogue, sometimes even these negative forms, however distorted by subjective emotion and political motives, may be a beginning point of communication. All too often the modern university offers half-way measures as panaceas—survey courses, civilization courses, synthesis courses. When I left a gigantic state university, I was scheduled to teach an eleven-week course in the whole history of the humanities to make up to science seniors for the liberal arts that they had not had! In a small and top-flight college that I visited recently, on the other hand, the standards were so high and the requirements so rigid that anything that might decently be called liberal arts appeared to be choked out by the goal of preparing students for graduate school.

One of the most serious issues of the economics of the quality of education is the encroachment on liberal arts education by technical training, early specialization, graduate school preparation, and a whole atmosphere of competitive pressure that makes study for its own sake almost an impossibility. Equally serious is the fragmentation of the liberal arts so that they themselves become mere special fields of study, and the wholeness of man—the image of man—is lost sight of. Worst of all is the fact that the serious but economically deprived student often feels himself compelled to be purely technical and practical whereas the economically privileged student often regards education as the “cultural” ornament of the leisure class.

In the end the economics of the quality of education means the economics of becoming human in our society. Is our goal “know-how” and success or openness and response? Are we educating smart-dealers who know how to turn everything to account or are we educating men who will bring themselves in good faith to the meeting with the world that calls them—and us—out? The ultimate economic value of education is the image of man.

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(From the *New Introduction* by Francesco Cordasco, Montclair State College).

(New York: Appleton, 1897) 202 pp.

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On Bottlenecks in Mathematics Education

Stephen I. Brown
Harvard University

The low intellectual level at which arguments and counterarguments for reform in school mathematics are pitched is distressing, to say the least. In general, opposing camps seem to talk *at* and not *to* each other. There is very little effort to clarify what people *mean*, and attempts at taking a philosophical stand, meagre as they have been, have been squelched with invectives such as "put up or shut up." Morris Kline has often been the butt of such remarks, for the premium nowadays seems to be on "producing material"—which means writing curricula for the schools. Twice within the last nine years, he has written lead articles in *The Mathematics Teacher*, only to be chastised in a response article on each occasion either for being factually incorrect, or for not putting his ideas down in the form of a text, where (according to Zant—his most recent respondent) they can be "judged and tried out by teachers in the schools."¹

In the second "debate" Zant further asserts, "The time has passed for merely talking about what should be done. It seems that a pattern has evolved for producing materials." He then suggests the following five point pattern for writing curriculum materials.

1. The material should be produced by a team effort. Certainly the team of writers should include mathematicians, mathematics educators, and teachers. Valuable assistance can be furnished by learning theorists and measurement specialists.
2. The material should be written so that the student for whom it is intended can read it.
3. The material should be used experimentally in the schools. If it does not teach—that is, if the students do not attain the stated behavioral objectives (there are also other kinds of worthy objectives)—the material should be rewritten and retested experimentally until the students do learn.

Stephen I. Brown is Assistant Professor of Education in Mathematics at Harvard's Graduate School of Education. Here he challenges the reformers of school mathematics curricula to raise the level of their discussions, to clarify their terms, and to stop being middlemen between the scholars and the schools. In attempting to define the "deeper role" to be played by mathematicians, he succeeds in presenting his discipline in its multiple relationships; and he makes a good many things clear.

- 1 Morris Kline, "The Ancients Versus the Moderns, A New Battle of Books," and Albert E. Meder Jr., "The Ancients Versus the Moderns—A Reply," *The Mathematics Teacher*, LI, No. 6, 1958, pp. 418-433; Morris Kline, "A Proposal for the High School Mathematics Curriculum," and James H. Zant, "A Proposal for the High School Mathematics Curriculum—What Does it Mean?" *The Mathematics Teacher*, LIX, 4, 1966, pp. 322-334.

4. Meaning and understanding of the fundamental concepts of mathematics are essential; hence the material should be written from this point of view.
5. If there are so-called modern concepts of mathematics which are useful in teaching and understanding of the mathematics included, they should be used.²

I am not at all convinced that this list of truisms, vague assertions and oversimplifications would be the least bit helpful to Kline or anyone else concerned with curriculum revision. Furthermore, I should like to stress one obvious point that seems to have been missed by reformers' reactions to Kline. Though *the production of a curriculum* may tend to clarify what a man means by claims such as "to get a student to understand mathematics, he must re-create it," there are other ways of clarifying meaning. Furthermore, no amount of curriculum experimentation in schools is going to answer rather fundamental questions like:

- (1) What is mathematics and how does it relate to science? to reality?
- (2) Why should mathematics be taught?
- (3) How does the "creative mathematician" generate mathematical ideas?

That is, there are certain points made by Kline, and by others, that are worth arguing about and capable of fruitful analysis even without the existence of a "crash program" to substantiate them.

It is indeed unfortunate that in his more recent article Morris Kline once more creates so many caricatures and commits so many factual errors.³ In addition, as with previous articles on both sides of the fence, he tends to make—without justifying or clarifying—sweeping assertions in the area of mathematics education. Still, there are serious philosophical and experimental questions embedded in his article, and I should like to unearth some of them. I would like to dispense first with the factual errors (and urge others concerned with questions of substance to do likewise) over which opponents will gloat. I wish then to raise what seem to me to be some basic questions suggested by the article, questions to which I would like to see the math-education community address itself. The primary object here will not be to take a stand on the issues, nor to draw distinctions between (and to make a case for) "modern" vs. "traditional" approaches to mathematics. I merely wish to open questions that ought to be met head on by the various factions.

² Zant, p. 333, *loc. cit.*

³ Kline, "Intellectuals and The Schools: A Case History," *Harvard Educational Review*, 36, 1966, pp. 505-11.

Kline's Attack The main thrust of Kline's article revolves about the related issues of *teacher education* and *curriculum design*.

- (A) Given the inadequate background of most school teachers, it would have been more appropriate for college mathematics professors to educate teachers by providing courses rather than to attempt revision of the curriculum by writing new texts essentially on their own. Kline comments, "The sad fact that most teachers were poorly prepared and that the wiser effort might have been to improve their backgrounds was not considered." He indicates that, though the National Science Foundation was formed (independent of the reform movement) to improve the mathematical backgrounds of teachers, the reformers "soon enlisted the NSF institutes in the program of teaching teachers *how* to *present* modern mathematics" (emphasis my own).⁴
- (B) The "revisionists'" view of mathematics as expressed in their "modern" curricula (self-generating, logically tight, rigorous, deductive, abstract, divorced from science and reality, unmotivated) is at least misguided from the point of view of what constitutes creative mathematics, and is certainly inappropriate for the audience (school children) these men attempted to "educate." Furthermore, the new programs were foisted on the nation with no experimental evidence of success. Kline comments, "One would also think that these curricula would be tried out experimentally for an appreciable period of time before the country is advised that something satisfactory is at hand. Most of these groups undertook no experimental work at all." With regard to SMSG, Professor Kline comments that though some of the texts were revised, "none of the material was thoroughly tested before it was urged upon the country." He finds it significant that in the April 1966 *Mathematics Teacher*, E. G. Begle, head of the School Mathematics Study Group, calls for criticism of the SMSG program with the intention of devising a new sequential curriculum.⁵

Setting Things Straight Let us first clear up several misconceptions related to these issues, and then raise some broader questions that seem to lurk beneath Kline's attack. With regard to (A):

- (i) It is difficult to assess and document the kind of influence that reform movements had on the NSF Institute and vice versa. It was perhaps inevitable that *leaders* in one organization would become influential in another. There seems to be little evidence, however, to substantiate the claim that reformers were successful (if in fact they tried) in converting the NSF program

4 *Ibid.*, p. 506.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 509.

into pedagogical institutes with the intention of training teachers in the use of a modern mathematics curriculum. There exist (and have existed for years) some NSF Institutes that make *no* use of any programs that are part of the curriculum reform movement—unless Kline considers such texts as Kemeny, Snell and Thompson's *Introduction to Finite Mathematics* as part of the reform movement.⁶ Furthermore, in answer to Kline's criticism that there exists an emphasis on *how to present modern* mathematics at these institutes, the following remark by NSF at least indicates their intention to the contrary: "The institutes are intended to strengthen the teachers' mastery of the subject matter they teach; the subject matter is emphasized rather than methods of teaching."⁷

(ii) The fact that curricula may be adopted in some schools in a way that by-passes the judgment of teachers is the fault not of curriculum reformers, but reflects on school systems and a society which conceives of teachers primarily as pawns and baby-sitters. Certainly the selection of teaching material *for* and not *by* the teacher is a problem which existed before research mathematicians took a hand in the design of curriculum.

With regard to (B):

(i) The SMSG program has in fact produced a series for students *and* teachers on the relationship of mathematics to science.⁸ Zant mentions the program in his retort to Kline and indicates that "Many of the students were not familiar enough with science concepts to use the formulas without actually going through the experiments and making the appropriate measurements."⁹

(ii) It is not clear what kind of "experimental work" Professor Kline desires, but it appears that the School Mathematics Study Group has taken the task of analyzing its program at least as seriously as most other curriculum writers in the country. The following quotation from the preface of a junior high school SMSG text indicates the manner in which evaluation was conducted:

Fourteen experimental units for use in the seventh and eighth grades were written in the summer of 1958 and tried out by approximately 100 teachers in 12 centers in various parts of the country in the school year 1958-59. On the basis of teacher evaluations these units were revised during the sum-

6 Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1955. This text (and no secondary school text) was used for several summers at N.S.F. Institutes at Simmons College.

7 *Training Opportunities for Secondary School Teachers of Mathematics and Science*, 1967, National Science Foundation brochure.

8 For students in grades 7-9, see *Mathematics and Living Things*, Parts 1 and 2, School Mathematics Study Group, 1964; *Mathematics Through Science*, Parts 1-3, School Mathematics Study Group, 1963. For teachers see G. Polya, *Mathematical Methods in Science*, *Studies in Mathematics*, Vol. XI, School Mathematics Study Group, 1964.

9 Zant, *loc. cit.*, p. 332.

mer of 1959 and, with a number of new units, were made a part of sample textbooks for grade 7 and a book of experimental units for grade 8. In the school year 1959-60, these seventh and eighth grade books were used by about 175 teachers in many parts of the country, and then further revised in the summer of 1960.¹⁰

The experimental evidence that Kline desires may not be that which was described above, but at any rate *the* major curriculum revision group in mathematics in this country has in some sense been testing its program. The fact that Professor Begle proposed major revisions on the basis of experience ought to support rather than damage a point of view which calls for "experimentation." Furthermore the SMSG program is now completing a five-year longitudinal study designed to measure achievement, attitude and aptitude of students taking both traditional and modern mathematics programs.¹¹

In pointing out a few of the factual errors in interpretation, I hope that I have *not* conveyed the notion that I am an "SMSG-ophile." I have selected SMSG to refute several of Kline's assertions merely because it has been such an influential "modern" program and because information on it is readily accessible. I should like to turn now to what seem to me to be the more substantial issues raised by Kline.

I should stress that I pretend to be no expert in the politics of curriculum innovation, and make no claims about appropriate ways of proceeding. It seems to me, however, that there exist basic questions of a philosophical and experimental nature that ought to be (and in fact are not being) considered by those concerned with curriculum development. The questions will be generated from the following four categories that Kline alludes to in his recent article: Mathematics and Intuition, Creation of Mathematical Ideas, Mathematics and Science, Goals of Teaching Mathematics.

Mathematics and Intuition Professor Kline asserts, "Mathematics is understood intuitively, that is, through pictorial, physical and experiential evidence," rather than through logical arguments.¹² The implication here is that *all* of mathematics is understood this way. It seems to me that there are many fairly elementary mathematical ideas (that jar one's intuition), for which there are no *pictorial* or *physical* (I'm not sure what he means by "experiential" here) methods of persuasion. How (especially before

10 *Mathematics for Junior High School*: Vol. I, Part I, SMSG, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960.

11 Leonard S. Cahen, "An Interim Report on the National Longitudinal Study of Mathematical Ability," *The Mathematics Teacher*, LVIII, 6, 1965, pp. 522-526.

12 Kline, *loc. cit.*, p. 508 (3).

one is familiar with the theory of equations) does one come to understand intuitively that $\sqrt{2}$ is irrational (cannot be expressed in the form a/b for a and b integers)? How does one come to appreciate intuitively that though *all* the rational numbers can be put in a one-to-one correspondence with the natural numbers (1, 2, 3, 4, ...), the real numbers (all non-imaginary numbers) are so "huge" that there is no such correspondence for them on as short an interval as one wishes to name (i.e., the rationals are countable, while the reals are uncountable)? How does one intuitively see that (using ruler and compass) it is, in general, impossible to trisect an angle? I suggest a serious analysis of the following kinds of questions:

- (1) What mathematical concepts lend themselves to particular kinds of intuitive explanations? Which do not? I suggest that a close analysis be given to "impossibility" concepts in mathematics, and more generally to ideas that seem to require proof by contradiction.
- (2) What kind of teaching tends to develop one's sense of intuition? (It is worth pointing out the rather obvious fact that a phenomenon which is "intuitively obvious" to one person is nonsense to another.) There seems to be a move among several curriculum designers (especially for early elementary grades) *away* from a rigorous, deductive approach, and *towards* a more "playful" spirit—referred to by exponents of Educational Services Incorporated (now known as E.D.C.) as a "pre-mathematical" experience. The emphasis is in fact on working with "things" (pendula, blocks, cards, etc.) under very minimal direction from a teacher. The claim is that there is little need (at least from the logical point of view of supplying information) for reinforcement by a teacher under such a scheme because the youngster's hunches are easily verifiable through manipulation of materials.

Though psychological evidence—Piaget in particular—would seem to suggest such an approach especially at pre-operational and concrete stages of development, Friedlander has pointed out that the generation of hypotheses and their simultaneous evaluation, i.e. production and editing, are behaviors which, though pedagogically desirable, may not be (in the absence of training) psychologically compatible.¹³

What in fact is the impact on one's sense of intuition of such concrete experience? Does an early approach of intensive experience of this sort yield powerful pay-off when the child is prepared to conceive of the world in more abstract terms, or does it hinder his development by wedding him to the need for concrete representations? It is worth recalling a notion that

13 B. Z. Friedlander, "A Psychologist's Second Thoughts on Concepts, Curiosity, and Discovery in Teaching and Learning," *Harvard Educational Review*, 35, 1965, pp. 18-38.

has begun to dawn on those who are anxious to interpret Piaget's results for the classroom. As enlightening as his scheme may be, Piaget (concerned as much with epistemological issues as with psychological ones) was essentially *testing* and not attempting to *teach* youngsters what his tests indicated they in fact could not grasp. In addition, the existence of cognitive stages of development from infancy to adolescence does not in and of itself imply that at any given stage ideas must be presented in an order which reflects the chronological growth of the individual.

- (3) How does one's facility in understanding ideas intuitively affect his inclination to *prove* conjectures? to generate conjectures?
- (4) What do we mean by an *intuitive understanding*? Is an intuitive understanding one which merely engenders greater belief in a concept, or need it represent the skeleton of a formal proof? (In the case of irrationality of $\sqrt{2}$, the former is much easier to come by than the latter.)
- (5) Historically, what were the circumstances surrounding the generation and clarification of anti-intuitive mathematical ideas? What (if any) pedagogical implications can we draw? What kinds of pedagogical questions ought we ask? With perhaps a correction factor of ϵ (and ϵ clearly approaches 0) none of the curriculum programs in mathematics ("traditional," "modern," or otherwise) places in historical perspective any of the significant (intuitive or otherwise) ideas introduced. The modern programs are especially guilty of giving the illusion that the beautiful "structural" development of the subject, arrived full blown like Athena from the top of Zeus' head. Perhaps more significant is the fact that (and this hardly needs documentation) very few teachers of mathematics are even the least bit familiar with the history of the subject. One need not be committed to a "genetic" principle in the teaching of mathematics to appreciate that historical analysis may shed some light on the intellectual hurdles that one must overcome in order to appropriately understand an idea.

The difficulties involved in using negative numbers (referred to as "numeri ficti"—fictitious numbers) during the Renaissance might indicate that the concept has more substance than appears on the surface, and that a cavalier extension of a number line "to the left" glosses over a multitude of sins. Might the student and the teacher *both* learn something significant about how perceptions of the "real world" may simultaneously *suggest* and *hinder* the development of mathematical ideas (especially anti-intuitive ones) through a close analysis of the evolution of the derivative and definite integral in the calculus?

That there were great debates among scholars in the 17th century over the sum of the simple looking infinite expression $1 - 1 + 1 - 1 + 1 - 1 + \dots$

$1 - 1 + \dots$, suggests that the idea of an infinite sum is far from intuitive, and as a matter of fact requires some fancy and rather arbitrary machinery. The fact that it took two centuries to arithmetize the very vague geometric concept of the infinitely small ("atoms" which are neither finite nor zero), which neither Newton nor Leibniz was able to really clarify, suggests not only that the ideas are anti-intuitive, but that their clarification required an intellectual *tour de force* which is hardly conveyed to a beginning calculus student by a slick ϵ, δ definition of limit.

- (6) How ought intuition and rigor to interrelate in the attempt to codify what one already strongly believes in mathematics? The problem is both philosophical and pedagogical. How should one conceive of mathematics? How should he teach it?
- (7) We have been speaking of intuition simultaneously as an attribute of *explanation* and of *understanding*. How do these two ideas relate?

Creation of Mathematical Ideas Kline comments, "Moreover, in the creation of mathematics the thinking consists not of logical arguments but of guessing, conjecturing, generalizing from specific examples, and imagining a plan of attack. To get students to grasp mathematics thoroughly, they must re-create it, of course with the guidance of a teacher . . ."¹⁴ As far as I know, there is very little evidence on how mathematical ideas were originally conceived. Jacques Hadamard presents some insight on the basis of after-the-fact introspection by famous mathematicians, but this is barely a beginning.¹⁵ I suspect that the "creative moment" in most cases is arrived at through a much less rational process than even the essentially inductive procedure that Kline describes, and that Polya has popularized so well.¹⁶ It would certainly be enlightening to find out how, in fact, ideas are "created" by research mathematicians. In particular, it would be interesting to see if there is a significant difference depending upon the branch of mathematics. What kinds of "pictures" inspire the algebraist?

Interesting as this information would be, it seems to me that we ought to be cautious about drawing pedagogical imperatives from it. Must we also re-create the social milieu together with all the "irrational" attributes that led to the genesis of an hypothesis? Why *must* students re-create mathematics in order to understand it thoroughly? Towards what end? Perhaps by "understand thoroughly," Kline means that they ought to conceive of their task in the same way that

¹⁴ Kline, *loc. cit.*, p. 508 (3).

¹⁵ Jacques Hadamard. *Psychology of Invention in the Mathematical Field*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1945.

¹⁶ George Polya. *How to Solve It*. Princeton University Press, 1948. *Induction and Analogy in Mathematics*. Princeton, 1954.

the originator of the idea did. If this is the case, however, his remark is essentially tautologous.

What kind of worthwhile experimentation can be conducted in which students do in fact re-create mathematics? How is their grasp of the mathematical ideas as well as transfer to other tasks affected by the process? Most of the experimentation as well as text material on student discovery requires such a trivial amount of organization and clarification on the part of the student, that one would hardly be said to be re-creating the mathematics—even with the guidance of a teacher.¹⁷

Mathematics and Science Kline comments that mathematics is “not self-generating and in any case not self-justifying to students. Motivation for the study must be given, and the most appealing and historically most justified motivation is the use of mathematics to help man understand and master natural phenomena. This interconnection with the sciences would, beyond supplying motivation, give meaning to concepts and theorems, because these are abstractions from reality.”¹⁸ Below are a few experimental and philosophical questions which his assertion raises, and which ought to be analyzed:

- (1) The fact that Professor Kline finds the usefulness of mathematics in helping man understand and master natural phenomena as the most appealing motivation for the study of mathematics is no reason to make the unqualified assertion that the subject is *not* self-justifying for students. For what kinds of students are what kinds of motivations appropriate? Certainly many people are intrigued by puzzles of all sorts regardless of their relationship to problems in the mastery of “natural phenomena.”¹⁹ Perhaps more to the point, regardless of what in fact *does* motivate students, do we wish to engender an attitude of *inquiry for its own sake* and not necessarily for answering some pressing “wordly” problems? If the answer is yes, then what in fact *does* motivate students may be something we attempt to influence (how?) rather than something we (as the jargon goes) “capitalize on.”

17 For a further analysis of the sense in which “discovery” is used in some of the modern mathematics programs, see S. Brown, *Selected Issues Related to Structure in the Learning of Mathematics*, unpublished doctoral dissertation, Harvard Graduate School of Education, 1967.

18 Kline, *loc. cit.*, p. 508 (3).

19 Most of the modern programs as well as the traditional ones seem to conceive of problems in a very narrow sense. That is, regardless of the extent to which mathematics is viewed as a structure, it is very rare that problems are posed whose solutions do not follow from the context of the immediately preceding section.

- (2) There is a clear implication that mathematical theorems and concepts are abstractions from reality, while science is more concrete. As with *intuition* vs. *rigor*, the dichotomy is obviously in need of clarification. Science, it seems to me, may be as "abstract" as mathematics. Perhaps more to the point, what kinds of explanations (scientific or mathematical, or both) are concrete (or abstract) for what students at what levels of sophistication? It has become a truism that in teaching mathematics (and perhaps in teaching in general), one ought to proceed from the concrete to the abstract. What is concrete for whom? Do positive instances of a generalization represent something "concrete"? Is a model (scientific or mathematical) necessary as a concrete representation? What are the consequences of proceeding from the abstract to the concrete? It is worth clarifying what we mean by these very abused terms. It may be necessary to distinguish between philosophical (abstract, being more general), and psychological (abstract, being "harder") uses of the terms.
- (3) Regardless of motivational and clarifying value of science in the learning of mathematics *per se*, should math and science (together with perhaps other disciplines) be taught as interrelated subjects? That is, is there something "valuable" (aesthetically or from the viewpoint of intellectual "potency") about perceiving the world in an *interdisciplinary spirit*? Here clarification of meaning is once more required.
- (i) In the name of "integration" of various branches of mathematics, there exist some school systems which "unite" algebra and geometry by using two different texts (each independently conceived)—one for each subject—and alternate their use from one day to the next. This "layer cake" approach would seem on the surface to have very little value above teaching the subjects independently. One could of course plan to cover related topics (as is generally *not* done in the above case) in mathematics and science (like differentiation in mathematics and laws for falling bodies in physics) at the same time in two different courses.
 - (ii) Another possible interpretation of interdisciplinary might be the one that Kline seems to be suggesting. We could use science as a *tool* for motivating and clarifying mathematics (or of course vice versa).
 - (iii) One could—in a Progressive Education spirit—bring several disciplines to bear on a particular theme (like "occupations serving the household," "European backgrounds of the colonists," as in Dewey's "Laboratory School"). There, of course, is no guarantee that there will emerge any worthwhile mathematics (for example) in a unit on "occupations

serving the household," but then Dewey did supplement these units with more formal work in several of the disciplines, and perhaps one can think of more pervasive foci.

(iv) Another possibility would be to select underlying philosophical-type themes that represent the concern (on a "meta" level) of all disciplines. One might take a comparative look at the meaning and role of "definition," "proof," "doubt," "evidence," "consistency," "explanation," etc. among the various subjects. I am not sure how proficient one has to be in a subject before he can gain from such an analysis. Professor Olafson in reviewing Daniel Bell's *The Reformation of General Education* takes a dim view of the feasibility of such "conceptual inquiry" within just one discipline as a general education requirement for college students.²⁰ I should think that an even superficial "go" at some of these philosophical questions would yield greater dividends than he concedes. That an intellectual counterpart of Heisenberg's uncertainty principle exists in mathematics (Gödel's incompleteness theorem), which places the foundations of the subject on a bed of quicksand, might give pause to those who feel that the only way to respectability in a discipline is through quantification and the building of mathematical models. One of Gödel's major conclusions is that, given any system within which arithmetic can be developed (which of course excludes finite systems), there exist true statements not derivable within the system.²¹ In general, a curriculum designed to analyze the limitations of various disciplines in *answering* (or *asking* for that matter) significant questions would seem to warrant serious consideration as a general education requirement.

Goals of Teaching Mathematics Professor

Kline bemoans the fact that no one of the curriculum groups sought to understand the goals of elementary and high school education. He comments, "In view of the large number of students who attend the lower schools, most of whom never get to college, and of the relative ignorance of these students, surely the objectives of education at these levels are different from those of the liberal arts colleges. Nevertheless, no group prefaced its recommendations by an analysis of what the elementary and high schools should be seeking to achieve and how the new curricula contributed to these goals."²²

20 *Harvard Educational Review*, 36, 1966, pp. 537-42.

21 For an intelligent layman's discussion of Gödel's work, see Ernest Nagel and James Newman, *Gödel's Proof*. New York: New York University Press, 1960.

22 Kline, *loc. cit.*, p. 508 (3).

I think his point is a very good one. One can teach mathematics as an end in itself, and this seems to be the direction of most of the curriculum groups. Designers of curricula then need only ask themselves questions like: Given this student's level of maturity, what is the most elegant and powerful way of conceiving of a mathematical idea? One can, of course, argue the relative merits of teaching (for example) Euclidean geometry through a vector approach or Hilbert's axioms, but *the goal* is essentially to ensure that the students gain proficiency in mathematics as well as a feeling for what mathematics is about. A case in point is the pamphlet put out by Educational Services Incorporated entitled *Goals for School Mathematics*.²³ Though there are a few sweeping assertions in the section entitled "Broad Goals of the School Mathematics Curriculum," which hint at extra-systemic reasons for teaching mathematics (e.g. "The building of confidence in one's own analytic powers is another major goal of mathematics education"), the justification is for the most part self-contained. The authors claim, "A mere recital of the topics proposed for the future curriculum does scant justice to our goals. *Familiarity* is our real objective."²⁴

There are of course methodological discussions on how best to introduce these ideas.²⁵ Witness the fact that there is barely a modern mathematics text in existence which does not "advertise" the fact that it is committed to "discovery" or "structure" somewhere in its title. "Learning by discovery," however, is conceived by curriculum designers as a means to achieving a very self-contained end—proficiency in (and perhaps enjoyment of) mathematics *per se*. We might mention that even as far as *this* goal is concerned, there is much need for clarification of terms, and there seems to be very little justification for drawing *any* conclusion on the basis of what appears to be contradictory experimental evidence.²⁶

There seems to be very little talk nowadays, especially among curriculum designers, on broader justification for teaching mathematics than "familiarity" with the content. What kinds of transfer benefits do we desire? The fact that mathematics was shown years ago not to have an impact on "training of the mind" was perhaps a reflection on the teaching strategy more than on the subject. What kind of intellectual power *beyond* the ability to handle and understand mathematics do we hope that the learning of mathematics will generate?

23 *Goals for School Mathematics: The Report of the Cambridge Conference on School Mathematics*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1963.

24 *Ibid.*, p. 8.

25 See, for example, Robert Davis, *Discovery in Mathematics: A Text for Teachers*. Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1964; Z. P. Dienes, *Building Up Mathematics*. London: Hutchinson Educational Ltd., 1961.

26 Brown, *loc. cit.*, p. 17.

The fact that the achievement of such goals may be hard (or perhaps impossible) to measure is no reason not to state them and to argue over them. Once the goals are stated, they themselves will obviously not imply (logically) any pedagogical strategy, but we may have some reason to question the criterion of "elegant" or "good" mathematics as the almost sole judge of what should be taught.

Professor Kline criticizes the appointment of mathematics professors as professors of mathematics education. He feels that though they may know their subject matter better than the educators, the problem of curriculum in the schools is primarily pedagogical, and therefore ought to be the domain of education professors (perhaps working in conjunction with mathematicians) who demonstrate superiority in this area.

If by pedagogical expertise Professor Kline means that education professors are better than mathematicians at knowing *what* mathematical ideas youngsters can grasp, and at what age they can do so best, I think the issue is highly debatable. If nothing else, the modern curricula have demonstrated—contrary to the expectation of many educators—that youngsters are capable of dealing with some very sophisticated ideas quite early in their development.

I think it is unfortunate that mathematics educators persist in the role they do. The prevailing attitude among mathematics educators seems to be that they are middlemen who wait for the word from "on high" (i.e. from mathematicians) in order to find out what ought to be taught. Their job then is to interpret and implement for the education community what mathematicians feel is an appropriate curriculum.

This attitude is clearly expressed by Professor Max Beberman, of the University of Illinois Committee on School Mathematics (UICSM) and a major figure in the area of mathematics curriculum revision.

My point of view has always been that I, personally, have very little responsibility for the selection of the content to be tried out experimentally. My job is to find out what things can be taught and what things can't be taught. So, if someone makes a suggestion about a topic to be taught and it turns out that, when I give my best efforts to this, I still can't get it across to children, maybe it can't be taught—maybe. I don't know how much harm we do to students if we select good mathematical content in the first place and then exert our best efforts to get it across. I'm perfectly content, as a professor of Education, to devote all of my attention to finding the right kind of pedagogy to get mathematical ideas across to children. . . .²⁷

It seems to me that the problem of design, implementation and evaluation of a curriculum in the schools is much deeper than pedagogical in the sense I have

27 *The Role of Applications in a Secondary School Mathematics Curriculum*. Proceedings of a UICSM Conference at the University of Illinois, Urbana, 1964.

interpreted Kline's use of the word. (How to teach X to Y? At what age can X be taught to Y?). The deeper role is one that mathematicians seem notoriously anxious to avoid. If mathematics educators persist in being "middlemen," they ought at least to have mobility in both directions (from the schools to the scholars as well as the other way), and ought to broaden their scholarly communications to include psychologists and philosophers as well.

I do not mean to take the naive position of assuming that unless goals are clearly stated at the onset, nothing reasonable can follow. I am well aware of the fact that difficult problems are frequently stated only after they have been solved. I merely urge that we begin to establish *some interaction* between content and more broadly conceived goals in the design of curriculum. Without such interaction, I do not see how we can make very much sense out of the controversy over intuition vs. rigor, concrete vs. abstract, mathematics through science vs. deduction. With such interaction, perhaps we will not only begin to generate some worthwhile questions, but to carry on some non-trivial research as well.

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Mental Mnemonics in Early Learning

William D. Rohwer, Jr.

University of California, Berkeley

As we all know, differences between children with respect to their learning efficiency can be of major proportions, and may provoke questions about the activities of the learner himself. The representative question is: What is the successful child doing that the unsuccessful one is not? When we ask such a question, we are not asking about the overt performance of two children; we already know that one child does well on the test we give him and the other one does poorly. We are asking what it is that the successful child does *privately* that the unsuccessful child does not do. Thus, the purpose of the present discussion is to focus attention on those variations in the success of learning that can be traced to differences in what learners themselves do, to describe the character of some of these differences, and to suggest possible ways of reducing them.

The topic of variations in learning efficiency is of direct relevance to the problem of social-class differences in successful learning. It can be argued that what children do when they are engaged in learning is a function of the character of their early environments, and by now it is patent that the home environments of lower- and middle-class children contrast markedly. Although it is not so obvious, it is equally important to consider the possibility that differences *among* middle-class children, as well as differences *between* lower- and middle-class children may arise because of differences in environmental experience. Since we have not yet conclusively determined the identity of those intellectual experiences which are necessary for school success, we cannot very well prove that middle-class children are all afforded equal opportunities, just as we cannot prove that lower-class children are as well endowed genetically as are middle-class children.

There is no need to quibble here about the relative contributions of genetic and environmental factors to differences in school success, whether it be among middle-class children or between middle- and lower-class children. But, since we have obviously decided, for all practical purposes, that social-class differences in learning are profoundly determined by early experience, we would do well, at least for the practical purposes of middle-class children, to decide that individual differences *within* social-class groups may also result from environmental inequities. This is not to recommend that

The studies of mnemonics reported here focus on methods of helping children remember more efficiently, to the end of improving their own learning. Dr. Rohwer's inquiries hold implications not only for teaching the disadvantaged but for an understanding of middle-class children whose environmental experiences differ considerably.

we assume complete environmental determination of all differences in school learning but that we treat all instances of school failure, whether within a social-class group or between groups, as the result of the combined effects of heredity and environment and that we search out the environmental causes, if such there be, and attempt to ameliorate them.

The central contention here is that individual differences in the success of learning can often be related to differences in the private, mental activities of learners, and that the character of these activities is affected in a pronounced way by the early experiences of the child. Our society, the disciplines of education and psychology, and the educational system itself, are now receptive to and ready to participate in a concerted effort to isolate and describe the nature of mental activities crucial for successful learning. Moreover, the present climate is uniquely hospitable to ideas for installing the habit of such mental activity in those children who are disadvantaged, regardless of their social-class membership. If we are to capitalize on present conditions, our first task is to specify the character of those private mental activities engaged in by successful learners.

Mental Mnemonics What does a successful learner do between the time we present materials to him and the time we test him? What are the mnemonics employed by children who learn efficiently, and how may we impart them to others? I use the word mnemonics to refer to those mental operations of a learner which promote his acquisition of the material to be learned. Mnemonics has been defined in the Webster dictionary as "a system of precepts or rules intended to assist or improve memory." As such, mnemonics are not the highest nor the most sophisticated of mental activities. Their importance for mental life is in connection with the relatively primitive and elemental processes of learning and memory, but these are processes of no mean importance since the more complex achievements of problem solving, and even creativity, must surely presume and depend upon them. It is interesting in this regard to note that the Greek goddess of memory, Mnemosyne, was the mother of the Muses, the nine goddesses responsible for inspiration and genius in literature, the arts and the sciences. Inspired achievement was thought to issue from a source in mnemonics—in efficient memory. And, it is precisely my concern to specify some of these mnemonics and to suggest ways of inducing children to use them. By providing an adequate mnemonic foundation, we may not only enable children to learn more efficiently but also to advance well beyond memory to the production of useful ideas and to the solution of complex problems.

The Tactic of Naming The first and perhaps the most elementary of the three mnemonics we will consider is the simple

tactic of naming the materials presented for learning or memorization. *When objects are given verbal names, the objects are more memorable and learning involving the objects is made more efficient.* It was more than thirty years ago that Marjorie Pyles¹ reported a study on the effects of verbalization in learning. In order to investigate the learning of young children she developed a task that required each child to learn which of five hollow objects contained a toy. The five objects were arrayed on a table and each child was shown the object that contained the toy. The five objects were then rearranged, and the child asked to select the one containing the toy. For each child the procedure was repeated again and again until the correct object was selected four times in a row.

Eighty children, ranging from two to seven years in age, were divided into three groups, according to the specific nature of the task given them. In the first group, the hollow objects were shaped like animals familiar to the children. In the second group, the hollow objects were of unfamiliar shapes, essentially meaningless in form. The same shapes or objects were used for the children in the third group, with one difference: the experimenter named each of the objects for the children. That is, a name was given to each one of the meaningless shapes before the child made his selection. The correct object was named Mobie and the names of the others were equally meaningless: Kolo, Pito, Gamie, Bokie.

As expected, the more efficient learning took place in the group where objects of familiar shape were used. On the average, only five trials were required for the children to locate correctly the object containing a toy. In contrast, the group of children shown unfamiliar objects, meaningless objects, which were not named, required more than twenty-one trials to master the test. The most interesting group, the group in which unfamiliar shapes were used but named by the experimenter, required only fourteen trials to reach the criterion of learning. The simple device of providing names for the unfamiliar objects proved to make a marked difference in the ease with which the children learned the location of the toy.

Variations in Naming The habit of naming the objects and events one encounters is neither unusual nor sophisticated. But it does facilitate learning, and not everyone is addicted to it. We are not certain how children come to acquire the habit, but if one observes middle-class parents whose children are old enough to utter almost decipherable sounds, he notices the almost compulsive way the parents name virtually

1 Marjorie K. Pyles, "Verbalization as a Factor in Learning," *Child Development*, 1932, 3, pp. 108-113.

every object that comes into the child's view. This compulsion may have the effect of teaching the child himself to name or label whatever he sees. Many children do become habituated to this practice, but many others do not. If a child is not exposed to parental naming, his chances of acquiring the habit are probably reduced. The practice varies in amount even within middle-class homes and may account for some of the individual differences in the learning efficiency observed among middle-class, pre-school children.

More obviously, however, observation of lower-class parent-child interactions has revealed that the naming compulsion is dramatically less frequent there than in the middle-class home. A study by Jensen² lends credence to this hypothesis. In a comparative study of the learning efficiency of low- and high-IQ Mexican-American and Anglo-American children, the task was to learn which of several button switches was matched with each of a set of different colored forms. When low-IQ Mexican-American children were instructed to name the objects they were shown, their performance was noticeably improved, whereas a similar instruction given to middle-class children was virtually ineffective in improving their performance. Apparently, the learning efficiency of the high-IQ groups, whether Mexican-American or Anglo-American, was adequate even without naming instructions, indicating that such children name the forms themselves without being told to do so. Presumably, these children had acquired the habit of naming before they came to the experiment, either at home or in earlier school experiences.

As for the absence of improvement in the low-IQ Anglo-American group, one might speculate that the slow-learning of such children is the result of something other than a deficit in the naming habit—the result of something like an inherently low degree of learning ability. This last possibility prompts me to emphasize the fact that there are inherent differences between children, differences that environmental experience cannot completely erase. Mnemonics training will not work for everyone, only for those whose learning deficiencies result from a previous deprivation in such training.

General Characterizations Let me interrupt the discussion to provide a general characterization of this and the other two mnemonics we will consider. In each one, the child's activity involves him in an elaboration of the materials—that is, of the elements—he is asked to learn. It turns out that learning improves as a result of adding what might appear to be excess baggage to the elements that must be learned. In the Pyles experiment, the child's task was a simple one: to learn which of five

² A. R. Jensen, "Learning Abilities in Anglo-American and Mexican-American Children," *California Journal of Educational Research*, 12, 1961, pp. 147-159.

hollow objects contained a toy. On the face of it, the simplest process to accomplish the learning would only involve memorizing the appearance of the target object.

To the contrary, however, the results of the experiment indicate that an object is more memorable if a name is added to its appearance. That is, learning was more efficient when the number of characteristics to be remembered about each object was increased. Not only was the child's attention drawn to the appearance of the objects but also to the name of each one. The children were not asked, however, to memorize the names of the objects, only to learn which object contained a toy. Ostensibly, the addition of the names to the objects would complicate an otherwise simple situation. And yet, when it was done, the performance of the children improved. The general mnemonic precept, then, is this: *learning efficiency improves as the learner elaborates on the raw elements presented.*

In fact, to date, in our research we have not yet reached the limit of this principle. So far, it seems to be the case that the greater the increase in elaboration, the greater the increase in learning efficiency. This is not to say that children can learn greater amounts of material more readily than they can learn smaller amounts of material. Rather, the contention is that a given amount of material will be learned much faster if it is presented in the context of a larger amount of appropriate material than if it is presented alone. Once again, if the target materials are clearly specified, the greater the elaboration given to them—the richer they are—then, the more efficient will be the learning.

Experiments on Elaboration Over the past four years we have carried out a series of experiments to check this hypothesis and the results indicate that more elaboration does indeed produce greater facilitation of learning. The general method of investigation used was the method of *paired associates*, according to which the task is that of associating pairs of things (pairs of words, objects, pictures, numbers and words, words and pictures, objects and words, and so on) in such a way that when one of the members of each pair is shown, the other member can be recalled. The first member of each pair is commonly referred to as the stimulus item and the second member is called the response item. In most of our research, the paired-associates items have been either two concrete nouns, or pictures of objects whose names are concrete nouns, or pairs of actual objects for which concrete nouns are appropriate labels. For example, one of our lists of paired-associates includes items like: DOG-GATE, KNIFE-FLOWER, TEETH-APPLE, CAT-LOG, etc.

Our effort, then, was to investigate the effect of mnemonic elaboration on the learning of such lists. The initial experience is worth describing since it involved our recognition of the fact that the use of mnemonic devices in learning is not common to all human beings. A few years ago we set out to investigate some aspect of the process of paired-associate learning quite unrelated to our present concerns, and for our purposes at that time a group of mentally retarded adults provided the appropriate population for study.

We asked each person to learn a paired-associate list comprised of eight pairs of pictures of common objects such as COW-BALL, COMB-GLASS, etc. I was soon shocked by the inefficiency with which these persons learned; some were never able to master a list that could be mastered by normal adults in only one or two trials. Eventually, I stopped one young woman who was having a particularly difficult time. She had been floundering along getting only two or three of the items correct after fourteen trials. I asked her how she was trying to learn the pairs. She replied that she was simply looking at them each time they were shown to her and trying to remember which ones were presented together. I prodded by asking if it had occurred to her to make up little stories about each pair of pictures or to create some kind of image of the two members of each pair. She said no. I suggested that she make up a short sentence about each of the two objects in each pair, which she did. I then tested her, and she was able to recite perfectly the entire list of pairs. Our interest was aroused by this dramatic improvement, and we proceeded to carry out a full study of the effect of this form of mnemonic elaboration.

Assessing Sentence Mnemonic Our first careful assessment of the value of the sentence mnemonic was conducted at the Sonoma State Hospital on a group of mentally retarded adults whose IQs ranged between 50 and 72.³ Our guess was that mentally retarded persons could be depended upon to be deficient in the use of mnemonics in learning. If so, we reasoned, their performance would provide the clearest view of the differences in learning produced by mnemonic elaboration. In retrospect this guess appears to have been a good one. The task was the same for all persons, namely, that of learning a list of eight paired associates. Each pair consisted of two colored pictures of common objects, such as a picture of a cow and a picture of a ball.

Testing sessions began with the presentation of each pair of pictures for

³ A. R. Jensen and William D. Rohwer, Jr., "Verbal Mediation in Paired-Associate and Serial Learning," *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior*, 1, 1963, pp. 346-352.

a few seconds of study. After all eight pairs had been presented, the subject was shown one picture from each pair and was asked to name the other picture that had appeared with it during the study trial. After an answer had been given, the correct picture was shown and the test proceeded to the next pair, and so on, until all eight pairs had been tested. The testing procedure was repeated twenty times for all persons. In this experiment, the study trial was crucially important because two different kinds of study trials were used. During the study trial, half of the subjects simply named aloud the two pictures in each pair whereas the other subjects uttered a sentence containing the names of the two objects pictured.

Thus, two kinds of mnemonic elaboration were compared: first, the simple elaboration involved in the naming of each of the pictures presented; and, second, the more extensive elaboration involved in constructing a short sentence about the two objects in each pair. We made up the sentences ourselves and when a pair of pictures was shown on the study trial we spoke the appropriate sentence aloud and asked the subject to repeat it after us. The sentences were not mentioned again after the study trial but their effects were assessed across all of the twenty test trials by counting the total number of errors made by each subject. On the average, subjects in the naming group made almost 73 errors during the 20 test trials. In contrast, subjects given the benefit of the sentence mnemonic made an average of fewer than 15 errors. This was a striking difference in learning efficiency, not only to us but to the learners themselves. It provides persuasive evidence for the powerful effect of this form of elaboration.

Developmental Studies As a result of this initial investigation, we surmised that one of the learning tactics mentally retarded persons had not acquired was that of mnemonic elaboration. We also found confirmation of our supposition that one of the characteristics of good learners is their use of mnemonic elaboration when faced with a learning task. But this was still a supposition. In order to check it, we decided to study the effects of the sentence mnemonic on persons of normal intelligence, and to examine the effect developmentally from kindergarten children to high school seniors.⁴ We expected to find that sentence mnemonics would be most effective with younger children and that their effectiveness would diminish with age, for a very important reason: as learners become more experienced, they acquire mnemonics that they employ without being told to do so.

Our expectations were largely confirmed by the results of the experiment. Sec-

4 A. R. Jensen and William D. Rohwer, Jr., "Syntactical Mediation of Serial and Paired-Associate Learning as a Function of Age," *Child Development*, 36, 1965, pp. 601-608.

ond, fourth and sixth grade children derived great benefit from the sentence mnemonic, while eighth, tenth and twelfth graders did not. The one unexpected result was the absolute failure of the sentence mnemonic to improve the performance of kindergarten children, the youngest group tested. This discrepancy between our expectations and the actual results turned out to be quite provocative. For now, let me note that in this study the children in the sentence condition were required to produce their own sentences about each pair of pictures; the sentences were not provided, and the kindergarten children, although they were quite fluent verbally, seemed unable to produce complete sentences on demand.

The results of this study deepened our conviction that one of the major differences between successful and unsuccessful learners lies in the propensity of the former to elaborate the elements they are asked to learn, even when they are not told to do so. The use of mnemonic elaboration is not a skill that is often taught explicitly. We generally depend on the inventiveness of children for the acquisition of good learning habits, partly because we ourselves are unaware of the prominent position held by mnemonic elaboration in successful learning—for most of us this kind of private learning activity is virtually second nature by now—and, partly because we are not clear as to the specific character of those private activities which are really effective in improving learning. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the acquisition of habits of elaboration proceeds in a snowball-like fashion, in which primitive elementary mnemonics, such as naming, are prerequisite for the development of more complex, more effective forms. If so, then failure to engage in the direct explicit teaching of mnemonic elaboration penalizes and deprives many children of the opportunity to become successful learners.

A child may fail to develop elementary elaboration for a number of reasons. For example, his early environment may be such that he rarely hears adults engaging in the ritual of naming objects and events and receives no encouragement to engage in naming himself. This is probably most characteristic of children from lower-lower class homes where language is characteristically not employed for intellectual ends.⁵ But it can happen in middle-class homes as well, because some children are not naturally prone to acquire habits unless explicitly taught to do so, and because some middle-class parents engage their children in word games more systematically than others do. Beyond naming, I suspect that the more complex forms of elaboration, such as the use of sentences in learning, are rarely taught, even in the middle-class home. So the middle-class

⁵ Basil Bernstein, "Language and Social Class," *British Journal of Sociology*, 11, 1960, pp. 271-276.

child, as well as the lower-class child, can slip through his pre-school years without the stock of mnemonics necessary for successful learning.

Degrees of Elaboration As indicated, we were surprised to find that kindergarten children derived no benefit from the sentence mnemonic they were instructed to use. Thinking back on the behavior of these young children, however, we remembered that the kindergarten children experienced considerable difficulty in constructing complete sentences about each pair of pictures. Typically, these young children created short phrases like "the cow and the ball" rather than sentences such as "The cow chased the ball."

It occurred to us that there might be degrees of verbal elaboration and that a relatively high degree of elaboration might be required for the successful learning of paired associates. A simple conjunction phrase, for example, might be too impoverished a form of elaboration to serve an effective mnemonic function. To test this notion, another experiment was performed in which the learning of eight pairs of nouns was compared under three different conditions: when the nouns were presented in a phrase in which they were connected by a conjunction, as in "The running COW and the bouncing BALL"; when presented in the context of a phrase but connected by a preposition, as in "The running COW behind the bouncing BALL"; and when presented in the context of a simple declarative sentence, in which the two nouns were connected by a verb, as in "The running COW chased the bouncing BALL."⁶

This experiment was conducted with a large group of sixth-grade children of above-average intelligence. The order of learning efficiency produced by the three kinds of mnemonic elaboration was exactly as predicted, with the more elaborate form, the verb, producing the most rapid learning. The conjunction phrases were associated with a learning rate that was no more rapid than that of a group in which the noun pairs were presented alone, without any additional elaborative context. This result confirmed our explanation of the failure of the sentence mnemonic for kindergarten children who produced conjunction phrases rather than sentences. To this point, then, we have found that the greater the elaboration, the better the learning produced.

Meaningfulness and Distinctiveness Before turning to the third form of mnemonic elaboration, let me offer two explanations of the effects of mnemonic elaboration. The first is that elaboration increases the *meaningfulness* of the elements to be learned. Research has repeatedly shown

6 William D. Rohwer, Jr., "Constraint, Syntax and Meaning in Paired-Associate Learning," *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior*, 5, 1966, pp. 541-547.

that more meaningful material is easier to learn than less meaningful material.⁷ As far as research is concerned, one of the most fruitful ways of measuring meaningfulness has been in terms of the associative richness of the elements to be learned.

In general, the larger the number of different associations an element evokes in the learner the more meaningful it is considered to be and the more rapidly it can be learned as a part of a paired-associate task. It is reasonable to suppose that constructing a sentence around two nouns makes the nouns more meaningful in the sense that the sentence would probably evoke more associative responses than the two nouns presented alone. Baker and Sonderegger⁸ have shown that the meaningfulness of a nonsense syllable is increased by presenting it in the context of a sentence; and if it is fair to extend this interpretation to nouns, then the effect of mnemonic elaboration is to increase the associative richness of elements to be learned, that is, to increase their meaningfulness. It follows from this that any activity on the part of the learner which increases the meaningfulness of the elements to be learned will facilitate his acquisition of those elements.

A second interpretation of the effects of mnemonics on learning is that elaboration serves to increase the *distinctiveness* of the materials to be learned. We know that it is easier to discriminate dissimilar things from one another than to notice differences among very similar things. It is easier to spot the differences between a car and an airplane than the differences between two cars. Research has already demonstrated that the more dissimilar, the more discriminable, the items in a set to be learned, the easier the learning⁹ and, independently, it has been shown that the task of discriminating similar objects from one another can be facilitated by assigning distinctive labels or names to each of the objects.¹⁰ The results of the Pyles experiment lend themselves to this interpretation; the assignment of names to each of the five hollow objects made them more dissimilar and thereby increased learning efficiency. Sentences may have a similar effect on the learning of paired nouns, that is, sentences may increase the distinctiveness of pairs of nouns embedded in them. Thus, both interpretations lead to the same conclusion: the learner can increase his efficiency

⁷ B. J. Underwood and R. W. Schulz. *Meaningfulness and Verbal Learning*. Chicago: Lippincott and Co., 1960.

⁸ K. E. Baker and T. B. Sonderegger, "Acquisition of Meaning Through Context," *Psychonomic Science*, I, 1964, pp. 75-76.

⁹ B. J. Underwood, "Studies of Distributed Practice: IX. Learning and Retention of Paired Adjectives as a Function of Intralist Similarity," *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 45, 1953, pp. 143-144.

¹⁰ R. W. Brown and E. H. Lenneberg, "A Study in Language and Cognition," *Journal of Abnormal Social Psychology*, 49, 1954, pp. 454-462.

by elaborating the elements to be learned in such a way as to increase their meaningfulness and their distinctiveness.

Pictures, Words, and Objects In view of these interpretations, a third form of mnemonic elaboration deserves consideration because it promises to increase both the meaningfulness and the distinctiveness of elements to be learned. When the elements to be learned are words, the first step is to convert the words to pictures of the objects or events named by the words. Wimer and Lambert¹¹ have shown that paired associates in which each of the stimulus members is an object are both easier to learn and less similar (more distinctive) than paired associates in which the stimulus members are the names of the objects, that is, words. Another study¹² has demonstrated that in association tests, pictures and objects evoke more dynamic responses than do words which are the names of the same objects. Typically, words evoked static responses whereas the objects and pictures evoked verbal responses involving actions related to the objects.

The results of these two experiments imply that learning of words should be facilitated by the conversion of the words to pictures, something that can be accomplished in two ways. First, the conversion can be made by the teacher or the experimenter, such that pictures, rather than words, are presented for learning. The goal, however, must be the other alternative, namely, for the learner himself to accomplish the conversion; our focus is the activities of the learner, not those of the teacher. The learner will face tasks in which no teacher will be willing or even available to accomplish the conversion for him.

The second step in this third method is to convert static pictorial material to a dynamic state such that the elements to be learned are involved in some kind of action relationship. An interesting study¹³ has demonstrated that children of nursery and kindergarten age produce more chain associations to action pictures than to still pictures. In this study, the action pictures did not involve movement as such but were simply drawn so as to suggest movement involving the objects to which the children were to produce associations. Not only were more associations produced by the action pictures, but the associations

11 C. C. Winner and W. E. Lambert, "The Differential Effects of Word and Object Stimuli on The Learning of Paired Associates," *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 57, 1959, pp. 31-36.

12 T. F. Karwoski, F. W. Gramlich, and P. Arnott, "Psychological Studies in Semantics: I. Free Association Reactions to Words, Drawings, and Objects," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 20, 1944, pp. 233-247.

13 Marian N. Ferguson, "A Comparison of the Chain Associations of Nursery School and Kindergarten Children to Action-Picture Stimuli," *Speech Monographs*, 24, 1957, pp. 56-64.

were more likely to take the form of complete sentences than was the case with still pictures. We have already noted that sentences produce more efficient learning of paired associates than do phrases, so that the action pictures afford the learner a triple benefit: first, they are pictures; second, they are more meaningful due to the action portrayed and the greater number of associations thereby evoked; and, third, they tend to evoke powerful sentences which themselves improve learning efficiency.

If I have given the impression that pictures, that is visual material, should be used to the exclusion of the verbal forms of mnemonic elaboration I described earlier, I want to correct it. I am saying instead that the conversion of verbal material to pictorial material can augment the learning advantage produced by the verbal mnemonics alone. This should be understood to be a dual process, both components of which, at best, involve the learner in activities of elaborating the elements which he is asked to learn.

Recently we performed a series of studies in an attempt to assess the relative effectiveness of verbal and pictorial techniques with children of varying ages and from varying social-class groups. Again we are using a paired-associate task to investigate the issues I have described. We selected 24 pairs of objects, which we photographed under two different conditions. In the first, each pair of objects simply was placed on a table and remained static while it was photographed with a movie camera. In the second condition, the two objects were again filmed, but this time they were involved in some kind of action episode. Our early results indicate that this method of presenting material to children produces truly remarkable degrees of learning efficiency. Some first-grade children to whom the objects are presented in action episodes are able to remember correctly as many as 23 out of the 24 pairs, after having seen them only once. With strictly verbal materials, even older children find it difficult to master as many as six out of only eight items correctly after a single presentation.

Improving Learning Efficiency Each of the three methods of mnemonic elaboration we have discussed can be interpreted as a set of instructions directed either to a teacher or to a learner. If they were interpreted as a set of instructions to teachers and if they were followed, the result might well be faster learning for students, at least during the times when the teacher is present to control the conditions of learning. The more important interpretation, however, is as a set of instructions to the learner.

The goal is to equip the child himself with tools to improve the efficiency with which he learns, regardless of the form in which the elements to be acquired are presented to him. The basic proposition is that these techniques of mnemonic elaboration can and should be taught to young, aspiring learners,

and the present problem is to find ways of doing this. The question whether or not this is a feasible undertaking can be answered definitively only after the attempt has been made. Presumptively, the effort is worth the try since most of the evidence we now have suggests that good learners do indeed use techniques of mnemonic elaboration to good advantage and such persons must surely have learned those techniques somehow, sometime. What I urge is that the learning of the techniques of mnemonic elaboration not be left to chance or to the benign purposes of the universe, that instead, they be installed in young children by methods of direct tuition.

Consider the first and most elementary of the techniques, that of naming. We already have good reason to suppose that children learn this technique from adults by repetitious imitation and by reinforcement of successful imitation. Children who have not been engaged in such experiences in their homes should be so engaged in pre-school training. This kind of activity obviously involves or can be so structured as to involve elements of enjoyment as well as of intellectual benefit. The teaching of none of these three techniques need be an onerous experience for either the child or the adult.

As to the second technique of mnemonic elaboration, tuition could take a number of forms. One which comes to mind is the presentation of action pictures to young children with the request that the child provide a verbal description of what he sees. After this skill is mastered, the degree of action could be gradually reduced to the point that the child is asked to describe some episodes involving objects shown to him that might have occurred but which is not depicted in the pictures themselves. The child can be overtly encouraged to make use of this technique when faced with learning tasks involving memory for relatively isolated elements.

Finally, the elaboration technique of converting verbal material to a pictorial counterpart, and of converting static pictorial representations to active ones, might be taught by the use of filmed materials. Children could be shown visually, through the use of filmed sequences, possible visual translations of verbal descriptions. Initially this could simply consist of showing examples of the possibilities. Later, a verbal description could be presented followed by a pause during which time the child could be encouraged to envision what had been described, followed by examples of what he might have envisioned. A program of this sort might terminate with procedures in which the child is simply presented with the names of several objects or events and his task is to convert them himself to pictorial translations and to elaborate them into action sequences. One of the difficulties here is that of ascertaining whether the child is in fact doing what he is asked to do. This will always be a problem but some partial solutions come easily to mind. The child could be asked, for example,

to provide verbal descriptions of what he had envisioned. This method has the advantage that it provides practice in the conversion of isolated verbal elements into connected sentence-like units, but has the disadvantage that the degree of correspondence between what the child describes verbally and what he actually envisions is difficult to determine. To get a better line on what the child has envisioned, he might be asked to draw what he has imagined or to enact it by using models of objects and spaces in which the events take place or by using the actual objects involved themselves.

The kinds of teaching sketched strongly imply the need for individualized instruction with all the problems that entails. This need not be, however, an obstacle of major proportions. The techniques of programmed instruction and the kinds of hardware that are now available for the presentation of material to children make the kinds of approaches suggested quite feasible. There is no need to envision endless numbers of hours of time spent by individual teachers with individual learners with no hope of ever accomplishing enough to solve the problem of successfully educating many of our children. Nor is it correct to say that the functions of live teachers in all of this can be entirely replaced by methods of mass instruction. The skilled efforts of teachers must be combined with ingenious materials and methods for presenting them in order to accomplish the goals outlined. It can be done.

In summary, I have suggested that we turn our attention to individual differences among learners with a focus on those private mental activities of successful learners which distinguish them from learners who are less successful. It is already possible to specify some of those activities in considerable concrete detail, namely, the three mental activities I have called mnemonic elaboration. My contention has been that the habits of naming, sentence elaboration and the conversion of the verbal to the active visual are crucial foundational activities for successful learning and for more complex intellectual achievements. I have argued that Mnemosyne should be explicitly and systematically cared for so that her children, the Muses, can function to inspire our children to productive lives.

The Academic Grind at Age Three

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The pressure of early academic training undoubtedly has many determinants, not the least of which is increased educational requirements for most of the jobs on the socio-economic ladder. Another major source of the national interest in early childhood education is the federally initiated use of the pre-school in the war on poverty. At this point, middle-class parents who may not have considered it previously are beginning to ask how *their* children might benefit from a pre-school experience.

While the "head start" concept has done a great deal of good, it has also created in some minds the unfortunate impression that the pre-school child is in a race. Newspapers and magazines are filled with "success stories" of people who have been able to teach their infants to read or to perform equally as remarkable "intellectual feats." Noting such accounts is apt to make one feel negligent for having allowed a young child to waste time by not immediately involving him in an instructional program.

Advances in both behavioral science and technology have given us the means to teach children a variety of specific skills long before these have been traditionally presented in school. But the question still remains: should we train children in these skills as early as is technologically feasible? Finding it possible, it seems to me, should not automatically lead us to the assumption that it is advisable.

Psychologists have been understandably impressed by the application of conditioning principles of learning in a laboratory situation. It is indeed remarkable to see animals far exceed their apparent natural capacities and acquire extremely complex behavior. The pigeon, for example, known for the small size of his brain, can be taught to peck at a disk of light at a specific rate and then to change this to another precisely predetermined rate when the light is slightly altered in intensity. Increasing man's potential by a similar means is an alluring prospect; indeed, it has already been partially realized in the area of psychotherapy as well as education. I personally feel that this is a logical and legitimate application of behavior theory, but at the same time it is important to recog-

Director of the Hofstra University Research Nursery School and Associate Professor of Education, Dr. Grossman has seen at first hand the pressures exerted on young children and their parents by the exponents of "Teach Your Baby to Read." Here he reminds us of the dangers associated with training in academic skills before the very young are sufficiently developed, and of the dangers implicit in programs which force-feed formal subject matter and stifle creative growth.

nize that the problem in the case of man is considerably more than a technical one.

Treating Children as Adults It is fascinating to see how our thinking about what is the best approach to take in raising and educating children has come full circle. In the late 1920's, John Watson was alarmed at the increased tendency toward permissiveness in childrearing. In *The Psychological Care of Infant and Child*, he presented the view that it was never too early to begin fostering the discipline and training required for adult life. Watson suggested that shaking a young boy's hand before he went to bed at night was much better training for manhood than kissing him. He was very wary of more than a minimal amount of affection for children:

It may tear the heart strings a bit, this thought of stopping tender outward demonstration of your love for your children and of their love for you, but if you are convinced that this is best for the child, aren't you willing to stifle a few pangs?¹

Watson believed that the best training for adulthood was treating the child as if he were an adult. His views gained a great deal of popular acceptance in the form of rigid infant feeding schedules, early weaning and early toilet training. Many mothers now shudder at the recollection of sitting resolutely in the next room, waiting for the next scheduled feeding while baby cried with hunger. This was not their natural inclination, they report; but they wished to do what was best for their child and that, they felt, was the early training in self-discipline which Watson and others recommended.

Watson failed to take into account the simple fact that children are not miniature adults—that they have needs appropriate to their developmental state which may not be at all like what we expect from them as adults. Certainly these young children are adaptable, but at what price? The rather simple-minded notion that the best preparation for acquiring the skills ordinarily taught in the primary grades consists of teaching these same skills in pre-school is very reminiscent of Watson's and, for the same reasons, most probably incorrect.

Concept Development and Readiness Keeping in mind the developmental needs and capacities of the children we are attempting to teach may be an old saw, but it is valid nonetheless. There is a neurological basis for the young child's preference for kinesthetic and tactile experiences and his relative inability to learn through a visually dominated curriculum. At a later point in time, when neurological maturation has resulted in a more ex-

1 J. B. Watson. *The Psychological Care of Infant and Child*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1928.

tensively developed visual cortex he will be better able to benefit from reading instruction. Similarly, in the area of math the young child is limited by his lack of the concept of number conservation.²

The emotional side effects of premature academic training cannot be ignored either. A critical contribution that the nursery school makes to the child by way of preparation for later learning consists of the establishment of a favorable attitude toward the learning process. Future learning is often measurably affected by this initial school experience, which in many ways outweighs the importance of the acquisition of any specific skill.

There are two different facets of the child's attitude toward learning. One facet involves the experience of success or failure in school. The positive feelings of competence and self-esteem associated with success in school quite naturally encourage a child to direct his energies toward this area, while a frequent experience of failure promotes an anti-school attitude. Choosing learning experiences consistent with the child's developmental level helps to prevent the error of presenting a problem which is out of reach and may also help avoid the too simple, unchallenging problem. Recent studies have found, contrary to public opinion, that most underprivileged children begin school with high hopes and a favorable attitude which are shared and fostered by their parents. The disinterest and tendency to "drop out" of school observed in later grades can usually be traced to early failures encountered by these children, who are unfamiliar with the middle-class values and behaviors generally necessary for success in public school. The middle-class child may have a similar experience when the tasks he is expected to perform in pre-school are inappropriate for his state of intellectual and emotional development.

Didacticism vs. Discovery An equally important facet of the child's learning attitude is related to the way in which learning is acquired. The child in one nursery school may learn, for example, that the acquisition of knowledge is largely a matter of repeating what he has been shown or told. He learns that doing things his own way usually meets with disapproval. Much of later education is based on this didactic or teacher-directed model, and the nursery school child treated in this way is being prepared for this later experience.

On the other hand, the child may find his nursery school to be primarily a place of self-discovery, a place where he is offered interesting materials without being told to make a particular object. He is encouraged here to experiment for himself and, most important, to find that an open stance toward the world

2 Jean Piaget, *The Child's Conception of Number*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1952.

of things and people is quite acceptable and not at all dangerous. He finds that the security he gets from the love and approval of important adults is not put in jeopardy when he engages in self-expression.

Daniel Prescott has put this kind of a contrast in a way which suggests its wider implications:

... human minds and behavior can be controlled from without; or human minds can participate in shaping their own behavior and destiny ... if the individual is encouraged by experience from his early days actively to discriminate for himself between behavior alternatives on the basis of valid information and social values, then this will seem to him to be the natural way to decide things.³

The contrast depicted by Prescott is perhaps overly sharp, but it serves to underscore the importance of considering not only whether our educative techniques are effective, but also the type of personality likely to result from a given method of teaching.

Democracy and Self-Valuation As a democratic society we have endorsed the concepts of freedom and the value of the individual when these do not infringe upon the rights of others, but our educational system has not always reflected this belief. The habit of responsible free choice must be acquired in childhood, otherwise the adult granted this new freedom is likely to be unable to meet the challenge of self-control and self-direction that it assumes.

Many people are concerned about the loss of individuality which seems to characterize much of modern society. In *The Lonely Crowd*,⁴ David Riesman has described the development of what he calls "the other-directed" personality—a modern man devoid of his own standards and desperately seeking direction from others. Riesman recognizes the loss of individuality as a danger of a bureaucratic society; but he, among others, is not convinced that this is the only alternative. The child's early home and school experiences can foster or destroy a faith in himself as an individual. Early academic pressure, with an authority's emphasis on a "right" way to do things, tends to devalue the child's original expression. He is likely to learn not to rely on his own judgment, while becoming increasingly dependent on others for direction. He submerges his own personality in the security of group consensus.

At this stage of our economic and social development the preservation of the individual resourcefulness which characterized the early pioneers, statesmen

3 Daniel A. Prescott. *The Child in the Educative Process*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1957.

4 David Riesman. *The Lonely Crowd*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950.

and businessmen of this country leads us to a serious dilemma. Although we have reached the point where the production of goods for survival is no longer a consuming concern, the need for innovation has not lessened. In the area of science, for example, Harvard psychologist Norman Mackworth, who has been studying the phenomenon of originality, has made an interesting distinction between those he calls "problem solvers" and those he calls "problem finders." According to Dr. Mackworth, scientific progress is no longer dependent upon the man skilled in solving problems, since this is now handled more efficiently by machines. Man's vital contribution today lies in finding new directions through the creation of new problems. The machine is a slave to the conventions of existing programs, but man has the potential to see the need for and develop new ones never anticipated before.

I introduce this point only to suggest that a premature emphasis on the teaching of traditional academic skills at the pre-school level is inconsistent with the necessity to foster each child's creative potential. Education at all levels has had some hard looks of late; and one of the consequences is that new perspectives have yielded new insights into how children can be given intellectual independence, how they can be taught to think rather than to know by edict. "How may we best prepare our young people to keep their individuality, initiative, creativity in a highly organized, intricately meshed society?" asked John Gardner a decade ago.⁵ My reply would be that we must begin by recognizing the need and the potential for such individual expression in young children. This means, for me, that we ought no longer to shroud the unhampered, original expression of young children in ill-fitting mantles of predetermined academic subject matter. We should instead provide learning environments which stimulate and encourage what we still understand to be natural growth.

5 John Gardner, Ed. *The Pursuit of Excellence: Education and the Future of America*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., 1958.

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CONTROVERSY: Jurists and Educators

David Cohen here presents a detailed analysis of the Passow Report on the Washington D.C. Public Schools and Judge J. Skelly Wright's decision in the case of *HOBSEN V. HANSEN*, also dealing with the Washington schools. Robert L. Carter, former General Counsel of the N.A.A.C.P., responds to Dr. Cohen's discussion of the differences between the Passow study and the Wright decision by emphasizing the prior responsibility of educators to transform the phrase "equal education" into "definitive and meaningful educational practice and methodology."

Jurists and Educators on Urban Schools: The Wright Decision and the Passow Report

D. K. Cohen, Graduate School of Education,
Harvard University

In sum, all of the evidence in this case tends to show that the Washington school system is a monument to the cynicism of the power structure which governs the voteless capital of the greatest country on earth.

Judge J. Skelly Wright's
decision in *Hobsen v. Hansen*

Education in the District is in deep, and probably worsening trouble. . . . With its poverty, slums, and obsolete schools and schooling, presently the District is exemplary only of the worst of the urbanized setting.

Passow Report

To no one's great surprise, Judge Wright's decision and Professor Passow's Columbia University Survey of the Washington schools found abysmally poor education in the schools serving the District's mostly poor and Negro students. As Passow observed, this finding "might be applied to other large city school systems."¹ Well it might, for in most essentials—racial and socio-economic segregation, poor fiscal and teaching resources, paralyzing bureaucracy, and a generally worsening situation vis-à-vis suburban education—the District schools present only a somewhat more intense version of the problems that afflict the nation's other great cities.

Therein lies the great interest of these two investigations of education in the District. There are very substantial differences in their tone and treatment of

1 A. Harry Passow, *A Study of the Washington, D.C. Public Schools* (Mimeo). New York, 1967, p. 42.

the problem, yet they share—almost in spite of themselves—important basic similarities. Since they reflect very different positions, drawn up and hardened over the past ten or twelve years, this is the more surprising. In finding for the plaintiffs, as a recent essay by the General Counsel of the NAACP reveals,² Judge Wright championed the claims and validated the grievances of Northern civil rights and community groups. On the other side, the Passow report reflects the more serious recent efforts by school systems and universities to improve segregated education in the cities.

These important differences seem to have given way, however, to similarities imposed by the District's considerable educational problems. Significantly, the similarities are negative and derive chiefly from the great existing barriers to remedial action. First, although they agree that the aim of reform in urban education is to provide equality of educational opportunity, Wright and Passow are unclear on what the standard for such equality should be. Second, the immediate effect of their proposals for remedy is to reveal the fiscal and political impotence of the District to implement them.

The Meaning of Equality

The common perplexity over the meaning of equality of educational opportunity arises in large part from the problem of massive segregation. Judge Wright found that the defendant Board and Superintendent did "... unconstitutionally deprive the District's Negro and poor public school children of their rights to equal educational opportunity ..."³ But his decision contains at least three separate essays at defining this equality: desegregation; equality of resources invested in segregated schools; positive inequality of resources to segregated schools to produce equality of results. The last two seem mutually exclusive; and, taken together they conflict with the views on which the court's first standard rests: that "racially and socially homogeneous schools damage the minds and spirit of the children who attend them ... and block the attainment of the broader goals of democratic education, whether the segregation occurs by law or by fact."⁴

The Passow report also speaks with many tongues on this question. In some places it seems to side with the court's first alternative, but in others it clearly favors a positive inequality of resources. Passow vigorously argues that segregation is given, and writes that "in the meantime, for the hundreds of thousands of youngsters who come through the schools an appropriate and adequate edu-

2 Robert L. Carter, "School Integration is Still on the Agenda," *The Saturday Review*, October 21, 1967.

3 Judge J. Skelly Wright's decision in *Hobson v. Hansen*, p. 1.

4 *Hobson v. Hansen*, p. 2.

cation must be designed.”⁵ Not surprisingly, his report does not meet the question of whether this would provide equality of opportunity.

These problems of definition arise from the obstacles to remedial action. It has become tiresome to repeat that segregation will be difficult to overcome. Less fashionable to mention are the fiscal, educational, and political barriers to effective education in ghettos, but they probably are at least as formidable. Although the political status of the District creates additional problems, it shares with the other great cities a growing inability to control the critical educational resources—students, teachers, and sufficient money. This is basic to an understanding of these two examinations of the D.C. schools, and is increasingly central to most problems of urban education.

Desegregation and Achievement In the early 1950's, as now, the relevant policy question was whether equality could be attained in racially segregated schools. But clarity on the standard by which “attainment” is to be judged has progressively diminished. Under the *Plessy* doctrine the standard was thought to be equality of objective “inputs” to the educational process. Then the series of cases which culminated in *Brown* attacked this doctrine on its own terms, by arguing that were all objective inputs equal, racial segregation itself was an input which caused there to be an inequality in the schools.

Although this apparently destroyed the principles of *Plessy* and seemed to erect a clear standard of equal opportunity on its ruins, in fact *Brown* still rested on the old foundation. The *Brown* standard was new—no state-operated segregation—but its foundation was the *Plessy* notion of *input equality*. Under *Brown* the attainment of equal opportunity could only be measured by the degree of desegregation, on the assumption that segregation was like books and teachers, an operative if less tangible input to education.

Yet this entire intellectual structure gives way to the simple question: “why equal inputs—tangible or intangible?” Apparently, it was presumed that equal inputs would have racially equal results. Inherent in the *Brown* standard of equality was an implicit performance or “output” standard. *Brown* seems to have embodied the assumption that desegregation, by equalizing *all* the relevant inputs would racially equalize the outcomes.

If all school segregation in America had been clearly *de jure* this intellectual frailty might not have reached the level of policy significance for at least another generation. Only then would there have been long and wide enough experience with school desegregation to show that (in terms of school achievement) it alone does not fully satisfy the implicit *Plessy-Brown* performance

standard. But most segregation is not plainly *de jure*. As the pressure for desegregation mounted in Northern and Western cities, lacking judicial resolution or any widely accepted standard of equality, increasing attention was given to performance standards, mostly reading achievement. This tendency was firmly set—and the policy problem posed clearly for the first time—when Northern school authorities responded to demands for desegregation by promising to improve schools so as to raise performance, but rejected the idea of desegregation. If academic competence could be equalized given segregation, why eliminate the segregation?

That question, and recognition of massive *de facto* segregation, collide again and again in the Passow report and the Wright decision, as they have in local and federal policy debates for the last decade. In the abstract the answer seems clear: if performance is the sole standard of equality, and the sole standard of performance is academic competence, then desegregation would not be required to provide equality.

Agonizing Uncertainties Neither Passow nor Wright are that clear on the matter, however. The Passow report consistently favors better-than-equal treatment for predominantly Negro and/or predominantly lower-class schools. In spite of this it is never apparent what the standard is against which the sufficiency of such efforts will be judged. Reference repeatedly is made to depressed reading achievement, which suggests a presumption that it should be raised to equality. But there also is a heavy emphasis on tailoring education to the needs of "urban" children.

The chapter on the track system recommends, for example, that ability grouping be retained in the junior high years, but that:

The criteria for placement should be developed on the basis of the population *in the school* rather than on the basis of external District or national norms.⁶

The impression left by such passages is reinforced by the lack of many references to equality of educational opportunity, but rather a proliferation of such terms as "quality education," "adequate education," and education "appropriate" to Negro and poor children.

This uncertainty is most apparent in the chapter on integration, which seems agonizingly divided. Early note is taken of the fact that:

... it would be absurd to deny or ignore the special problems that a racially isolated school faces in preparing its pupils for life in an open society.⁷

6 *Ibid.*, p. 236.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 185.

Because of these special problems it is asserted that each child:

... should have the help he needs to reach maturity prepared to compete on fair terms in an open society.... The schools must furnish unequal education ... to provide equal opportunity....⁸

If we assume this means something that the report never clearly says—that the criterion of equal opportunity is the *average white achievement*—a major difficulty still remains. The court in *Brown* spoke of emotional and psychological, as well as more “objective,” forms of damage. On this point the Passow report is quite at odds with itself. To begin with it defers, in a curious way, to the *Brown* tradition:

If children are to obtain reliable knowledge about people whose backgrounds differ from their own, if they are to learn to respect rather than to distrust differences, if they are to appreciate the commonalities which unite as well as the distinctions which divide humanity, those who attend segregated schools must obviously receive special help.⁹

Although this group of children includes virtually all of those schooled in the Washington metropolitan area—to say nothing of the entire United States—*nothing* (save one quick reference to integrated textbooks) *ever* is said again about what such “special help” might be. There is not a hint of how Passow proposed to “compensate” for the psychological and attitudinal effects of segregation in segregated schools.

A bit further on, the author weighs the prospects of school desegregation, and essays the view that:

So far as the children now in the Washington schools are concerned, it is in one sense too late and in another too early ...¹⁰

Then, after a review of the policies which would provide integration in the future, he concludes:

But none of this is likely to happen—indeed, *all of it is certain not to happen*—until enough Marylanders, Virginians, Washingtonians, and Americans are convinced that their interests will be better served by making the national capital area a well-integrated metropolitan community ...¹¹ (emphasis added).

That sequence of three passages boggles the mind, because as the first one suggests, “enough Marylanders...” will never be convinced, as long as they

8 *Ibid.*, p. 191.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 185.

10 *Ibid.*

11 *Ibid.*, p. 186.

and their children live and learn in all white and all black neighborhoods and schools. If, as these passages suggest, psychological and emotional factors might be counted as elements of equal opportunity by the Columbia Survey, it seems that their report cannot promise equality for the District's children.

On this matter one would expect a jurist, by definition closely tied to the *Brown* tradition, to be more clear; Judge Wright is. His first finding of fact cites the damage to the "mind and spirit" of "Negro and white" children, in support of his opinion that there was an unconstitutional deprivation of the right to equal opportunity in education.¹² Here the court was unequivocal, and did not suppose that any such "special measures" to remedy attitude damage as alluded to in the Passow report would be possible:

School segregation, whatever its genesis *always* imposes a twofold disadvantage¹³ (emphasis added).

[Second] segregation in the schools precludes the kind of social interaction between Negroes and whites which is an indispensable attribute of education for citizenship in a democratic society.¹⁴

Judicial Unclearities On these grounds the racial composition of schools would be an indispensable standard for determining denials of equal opportunity. But like Passow, the court could provide no remedy in a 90 percent Negro school system. Apparently as a result, desegregation is not the only standard contemplated in the decision; indeed, an apparently contrary one also is smartly applied to the defendant school system. Finding rather severe racial inequalities in the allocation of resources to schools, the court held that these inequalities were both a deprivation of equal opportunity and unconstitutional,¹⁵ and ordered that there should be racial equality in all "objective" resources allocated to schools.

The rationale, however, is substantively unclear.

The constitutional principle from which this modern separate-but-equal rule draws its sustenance is, of course, equal protection. Orthodox equal protection doctrine can be encapsulated in a single rule: *government action which without justification imposes unequal burdens or accords unequal benefits is unconstitutional.*¹⁶

This only returns us to the submerged difficulties in the *Brown* tradition: by what standard to determine "unequal burdens or . . . benefits"?

12 *Hobsen v. Hansen*, pp. 1-2.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 158.

14 *Ibid.*, p. 160.

15 *Ibid.*, pp. 146-48.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 148.

The court's language in this section of the opinion leaves little question as to its view. Rehearsing the inequities with respect to kindergartens, for example, it comments that:

The children of the slums absolutely must be brought into the culturally rich atmosphere of the school at the earliest age . . .¹⁷

The rationale for preschool education, of course, is to increase academic competence. Therefore there is a meta-rule behind the one enunciated by Judge Wright, a rule which in the *Brown* tradition embodies the notion of equal results.

But by any such rule, *if equality of opportunity in education is denied by inequality of inputs it cannot be provided by their simple equality*. The court was not insensible of this, as evidenced in its closing discussion of plans for remedy:

Where because of the density of residential segregation or for other reasons children in certain areas, particularly in the slums, are denied the benefits of an integrated education, *the court will require that the plan include compensatory education sufficient at least to overcome the detriment of segregation and thus provide, as nearly as possible, equal educational opportunity to all school children*¹⁸ (emphasis added).

But no rationale for this requirement was enunciated; if it were, it could only be the latent performance principle of *Brown*.¹⁹ Here the same difficulties which plague the Passow report come to light. If Judge Wright had enunciated an equal-result standard upon which to base his compensatory remedy ideas he would have shattered a major element of the *Brown* tradition, for to so hold would assume that one of the major performance criteria implicit in *Brown*—achievement—could be equalized given segregation. Although the Judge seems to have believed this possible, his reluctance to say so openly is understandable in view of the very persuasive evidence on the attitudinal and psychological damage of segregation—the other criterion in the *Brown* tradi-

17 *Ibid.*, p.146.

18 *Ibid.*, p. 178.

19 Any doubt that Judge Wright contemplated a result criterion is dispelled by his ruling on the legality of the track system. The ground for this ruling is the finding that "... the track system is fatally defective, because for many students placement is based on traits [poverty and race] other than those on which the classification purports to be based." (174) The basis for this, in turn, is the court's view that "... the limits on his [any student's] academic progress, and ultimately the kind of life work he can hope to attain, are set by the orientation of the . . . curricula. Those in the lower tracks, on the most part, molded for various vocational assignments; those in the upper tracks, on the other hand, are given the opportunity to prepare for the higher ranking jobs and, most significantly, for college." (172)

tion. He could not, however, fail to actively employ an equal result standard, for given segregation, mere equality of inputs would not basically change the relative educational standing of rich and poor, Negro and white.

The Problem of Standards Thus Wright and Passow share the same perplexity, although with very different external emphases. The Columbia study team was not obviously pro-integration, as was the court, but all the same it did give reluctant recognition to psychological and attitudinal damage, it did suggest some desegregation of students, and then it proposed massive compensatory treatment. And like the court, the Columbia survey could not say which one or combination of these, if any, would provide equal opportunity.

That two such different approaches to the same problem should arrive at a common difficulty on an important point is evidence of its fundamental character. The difficulty may persist for some time, because it is rooted not only in a basic constitutional tradition but also in the economic and demographic realities underlying our current dilemmas about education and race. The *Brown* tradition rests upon the notion of dual (academic and psychological-attitudinal) damage. Although it is sometimes conceded that in theory at least academic results could be equalized between races given segregation, no one seriously pretends that the psychological-attitudinal damage could thus be repaired. Yet situations such as those in the District seem to cry out for a simple achievement standard. As long as we lack remedies for the cities' educational problems, it will seem that we should either abandon one element of the *Brown* tradition and adopt such an achievement standard of equality, or cease the effort to apply constitutional guarantees to city schools. Since the first would probably be an incorrect measure of equality of opportunity, and the second a disaster, it seems likely the confusion will continue.

Remedy: Prescriptions and Problems Defining equality of educational opportunity, then, is not a mere philosophical charade; quite the contrary, it is the setting of standards for school systems' behavior. As the preceding discussion showed, the lack of a clear definition of equality arises in large part from the fact that the fruitful application of any standard seems impossible.

The same circumstances which obscured the meaning of equal opportunity also impeded clear discussion of remedial action. Again, the two documents differ not so much in their essential conclusions about remedy as in the emphasis and tone with which they approach the dilemmas. Both Passow and Wright urged the virtual or actual abolition of the track system, and both proposed

limited desegregation through busing and/or education parks. Both urged the use of education parks as a tentative, limited foundation for metropolitan cooperation, but both were skeptical of suburban interest. Their approaches, of course, were very different; the court was almost passionate in emphasizing the need for the little desegregation possible, while the Passow report's tone in urging similar steps often was grudging. But more important, neither seemed to hold out much hope that in the foreseeable future any one or combination of these measures would make a serious dent in the District's educational problem. Thus both turned to compensatory education, the Court in one sentence and the Columbia survey team in hundreds of turgid pages.

In the tradition of recent education school theory and public school practice the Passow report concentrates upon its definition of the District's task:

... providing massive remediation of existing learning difficulties for those now in school and designing developmental and compensatory programs for thousands of children who will be entering school in the years ahead.²⁰

Although many changes to this end were proposed, the central recommendations can be readily summarized.

- Extend preschool education to all four-year-olds, and the needy three's.
- Upgrade teacher competence by devoting 20 percent of teachers' time to retraining, employ teachers on a twelve month basis, and hire teacher aides.
- Upgrade teaching and totally redevelop curriculum, using as the main vehicle curriculum supervisors—one for every twenty teachers.
- Recruit a new breed of teachers through the creation of joint school-university staff development centers.

More important than any single recommendation is the hope running throughout the report that if the recommendations were put in motion the District would begin to create a "model urban school system," by virtue of which competent and dedicated teachers could be attracted and held.

As an educational matter it would be difficult to fault these proposals on any intrinsic grounds. They are responsive to the deep problems found in the District schools.

There were, however, some basic things left unsaid. It is not surprising that a teacher-training institution should place a heavy emphasis upon the improvement of curricula and teaching. Yet there is a substantial body of research, culminating in the Coleman Report, which shows that independent of teacher quality the racial and social class composition of student bodies have a powerful impact upon student achievement. James Coleman has summarized the policy significance of these research findings well, in pointing to the need for a

radical reconstruction of children's social and intellectual environments in schools:

It is such reconstruction that is important—whether it be provided through other children, through tutorial programs, through artificial environments created by computer consoles, or by some other means.²¹

This line of thought is wholly absent from the Passow report's discussion of and recommendations for compensatory education. Instead it proceeds on the unfortunate and by-now classical model of improved education for "disadvantaged" children in ghetto schools; enrich instruction to compensate for individual deficiencies, but leave unchanged the achievement-depressing social and intellectual structure of the student environment. This course has proven just as fruitless as other efforts to change only school organization without improving the quality of instruction.²² In its wholesale disregard of the need—especially given the acceptance of segregation—to deal with the academically devastating effects of weak student environments, the Passow report reflects the deficiencies of both education school theory and public school practice. It seems likely that the implementation of Passow's recommendations—although they would substantially improve the District schools—would not fundamentally alter the relative status of Negro and white students' school achievement in the Washington metropolitan area.²³

Teachers and Environments These comments on the matter of student environment also bear on the strictly teacher-oriented proposals made in the Passow report. They are based upon the underlying hope that beginning to create a "model urban school system" would bring positive change in teacher recruitment patterns. It is an attractive idea, and to the extent that teachers value challenge above status it might be true. But that appears to be quite a limited extent; teachers' preferences are very closely tied to the color, class, and achievement composition of student bodies. This is not surprising, since the chief mark of teachers' success is their students' achievement—which of course is very closely related to schools' color, class, and achievement composition.²⁴ Lacking change in schools' social class and racial composition, satisfactory academic performance and/or radical restructuring of

21 James Coleman, "Toward Open Schools," *The Public Interest*, No. 9, Fall 1967, p. 23.
22 Daniel Fox, *Expansion of the More Effective School Program*. New York: Center for Urban Education, 1967, p. 112.

23 This may seem paradoxical, but it is not. The MES program in New York City has much improved some ghetto schools, but has not improved achievement; Fox, pp. 101-114 and pp. 44-68.

24 Coleman, pp. 347-366.

schools' organization would seem to be the only factors which might broadly affect teachers' preferences. It is precisely the absence of such performance which produces negative preferences, but there is not a word in the Passow report directly addressed to how the structure and status of schools and student environments might be changed so as to make them more attractive to teachers.

In a sense, however, it is almost beside the point to raise even such critical educational objections. Far more important difficulties inhere in the fiscal and political implications of the compensatory education urged in the Passow report and ordered in the Wright decision.

The Columbia survey team did not attach line-by-line cost estimates to its recommendations. In the section on finance, however, it observed that meeting the educational needs of "disadvantaged" children in the District schools may entail "... as much as three or four times the cost of meeting the educational needs of the child whose home environment has already done a good portion of the job..."²⁵ This estimate—which translates into per-pupil expenditure of about \$2,000—is more or less consistent with other discussions of the subject.²⁶ Indeed, it may well turn out to be conservative, for there is some evidence that simply to extend existing compensatory programs at *present levels of intensity* to the entire educational experience of the affected children would cost roughly four times (about \$2,000) present per-pupil expenditures.²⁷

If funds at this level were allocated to District pupils presently eligible for aid under Title I ESEA they would amount to about \$50,000,000 annually. That is fifteen or twenty times the current annual federal education aid for District children in poverty under ESEA, and about two thirds of the total annual District school operating budget. Were the criterion also to include underachievement, as the Passow report suggests it should,²⁸ this figure could be nearly doubled.

25 Passow, p. 25.

26 Edmund Gordon, "Compensatory Programs in the Equalization of Educational Opportunity" (mimeo), Yeshiva University, 1967; the estimate given here is \$2,500; p. 47. See also Cohen, "Policy for the Public Schools: Compensation and Integration," *Harvard Educational Review*, Winter, 1968.

27 In Cincinnati, for example, the existing compensatory program provides concentrated remedial reading in "deprived" schools for roughly 15-20 percent of the student's average day, at a per-pupil cost of about \$250.00 over the average per-pupil expenditure for instruction of about \$500. To extend this remedial approach to the entire school day would entail a total expenditure of about \$2,000. Cohen, *Race and Equality of Educational Opportunity in Cincinnati, Ohio* (mimeo), The Joint Center for Urban Studies of Harvard and MIT, 1968.

28 Passow, p. 259. Wright, p. 139, note 144, suggests that slightly over half of the upper elementary children read below grade level, and that a good deal more than half do in the secondary schools.

The political implications of such expenditures are potent. First, it is unlikely that in Washington—or for that matter in any city, or nationally—the parents of advantaged children or their representatives would consent to expenditure of three or four times as much on disadvantaged children as on their own. By roughly the same token, secondly, it would be a bit unreal to expect that the Congress would give such special attention to the District alone. The Passow report calls for just that, asking that Congress create “a model urban school system.” But apart from all other considerations, racial inequality of educational opportunity is a national problem, and it would probably be politically impossible to legislate for it on a locality-by-locality basis. Legislation on such a scale (a 15- or 20-fold increase annually in ESEA), only for the national constituency represented by children of the urban poor seems unlikely. For one thing, this would require a very substantial revision in federal budgetary and political priorities, for a relatively small group of people. For another, one of the chief group of agencies which could provoke, promote, and assist such a revision are the states, and for the most part they are not vociferous supporters of categorical aid to schools, let alone education aid to the urban children of poverty.

The comparative magnitudes of the cost and the constituency suggests that although it might be somewhat more expensive to provide integrated schools of high quality, that could well be the best way to broaden potential support for improved education for poor urban children.

State Responsibilities The problems of urban schools, however, do not lie neatly along an uncluttered federal-municipal axis, and they probably cannot be dealt with by those two units of government alone. The disparities in resource allocation from which Washington and the other great cities suffer organically involve the suburbs—whether the resource in question is students, teachers, or tax base. If the great cities do not control the student resources required to fully desegregate, no more do they control those required to improve their relative status in respect to teacher quality or financing education.

The states alone possess the authority—by law and tradition—to affect the flow of educational resources within their limits, and thus within most metropolitan areas. The local school districts are their creatures. Whether it is a matter of changing the allocation of funds, quality teachers, or students, historically the authority to regulate and apportion lies not with the local district or the federal government, but with the state.

This authority has been exercised to promote equality of opportunity only in a few states, and even there only in a limited fashion. The question of wheth-

er the states have such an obligation in their cities has not been tried in court, let alone established. Yet were the will to act everywhere present, the states themselves command the authority, but not all the necessary resources.

The conclusion in the District is yet to occur. But let us suppose that racial inequities in the District schools were eliminated. It is a foregone conclusion that if the plaintiffs returned to court they could claim continued denial of equal opportunity on the grounds that most Negro and poor children still were performing far below normal. This claim could be based on the implicit equal-result standard of equality. What, then, could the court do?

It has been fashionable to point out that its jurisdiction does not extend to those school districts whose students would be needed if the District schools were to be desegregated. But does it extend any more to the sources of the funds, or the mechanisms of teacher production and recruitment whose control would be required to mount programs which might result in equality of achievement? In the rush to point out the obvious, the equally great obstacles to ghetto school improvement have been quite consistently overlooked.

This is perhaps the chief conclusion which emerges from analysis of these two documents. Washington, like the nation's other great cities, no more controls the resources to mount effective education programs in ghetto schools than it controls those required to desegregate the schools. Both approaches require a much greater commitment to solving educational problems in the great cities than presently exists, vastly increased allocation of resources to the development and implementation of solutions, and reallocations in the production of educational resources for metropolitan areas.

This is not to say, as Wright and Passow properly point out, that more effective use should not be made of existing opportunities, for clearly they should. Judge Wright's decision in *Hobsen v. Hansen* has revealed that existing educational resources are terribly misused and misallocated: to correct only these abuses is a major task, and of the first importance. Nor is it to say that alternative solutions to those discussed here should not be undertaken. But there is a great gulf between such limited efforts and the elimination of inequality of opportunity in education. Whether we judge the latter by a simple achievement standard or by the more complex *Brown* standard, its attainment will require the three types of basic change just enumerated. Lacking such changes neither effective compensation in segregated city schools, nor quality education in integrated metropolitan schools is likely to become a reality. Absent either or both there probably will not be fundamental change in the relative educational status of Negro and white children, and little progress toward any standard of equality of educational opportunity.

Commentary on "Jurists and Educators On Urban Schools"

Robert L. Carter, *General Counsel,*
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People

David Cohen has written a most provocative piece illuminating the absence of coordination between educators and the courts in their approach to the elimination of racial discrimination in education. I have only a few minor caveats about Mr. Cohen's statement, and they arise chiefly because of his failure to distinguish between a jurist's and an educator's role in an attack upon inequality, which I suspect results from misunderstanding the nature of the judicial process.

Mr. Cohen correctly focuses upon the confusion and lack of precision or specificity as to what the term "equal education" connotes. The need for educational authorities to transform the phrase into definitive and meaningful educational practice and methodology has been evident for at least a decade. It is also clear that more and more courts, in the future, will be asked to translate the law's rhetoric into reality to meet the insistent and strident demands of the non-white community for "equal," "quality," and "decent" education for their children.

Yet the mere statement of a fact, even one that needed stating as badly as this, does not always suffice. What is called for is guidance and direction which Cohen fails to supply. One cannot fault him on that score, however, since those directly responsible for developing educational policy have been woefully remiss in this regard. What is a fault is Cohen's evident thesis that courts and educators are equally guilty and responsible for the existing ambiguity as to what equality of educational opportunity really means.

At no point is recognition given to the vastly disparate responsibilities the judiciary and educators bear for evolving a workable definition of the term. Each has a distinct function. Educators have the obligation to give the concept refinement as educational policy; courts must cast the term in its legal and constitutional dimensions. Although "equal education" as an ingredient of educational policy and "equal education" as a legal concept should be basically

one and the same, initial responsibility for embellishment of the term as a positive educational criterion rests with the educators. Once that is done, the judiciary will be able to incorporate that criterion into the framework of the constitution's guarantee of equal protection. To put it another way, as long as educators have no definite formula for achieving equal education, courts will be able to avoid coming to grips with the issue.

One of the many tragedies of American race relations is that educators have been indifferent, callous or ignorant of the dimensions of this issue for far too long, and indeed until it broke in their midst as a civil rights controversy. It is their indifference, indecision and inability to provide leadership in this area that has produced the bitter confrontation between black and white America for control of the education of non-white children.

I can recall how shocked and incredulous Dr. William Jansen, then the Superintendent of New York City Public Schools, was on being faced with the charge that Negro children were receiving an inferior education. As a result of this challenge, the Public Education Association¹ was commissioned to make a factual study to determine the controversy. Needless to say, the study revealed the truth of the charge with a vengeance. The inexcusable catastrophe, however, is that ten years after this revelation, HARYOU (Harlem Youth Opportunities, Inc.)² made a similar study and found the picture virtually unchanged, and I am certain a study today would show similar results. New York is typical of every other large urban center with large Negro concentrations. That these children are not receiving anything approximating equal education is now a national scandal and a major cause for the growing bitterness, alienation and disaffection of the Negro community.

It is the professional job and duty of educators to provide content, precision and clarity to "equal education"; they must tell us what it means in realistic terms; they must define its specific ingredients and indicate how the various elements must be marshalled and what must be done to achieve it. When these components have been illumined, courts will be in a position to make them a part of equal education as constitutional doctrine. Without such help and direction from educators, exceptional members of the judiciary, such as Judge J. Skelly Wright, are forced to struggle along as best they can in attempting to make the constitution's mandate relevant in the lives of Negro school children. This leaves those judges not in Judge Wright's category free to rationalize a refusal to upset the status quo because of ambiguity, indecision and lack of direction in educational circles.

1 Public Education Association, *Status of Public School Education of Negro and Puerto Rican Children*. New York, 1955.

2 HARYOU, *Youth in the Ghetto*. New York, 1964.

As a legal and constitutional principle, equal education is simply a standard to be used by the courts to apply a controlling Fourteenth Amendment precept that proscribes any differentiation as between blacks and whites in respect to educational benefits or privileges fostered under state auspices. That the constitutional guarantee is all but meaningless rhetoric to the average black child attending a ghetto school in the urban North is due less to judicial indecisiveness than to educational obfuscation and irresponsibility. In treating jurists and educators as co-equal culprits, Cohen abets the obscurantism in educational circles that surrounds this whole question.

As a rule, education is generally free of judicial stricture. Courts have been reluctant to the point of diffidence about intrusion into the province of school boards and public school officials. In general, intercession occurs on a showing that the complained of educational policies or practices cannot prevail because (1) the grant of authority is itself invalid; (2) the policy or practice is outside the power delegated; and (3) the official is acting arbitrarily and capriciously.³

Arbitrariness and capriciousness are difficult to pin down in the absence of proof of racial discrimination. A mere showing of unequal educational benefits as between groups of children would not necessarily suffice to invalidate the practice, provided it is shown that the resultant inequality was inadvertent and adventitious. When the complaint concerns a claim of unequal education as between blacks and whites, however, stricter standards are applied, and the absence of contrivance or design is inconsequential. Where the inevitable result of the policy is to place Negroes as a group at an educational disadvantage, a close evaluation of the practice becomes necessary to determine whether equal education in its constitutional dimensions has been denied.

Equal education as a constitutional guarantee has always been directed at results. The separate but equal doctrine of *Plessy v. Ferguson*⁴ assumed that given equal material facilities, even with apartheid, equal education could be produced. In reality, the *Plessy* formula legitimized the subordination of blacks to whites and by its terms negated any concept of equality of the two groups. Nonetheless, the verbiage at least kept faith with the Fourteenth Amendment's requirements. When faced with demands that the "equality" aspects of the separate but equal doctrine be enforced in the field of education, the courts began the process of evolving the constitutional doctrine to its present form. Present constitutional doctrine⁵ guaranteeing equality of educational oppor-

³ See, for example, *Balaban v. Rubin*, 14 N.Y., 2nd 193, 199 N.E. 375 (1964); *In the Matter of Vetere*, 251, N.Y.S. 2d 480 (1964).

⁴ 163 U.S. 537 (1896).

⁵ *Brown v. Board of Education*, 347 U.S. (1954).

tunity is based upon the assumption that with segregation eliminated and the black child being afforded the same educational resources (teachers, course of study, academic pressures, for example) as the white child is given, the black child will have obtained what the constitution mandates. Some students of the question now assert that equal input will not produce equal result, and that the Negro child may have to obtain more than an equal share of available educational resources to come out on par educationally with the white child. When this is made explicit as educational policy, courts should have little difficulty reducing it to a constitutional requirement.

Since 1950, courts have been required to read the relevant provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment (equal protection and due process) and the Fifth Amendment (due process with the right to equal protection incorporated therein) as dynamic and pragmatic provisions designed to make certain that the constitutional guarantee provides and insures equal education in fact.⁶ The guarantee has no fixed limitation but is open-ended. Courts have the obligation to give the concept reality.

However, there are restraints upon a court's power to order remediation. Since, for example, a court can require redress only within the framework of existing resources, it cannot decree the raising of more money for school purposes, although it may conclude that the present levy is clearly inadequate to achieve equal education for all citizens. In such a situation, courts must devise a formula that, with an admittedly inadequate budget, will give Negro children as nearly as practicable what the constitution says they are entitled to receive.

A comparison of Judge J. Skelly Wright's approach to the decision in *Hobson v. Hansen*⁷ and the Columbia University study highlights the differences between the function of the court and the educator—differences which Cohen ignores.

Judge Wright makes it quite clear that he believes that the constitution requires the elimination of segregation if Negro children are to receive equal educational guarantees. But with his jurisdictional reach limited to a school district where 90% or more of the children in the public schools are Negro, he is in no position to devise a remedy which will provide integrated education in the District of Columbia. Therefore, he is forced to deal with the problem in a pragmatic fashion: get rid of the track system which is discriminatory in application, equalize all the material resources as between Negroes and whites and send black children to fill up the empty seats in the white schools. The confusion and conflict Mr. Cohen illustrates resulted from an attempt to give real-

6 *Sweatt v. Painter*, 339 U.S. 629 (1950); *McLaurin v. Board of Regents*, 339 U.S. 637 (1950).

7 269 F. Supp. 90 (D.D.C. 1967).

istic effect, within the limitations of his authority, to what as yet is nothing more than empty verbiage to black children in the nation's capital.

The Columbia University study was under no such restrictions. It could have taken an altogether hard line in suggesting what is necessary to provide equality. If integration is a requisite, as the study somewhat tentatively suggests, it should have made this clear without equivocation, and posited a metropolitan school system as a primary need. If integration is not required, then the study should have stated the basic essentials to insure equal education in a 90% non-white school system. Instead, the study straddles the issue.

Courts state constitutional doctrine in a broad sweep. Then, when faced with fashioning a workable remedy, they are forced to compromise with the facts. No such concession should restrict the educator in thinking through needed educational reform to meet educational needs. It is true that the reform suggested may not be palatable, but in insisting upon them the educator begins the process of public acceptance, and gives the court meaningful educational specifications which it can insist that school boards put into effect in order that the constitution's requirement can be reduced to reality and fact.

It has become fashionable to argue that the Supreme Court's decision in *Brown v. the Board of Education* was based on common sense. While I agree with the conclusion, it must be said that few public officials before the decision was rendered were sanguine that the Supreme Court would take the common sense step it did take. In part, the decision in *Brown* was reached because social science knowledge showed that segregation was educationally harmful. The Court accordingly enlarged its definition of equal education to proscribe segregation itself.

Similar direction and leadership must now come from those responsible for establishing educational policy to gain concrete insight as to what equal education entails as a fact of life. It will be extremely difficult for a court to approach decision in this field in a way that is at odds with respectable educational opinion. What complicates matters from the viewpoint of the educator is that their studies of school systems are usually paid for by local school authorities. This makes the educational consultant unwilling to bite the hand that feeds him. It seems to me, however, that his ultimate and heavier responsibility is to lead the country out of the present educational chaos towards fulfillment of its basic commitment, that each American child, black and white, shall have an equal opportunity to share in the educational benefits the country affords.

In Praise of Humble Heroes

The growing good of the world is partly dependent on unhistoric acts; and that things are not so ill with you and me as they might have been, is half owing to the number who lived faithfully a hidden life, and rest in unvisited tombs.

George Eliot, *Middlemarch*

Over time, the strength and quality of a community depend on an intricate web of reciprocal influences between all its various members. The vitality of the common life springs from the unique inspiration that each person can draw from his daily contact with men who incarnate diverse competencies. The true engine of history is the inspiration that each man, for better or for worse, continually gives his peers. In view of this fact, one of the serious threats to democracy is the way it occasions in the common man a self-effacing elitism in which he comes to rely uncritically and happily on the leadership of the prominent few whom he would not presume to second guess. Rationalizing his inability to approach the top of an "open society," he accepts himself as an ordinary Joe and decides to take things as they come, leaving it to those with brains or brawn—or better yet "connections"—to exert themselves in a struggle to excel. This quiescent elitism in the many simply feeds an arrogant elitism in the few. The ordinary Joe has an interest in depicting the few as larger than life; for then their omnipotence further justifies his quiescence, and, ominously, the extraordi-

nary few then begin to believe the popular tales of their prowess. Such relations beget mediocrity in the many and arrogance in their leaders—a dangerous combination likely, as Thucydides showed, to lead to an embarrassing demonstration that the loud talker's stick was small.

It is important that we resist this cycle of influence, for it is the surest cause of democratic destruction. The antidote to it is a truly democratic elitism, which is nurtured by reiterating at every occasion that all does not depend on those in charge. Great leaders cannot make a people great; only a great people can make their leaders great. This matter is fundamental to the educator, to the educator that each of us is as we go about our daily deeds. Excellence is a quality that is not confined to the few, for excellence is always in a particular capacity, and it is open to each and every man to excel in doing what he, in particular, has to do: he excels by surpassing himself in the pursuit of his possibilities. Such excellence, by creating a full repertory of exemplary characters who inspire in us an appreciation of assorted abilities, is the bond that holds the community together and the fount from which its vigor flows.

Human excellence is subtle and complex; it is not nurtured well in the hothouse of stereotyped virtuositities. Each youth forms his character by observing thousands and thousands of examples. To be sure, for any particular person only a few from the myriad serve as real models; but the capacity of a person to see another as his model results largely because the youth has less intimately examined many other exemplary figures and because, both with and against them, he has formed nascent standards by which he can identify his personal prototypes. In this sense, the butcher, the baker, the candlestick maker are the world's most important teachers, for it is in daily contact with mundane, local competencies that the children of all, of even the exalted, form their elementary standards. Hence, a community should most prize a healthy complement of humble heroes.

A hero is a man who takes the effort to be himself. It is surprising that one should speak about "the effort to be himself," for in a very literal sense the only thing that a man can be without effort, thanks to the law of identity, is himself. But on examination such literalness proves deceptive. A man is not one of those static substances to which the law of identity was designed to apply; a man is a perpetual becoming, and to be himself, a man must continually exert effort to become something very special, his self. The self denotes for a man his potential accomplishments by which he can add to the world his unique, personal contribution. The self is always invested with a sense of opportunity, creativeness, and particularity; one sees here something that one can and should do, and one

is fired by the excitement of having a function and a chance to show one's excellence in its performance, perhaps to no one but one's self! At the same time, the self is always dangerous, for the pursuit of it carries with it the threat of failure; with respect to it, one is on one's own. Ortega y Gasset put it well in his *Meditations on Quixote*: "to be a hero means to be one out of many, to be oneself. If we refuse to have our actions determined by heredity or environment it is because we seek to base the origin of our actions on ourselves and only on ourselves. The hero's will is not that of his ancestors nor of his society, but his own. This will to be oneself is heroism."

It takes effort, however, to be oneself in this sense, for each of us is surrounded by ready-made images that are tendered to us by our ancestors and society, two powerful authorities, and these images beckon us to give them flesh and blood. By so inserting ourselves into the available stereotypes we add nothing to the world, nothing vital that is, but merely help it be one of those dull substances that are what they are. Like Odysseus, every hero must tie himself to his ship in order to resist the siren song; and this resistance is not easy, for at any moment the images of success will always seem much more sure and substantial than the hopes of the hero. Such resistance is particularly difficult for the humble hero because he is not a man of exalted pretensions; he must be ready not only to take real risks of failure, but to incur the derision of his fellows. The aristocrat easily plays at independence; the little man finds it hard to assert his heartfelt aspirations against the advice of those content to

follow conventional wisdom and smart money. What courage, in its fullest, Socratic sense, must a shopkeeper have to risk his hard-won savings to start a local store in a time when supermarkets are the thing! But he is a man who knows that the only thing to fear is the weakness that seduces one into renouncing one's chosen way of life. Perhaps his store will fail, it may endure, it might even flourish—such uncertainties are the stuff of keeping shop; and it is not his improbable success, but his having lived in sincere fidelity to his intentions, that truly makes the man a hero.

Excellence, however, entails esteem; and here our contemporary democracy displays its weakness. True esteem requires proximity so that a person can be valued for what he is; and it is essential that diverse persons be in proximity with one another if a web of mutual esteem is to hold the community together. This esteem is the appreciation of one another as exemplary types, as persons from whom the others can learn; and it is the recognition each receives that makes his heroic effort seem worthwhile. Like the star, the craftsman needs his audience, and he thrives on knowing that those around him appreciate his art. Unfortunately, the scale of our society often prevents such proximity; except for friends, the people around us pass from our sphere of interest before we can slowly learn to appreciate their inner strengths and weaknesses. In the place of personal esteem we substitute publicity: a pallid poster celebrating the courtesy of bus drivers who work routes we've never travelled.

It is against this backdrop that we

should judge contemporary movements towards localism. From the point of view of the aggregate, these movements may seem, in the short-run, to slow our cherished progress: black separatism may slow integration or even the growth of family income for both black and white; block associations may impede grand plans for urban renewal; and local control of city schools may upset teaching conditions and lower performance on various standardized tests. But it is not only the short-run that counts in the life of a community. Over the long-run, a community must maintain a pervasive variety of virtues to which we are all in proximity and from which we each can form significant standards. Without such a variety of virtues, publicity will induce blind arrogance in the leaders and spineless mediocrity in their followers. We have gone far in this direction, especially far in public education. The formation of policy is far removed from the locus of its effects. The average teacher seems to have renounced his self; rather than seeking esteem for his personal competence as it is judged by those who are in proximity to him, he seems content to partake in the impersonal power that can be wielded by massed publicity. By these means the teachers' leaders can provide their faceless following with higher wages and ever more rigid conditions of work. But in the long run wealth and security are merely the sweetening on insentience; the real challenge before each teacher is to realize those unique, personal qualities by which he can become a humble hero to the boy on the block.

ROBERT OLIVER

Reader Rejoinders

On Aesthetic Reviewing

To the Editor:

I would like to use Joseph C. Bronars' interesting review of my *General Philosophy in Education* to illustrate certain principles of what might be called "aesthetic reviewing." The reviewer's criticisms, taken *seriatim*, are juxtaposed with the author's comments (A).

R. "The title is ambiguous. It *could* indicate..."

A. What it *does* mean is indicated in the first paragraph of the book. If any doubt remained, it would be dispelled by reading the Contents.

R. "An attitude more than faintly contemptuous of 'educational philosophy'..."

A. The reviewer leaps from the author's criticism of *some* educational philosophy to the emotive charge of "contemptuous."

R. "The author protests that his 'purpose is not to discredit conventional educational philosophy.'"

A. This statement was intended as a clue to pertinent criticisms of some educational philosophy, and a warning not to generalize from those criticisms. Explicitly, it was "to prevent misunderstanding."

R. The book would be "almost self-defeating" as a student teachers' textbook.

A. Only if a teacher were to attempt to defend educational philosophy against criticism and then admit some criticism of it. Philosophy of education does not need protection; it

needs criticism for its own clarification. The art of critical discussion developed in general philosophy might show what parts of educational philosophy are in need of re-examination.

R. Differences of opinion on general philosophic selections and the relative emphases to be placed on them do not justify condemnation of the book.

A. Then what does? The reviewer consistently refuses to come to grips with the book.

R. There is a "feeling" that the author has contempt for philosophy of education.

A. Where is the evidence of contempt? Inferences made from subjective states of mind are apt to be seriously misleading.

R. The author shows a "lack of familiarity with American publications..." Examples are not drawn from recent publications.

A. The time of publication is irrelevant to the question of an inference's justification. A point of logic is being demonstrated, not the weakness of educational philosophy at any point of time. The author admits that extreme forms of fallacy were deliberately chosen to make the point obvious; but he makes it clear that all educational philosophy is not of this kind.

R. The author needs "some concreteness and familiarity with the educational scene for which the prospective teacher is preparing."

A. "Educational scene" is ambiguous. The ideas are relevant to all student teachers, regardless of nationality. So are the skills of critical inquiry and the insights that might follow into the demands and limitations of human thought.

R. The author "subverts the whole concept of philosophy of education as part of professional teacher education.... Such subversion may well be a desirable undertaking, but it should be done more directly and honestly...."

A. Where does the reviewer stand? Is subversion, in his judgment, desirable, after all? The inference—general philosophy, therefore, not educa-

tional philosophy—is the author's. The author is supporting the same proposition supported by the reviewer: some philosophy of education does not stand up to critical examination.

To sum up: Responsible criticism has an aesthetic element. It examines rigorously what a work has to offer in itself. It throws off prejudices and preconceptions, disregarding irrelevancies of all kinds in an effort to discover what is there in the object. Ideally, it is itself a model of critical discussion in its rationality and objectivity.

L. M. Brown

The University of New South Wales

As Reviewed in the
December RECORD

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by F. Robert Paulsen

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Art, Technique, and the Indifferent Gods

Plagued by a sense of ineffectuality, conscious of protest on all sides, certain educators are turning to art as a means of resisting "technique." More and more frequently, we hear talk of an "aesthetics of teaching" to which the "technology of teaching" is to give way. Some compare the teacher with the creative artist; others perceive the knowledge taught as analogous to the art object. There is a suggestion that aesthetic values (expressiveness, harmony, wholeness, order) can be transmuted into educational aims, and that—if they are—the cause of personal autonomy will be served.

The technique such educators are resisting is what Jacques Ellul describes as the fundamental characteristic of "the technological society."¹ It is technique that has become autonomous and self-perpetuating, that gradually absorbs human beings to such an extent that they are no longer aware of its influence on their thinking and their lives. For Ellul, it follows that education becomes progressively oriented "toward the specialized end of producing technicians ... as a consequence, towards the creation of individuals useful only as members of a technical group, on the basis of the current criteria of utility..." Whether they read Ellul or not, great numbers of people are beginning to picture soci-

ety in this fashion. Minority groups express their resentment of the single standard ("the current criteria of utility") which tends to make a mockery of "equal opportunity." Students act out their outrage at the "processing" they feel they are experiencing in colleges and universities. Junior high school children "rap" furiously against what adults tell them is required for success—which means becoming "useful only as members of a technical group." It is not surprising that concerned and committed teachers should want to do something to combat mechanization, dehumanization, and "product orientation." What is surprising—and to us somewhat questionable—is the desire to read "aesthetic" as the antithesis of "technological" and to seek, in the domain of art, models for humane teaching in this difficult age. We cannot but recall Stephen Daedalus's metaphor for the creative artist (in James Joyce's *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*). The artist, says Stephen, is like the indifferent God of creation, remaining "within or behind or beyond or above his handiwork, invisible, refined out of existence, paring his fingernails."

We strongly believe in the importance of cultivating personal autonomy and authenticity in the classroom. Like David K. Cohen, in this issue of *THE RECORD*, we are deeply troubled by the ambiguities in the approach to "achievement standards." Like Maurice Friedman (also

1 *The Technological Society*. New York: Vintage Books, 1967.

in this issue), we believe that a good education ought to make possible "authentic personal existence," the choice of an "image of man." We also happen to believe in the importance of liberating increasing numbers of people for significant encounters with works of art. It does not, however, seem likely to us that the cause of authenticity will be served if teachers turn to the aesthetic for their models or criteria. A person who can engage sensitively and perceptively with a novel, a painting, or a concerto is, we grant, less likely to be absorbed by technique than the one impervious to aesthetic delights; but this is not what the "aesthetic" educators seem to have in mind.

They are not concerned about experiences with particular works of art. They want to see teachers behave like artists. They want to subsume the language and interactions of the classroom under the rubric of "art." Some propose to conceive teachers as "artists in human relations,"² with all the awarenesses, the impatience with the humdrum, and the "immediately felt joy" presumably characteristic of the practicing artist. Others propose that the knowledge communicated by a teacher be aesthetically valued and conceived as if it were "an aesthetic form."³ It seems to us that those who see the teaching act as analogous to artistic "making" somehow assume that artists are peculiarly moral and joyful people, exerting a primarily

beneficent influence upon the world and their fellow men. Those who treat the knowledge presented in the classroom as analogous to an art object are, we think, assuming that it is possible to define "art" successfully and absolutely, or that it must be understood once and for all as "the form of feeling" and used to counterbalance the discursive communications given such prominence in the contemporary school. Both assumptions—respecting the artist and the work of art—strike us as unwarranted. To build a conceptual structure upon them, and to act in terms of them might well increase the danger the "aesthetic" educator wishes to combat. Impersonality, manipulativeness, and preoccupation with technique (albeit not in Ellul's sense) are as much a part of artistic creation as are expressiveness, feeling, and forming. An artist works with neutral raw materials (paint and canvas, stone, tonal elements, words) which he calls his "medium." He shapes and structures those materials—perhaps in an effort to give his own feelings or perceptions or intuitions objective embodiment, perhaps in response to the internal qualitative demands of the work as it advances, perhaps in order to "imitate" or represent something beyond—in the visible world or in a world behind the visible. Is this an appropriate model for what happens in a classroom?

George Steiner,⁴ Hannah Arendt,⁵ and others have made it painfully clear that (using Steiner's words) "When barbarism came to 20th century Europe, the arts faculties in more than

2 See Clyde E. Curran, "Artistry in Teaching," in Ronald T. Hyman, Ed., *Teaching: Vantage Points for Study*. Philadelphia and New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1968.

3 See Dwayne Huebner, "Curricular Language and Classroom Meanings," in Hyman, Ed., *op. cit.*

4 *Language and Silence*. New York: Atheneum, 1967.

5 *The Human Condition*. New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1959.

one university offered very little moral resistance, and this is not a trivial or local accident." Not only is there little evidence that the reading of great literature or the ability to appreciate the arts in general makes a man humane; there is even less evidence that the writing of great literature (or the composition of great pictures or great music) makes a human being more sensitive, joyful, or concerned than any other human being. There have been artists who conceived themselves as seers and poet-priests, who—like Emerson and Whitman—created in "wonder" and joy. But there have also been artists—like Baudelaire, Dostoevsky, Wagner, Nietzsche—who were tortured individuals, given to melancholia, deadly fits of boredom, contempt for the middle class and the masses, various sorts of depravity. Steiner has recently written about the French novelist, Céline, a great artist who was a vicious, murderous anti-Semite. The career of the miraculous poet named Ezra Pound is universally known. "Artists are as different as men are," writes the novelist and critic, William Gass.⁶ "It would be wrong to romanticize about them. In our society indeed they may live in narrower and more frightening corners than most of us do. We should not imitate their ways; they're not exemplary, and set no worthy fashions." He concludes his warning by saying that poets are almost certainly "liars": "They lie quite roundly, unashamedly, with glee and gusto, since lies and fancies, figments and inventions, outrageous falsehoods are frequently more real, more emotionally pure, more continuously satisfying to them than the truth, which is likely to wear a vest, ... take technicolor

movies, and long snoozes through Sunday."

There is clearly no objection to educators discovering certain aspects of an artist's craft to be worthy of study and emulation. The point here is that to posit a good gray poet or a woodsy fellow piping wild or a gentle spinster performing verses like sacraments—and then to speak hopefully of the teacher as artist—is to romanticize shamelessly. "Teachers as artists," writes Clyde Curran,⁷ "strive for harmonious human relations." What paint is to the painter and language is to the poet, human relations are presumed to be for the teacher. Just as the artist manipulates and controls his medium to achieve a certain fullness and harmony, so (says Curran) does the artist-teacher manipulate and control "the motivating force of emotions" until he achieves *his* finished product, i.e. harmonious relations. Like the painter, then, the artist-teacher becomes "a part of the finished product." Would he talk this way if he did not imagine that anyone deeply involved in artistic activity must somehow be concerned for individual integrity, personal sensitivity, and growth? This troubles us, as does the notion of manipulation, which is quite appropriate in the domain of art when the artist speaks of arranging and rearranging his raw materials to the end of creating a significant form, but which seems highly questionable when the raw materials concerned are "the motivating force" of human emotions.

Those who find their analogy in the artist, and those who find one in the art object often lay particular emphasis upon the presentative, formal, objective character of the work of

6 *The New Republic*, July 27, 1968.

7 "Artistry in Teaching," *op. cit.*

art. This would be acceptable if they were functioning as art critics; but it is something else again when they propose to develop a model of teaching after objectivist approaches to art. If his overriding concern were to become "aesthetic"—shaping component parts, perhaps, to achieve an aesthetic end—a teacher might well be inclined to place order and harmony first in his priority scale. Harmony in human relations certainly has value, but it is not the highest of all possible values. If a teacher's intent is to treat emotions as his medium in his effort to attain harmony, he might find himself being dominated (as the artist frequently is) by a need to discover an interrelated value texture and, with this in mind, pay heed only to those values which appeared relevant to *his* end-in-view. He might begin subordinating all the component parts of the classroom situation to *his* dominating aesthetic concern. Only someone who believed that the aesthetic preoccupation *per se* ennobles and humanizes the individual involved would, it seems to us, be inclined to use an aesthetic model of this sort for a conceptualization of the teaching act.

Nor does it help to revise the view of art being applied, to conceive it as primarily expressive, sensuous, and emotive in nature. This, unfortunately, is often done, especially by those much afflicted by the technological, the "cognitive," the formalist approaches to curriculum. They want, understandably, to find ways of humanizing the educational process, to "educate the emotions," to overcome the means-ends orientation in the ordinary curriculum. They become convinced that the aesthetic is somehow polar to the technological, that

they will find a palliative concern for the spontaneous and the authentic in the realm of art. Committed as we are to self-expression and self-creation, disturbed as we are by the cold detachment which often accompanies statistical thinking and abstraction, we object to an "aesthetic of teaching" built upon expressivist theories as much as we object to one built on formalist approaches.

There are some illuminating expressivist theories of art, of course, although an expressivist theory serves no better than any other theory to account for all the phenomena categorized as art—from *the Iliad* to Burroughs' *Naked Lunch*, from the Lescaux cave paintings to Picasso's *Guernica*, from *Oedipus Rex* to *Bonnie and Clyde*. Most such theories explain art as the expression of emotion—often, as Wordsworth put it, "emotion recollected in tranquillity." Many talk of art as an "overflow" of images, feelings, even ideas transmuted by imagination. All, at some point, talk of a union of the inner and the outer with respect to art forms; they use words like "sincerity," "authenticity," "subjectivity," "sentience." But they also emphasize (and this is too often neglected by those seeking models for teaching in what they say) that the emotions which overflow or are recollected, and which seek expression by means of art, are given objective embodiment in formed presentations, works which—once created—exist as autonomously and independently as any other. They distinguish sharply between artistic expression and "mere" self-expression. Coleridge's "Ode to Dejection" is quite different from an expression of unhappiness by the living Coleridge. Yeats' "Second Coming" is

quite different from an outcry by the living Yeats regarding the disorder of his time and loss of the "ceremony of innocence." Picasso's *Guernica* is not the same thing as an expression of Picasso's outrage at the moment of the bombing.

The teacher who proposes to conceive the teaching act as an art-like act of self-expression usually hopes that his own spontaneity and emotionality will reach his students and arouse them to feeling and awareness. He forgets, however, that an artist is not and can rarely be spontaneous in the same way. The original stimulus for the poet, let us say, arouses a response that is anything but deliberately contrived. It must be acknowledged that if, at the moment of the stimulus, the poet comes up with two or three lines, even eloquent ones, they probably will not be poetry. Many things must occur before the response can be transmuted into art. The poet must move into himself. The particular event or color or sound which moved him and evoked a response must somehow be made part of him, must be submerged for a time in the well of his memories, in the depth of his consciousness. Consider Emily Dickinson:

There's a certain slant of light,
Winter afternoons,
That oppresses like the heft
Of cathedral tunes.

Obviously, this was not produced one long, dull winter afternoon in the parlor. Something made the slant of light noticeable on that particular day—something in the past perhaps, below the level of consciousness. For it to take on symbolic significance, for it to become a poem, the poet had to brood, to nurture, to permit

whatever it was that made the stimulus meaningful somehow rise to the surface. There had to be time for the imagination to work, time to play with the medium of language, as Emily Dickinson so marvelously did. Eventually (and who can say precisely when?) the poem became the complex enactment of experience one goes through when one perceives one's own mortality, when something happens that makes a tremendous "internal difference where the meanings are." It all happens by means of language, imagery, intricate interactions between words, meanings, feelings on more levels than anyone can count.

Is the teacher's work like this? Surely, a teacher who wants to engage in immediate encounters with his students cannot remove himself for the time it takes to create a formed presentation. He cannot spend hours or days playing and working with his medium. He cannot brood, consider, dream before he arrives with his communication. Encounters of the sort he has in mind, we believe, are quite, quite different from what the poet has in mind when he is moved to write.

Some of the interest in this aesthetic model may be due to a return of the romantic spirit, which meant—in the case of writers like Wordsworth and Emerson—a rebellion against traditional artifices and rules. Part of the appeal of the romantic point of view may be attributed to the romantic feeling for childhood, for wonder, for innocence and spontaneity. It is not surprising that educators become troubled by the restraints our technological society imposes upon individuals and by the narrowness of the channels down which human energies are forced. Like the romantic poets,

they see urban life, crowds, materialism, and the rest setting barriers between the aims of life and what Wordsworth (like some of the young radicals today) called "joy."

This may be why they turn to the poets, not so much to reread their works, but to discover them as exemplars. This may be why so many of them think of spontaneity in connection with "artistic," think of being childlike, even—literally speaking—"wonder-full." Our point here simply is that it is neither necessary nor helpful to attempt to realize such values by patterning teaching after art. The arts, hopefully, will play an increasingly central role in education; and more and more attention will be paid to cultivating the kinds of aesthetic perceptiveness required if works of art are to be enjoyed. But the arts will never play the role they might play unless teachers become somewhat clearer about the way they conceptualize the arts. An identification of teaching with the aesthetic process or the aesthetic object too often springs from an oversimplification of the nature and function of the arts; and this may lead to dehumanization or to a trivialization of what happens in schools.

Mechanization, manipulation, dehumanization—these are certainly the great bads where teaching is concerned. Teachers need to become self-aware, intensely conscious of what they are doing as they engage in teaching, free and open enough to experience encounters with the diverse human beings in their classes, courageous enough to tolerate and even to promote tension and discord, strong enough to avoid sentimentality. Teaching can be conceived as a process of opening gates, a mode of

introducing young people to ways of doing a variety of interesting things, enabling them to participate and make independent moves on their own initiative. It is unlikely that an intentional process of this sort can be carried on spontaneously, even though good teaching (like engagement with the arts) may create situations in which spontaneous activity can occur.

A good teacher is one who is continually trying out ideas, thinking critically himself, giving honest reasons, welcoming honest and even radical questions. Hopefully he is one who has chosen himself as a teacher—the kind of a person whose "fundamental project," whose mode of self-creation is the action which is teaching. If so, he is quite different from the person who has chosen himself to be a poet, a painter, a composer. The artist's object is not to inspire, not to liberate, not to teach. He is consciously devoted to the possibilities within the act of writing, or painting, or composing; and what he creates may indeed inspire, liberate, teach. But the possibilities offered to the reader or listener or spectator by the finished work of art should not be confused with the enterprise of "making" works of art.

Of course it is necessary to combat "technique" and indifference. Of course it is necessary to cultivate authenticity. It remains possible to work for face-to-face encounters in the classroom in an inharmonious world. This cannot be done by the teacher modelling himself on the artist. It can be done by the teacher willing to act so that others can make sense—and, in the making sense, form themselves as they live.

The Beatles' Poetry: A Rock Literature

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Item: Between a treatise on Joseph Conrad's style and a report on pornography in literature, there was a long article in *Partisan Review* a year ago on the literature of the Beatles by Rutgers Professor Richard Poirier.¹ *Item:* Teachers College Professor Laurence Taylor, lecturing last March, suggested that music teachers in the schools should teach the elements and theory of rock music as a means to the appreciation and understanding of music in general. What, one might be led to ask, do the Beatles share with the likes of Conrad and Beethoven?

Poirier looks backward and notes: people tend to listen to the Beatles the way families in the nineteenth century listened to readings of Dickens; and the novel then, like the Beatles and the films today, was considered a popular form of entertainment generally beneath serious criticism, and certainly beneath academic attention. Richard Corliss, writing in *Commonweal*,² predicts that within ten years rock and roll will be part of the college curriculum and that, already, the complex rock poetry of

Bob Dylan and Paul Simon has been and is being studied in English literature courses. Both of these testimonials imply that there is substantial literary worth in the recent work of the Beatles.

Why must the word "recent" be employed? Were not Beatle composers John Lennon, Paul McCartney and George Harrison *always* in the ranks of literary renown? Recently the news media caught McCartney in a whimsical mood, and he mused that "Love Me Do," released on one of the group's earliest records, was their greatest philosophical statement:³ "Love, love me do / You know I love you, I'll always be true / So please love me do." The essence of simplicity, the words stand as almost a universal truth. Other songs in their monolithic 1964 repertoire included "And I Love Her," "P.S., I Love You," and "She Loves You." Instead of being content to churn out slight variations on their initial, successful work—a pattern embraced by almost every categorically "popular" artist of this century—the Beatles began to enlarge their musical scope. They did this by gradually incorporating a varied instrumentation,⁴ sophisticat-

1 Richard Poirier, "Learning from the Beatles," *Partisan Review*, XXXIV, Fall, 1967, p. 528.

2 Richard Corliss, "A Beatle Metaphysic," *Commonweal*, LXXXVI, May 12, 1967, pp. 234-35.

3 Alan Aldridge, "McCartney on the Beatles," *Staten Island Advance*, February 1, 1968, p. 32.

4 In their ninth album, *Help!*, they became innovators and trend setters

ed lyric forms (such as the madrigal and the mantra), and modal scales.⁵ Simultaneously, their poetry evolved out of "Love Me Do" and, first, into "Eleanor Rigby" [who "... died in the church and was buried along with her name—Nobody came..."] (a rhetorical narrative which has been said to describe what goes on during God's silence),⁶ and later into the complex *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band*. *Sgt. Pepper* was the first rock album ever to be released as a *gestalt*—a "novel" in twelve chapters. Each of the songs within contributes to the whole and is allusive: to blues, to 1930's and 1940's jazz hits, to classical music, to early rock and roll, and to previous cuts by the Beatles themselves. Poirier writes:

... Mixing of styles and tones remind the listener that one kind of feeling about a subject isn't enough and that any single induced feeling must often exist within the context of seemingly contradictory alternatives.⁷

Mike Jahn says that *Sgt. Pepper*, "widely hailed as one of the most prodigious musical achievements of the century is a work of great beauty and intricacy, but not of emotion....

with the first "popular" use of Indian instruments, the sitar and tabla. By their eleventh album, *Revolver*, the Beatles were featuring harpsichord, harmonium, french horn, string quartet and the new "found" and "chance" music, e.g., taped birdcalls or electrically synthesized human voices.

- 5 "Norwegian Wood," for example, is in the Dorian mode.
- 6 Richard Corliss, "Pop Music: What's Been Happening," *National Review*, XIX, April 4, 1967, p. 373.
- 7 Poirier, *op. cit.*, p. 530.

Its beauty is in the description of everyday events."⁸ This is a particularly (but not exclusively) valid interpretation if the listener's everyday life is encountered through the subjective filter of hallucinogens.

On the surface, the album deals, in nine of its twelve tracks, with the varieties of personal experience in which some *change* has taken, is taking, or will take place:

"I get by with a little help from my friends"; "Picture yourself on a boat on a river"; "I've got to admit it's getting better"; "I'm fixing a hole where the rain gets in / And stops my mind from wondering where it will go"; "We were talking about the love we all could share"; "When I get older"; "Love-ly Rita Meter Maid, where would I be without you"; "I've got nothing to say but it's O.K."; "I'd love to turn you on."

The remaining three tracks provide the structure of this experience: first, the title song, in which the band (ergo, the album) is introduced; later, the reprise of the title song, and, at the midpoint—previous to the necessary "come-down" (in the simulated drug experience) of turning the record over—the ebullient ("high-producing") "Being for the Benefit of Mr. Kite!"

This surface description cannot fully reflect the depth of the numerous published interpretations or the impact of the work on other rock poets and the rock audience. For the first time, a single group in one album combined the necessary poetical forces to explain experiences being shared by millions of individuals.

- 8 Mike Jahn, "After Sgt. Pepper," *Saturday Review*, V, December 30, 1967, p. 55.

Although most critics agree that *Sgt. Pepper* is basically an explication of the selective awareness of drug experience, *Magical Mystery Tour*, the Beatles' fourteenth and newest long-playing effort, provides fresh ground for interpretive conjecture. Mike Jahn says: "*Magical Mystery Tour* is . . . distinguished by its description of the Beatles' acquired Hindu philosophy and its subsequent application to everyday life."⁹ On the other hand, Ned Rorem writes that "... *Magical Mystery Tour* lacks both mystery and magic and becomes a tour back to the tameness of civilization, a civilization where adults unconvincingly play at being children."¹⁰ A close reading of the controversial text follows.

The five vocal tracks which comprise the score from the film *Magical Mystery Tour* proceed with a Whitman-like invitation to the reader (listener-participant) to join in the experience.¹¹

Roll up—Roll up for the Mystery
Tour

Roll up Roll up for the Mystery
Tour

I've got an invitation
To make a reservation
The Magical Mystery Tour is
waiting to take you away
Waiting to take you away

Roll up, roll up for the Mystery
Tour

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Ned Rorem, "Some Last Thoughts on the Beatles," *The Village Voice*, December 23, 1967, p. 26.

¹¹ All *Magical Mystery Tour* lyric texts are published and copyrighted 1967 by MacLen Music, Inc., BMI, and appeared originally on Capitol Records SMAL-2835.

They've got everything you need
Satisfaction guaranteed

The Magical Mystery Tour is hop-
ing to take you away
Hoping to take you away

Aaaaah—The Magical Mystery
Tour

Roll up—roll up for the Mystery
Tour

I've got an invitation
To make a reservation
The Magical Mystery Tour is
coming to take you away
Coming to take you away
The Magical Mystery Tour is dy-
ing to take you away
Dying to take you away—take you
today.

"Roll up for the mystery tour!" is a barker call which encourages the participant to partake of the "evil weed" and heighten his awareness. Concurrently, the Tour is first "waiting," then "hoping," and lastly "dying to take you away." Rorem dissentingly notes that the trite and vaguely reminiscent rhymes ("invitation/reservation") are as prosaic as a "Cook's Travel Service" catalogue.

"The Fool on the Hill," if one accepts Jahn's view, refers to "a detached observer, a yogin, who meditates and watches the world spin." Disenchanted Rorem, however, sees the fool in this second record cut as "the misunderstood poet, unloved and dull on the surface, sensitive and philosophic at heart, like the idiot in 'Boris Gudonuv.'" John Lennon's Fool is described as follows:

Day after day, alone on a hill, the
man with a foolish grin is per-
fectly still

But nobody wants to know him,
they can see that he's just a fool
as he never gives an answer

But the fool on the hill sees the sun
going down
And the eyes in his head see the
world spinning round.
Well on the way, head in a cloud,
the man of a thousand voices
talking perfectly loud
But nobody ever hears him or the
sound he appears to make and he
never seems to notice
But the fool on the hill sees the sun
going down
And the eyes in his head see the
world spinning round.
And nobody seems to like him
they can tell what he wants to
do
And he never shows his feelings
but the Fool on the Hill
Sees the sun going down and the
eyes in his head see the world
spinning round.
He never listens to them He knows
that they're the fools
They don't like him
The Fool on the Hill sees the sun
going down
And the eyes in his head see the
world spinning round.

The case may also be made¹² that the Fool on the hill is none other than the crucified Jesus: darkness prevails on the hill of Calvary, and the masses, even to this day, never "hear him" or his words. Note particularly the capitalized letters in lines 10, 12 and 14, and the use of present tense which connotes cyclic perpetuation of the scene.

"Blue Jay Way," by George Harrison, is the foremost exposition of Indian musical sources in the score:

There's a fog upon L.A.
And my friends have lost their
way

We'll be over soon they said
Now they've lost themselves in-
stead.
Please don't be long please don't
you be very long
Please don't be long for I may be
asleep
Well it only goes to show
And I told them where to go
Ask a policeman on the street
There's so many there to meet
Please don't be long please don't
you be very long
Please don't be long for I may be
asleep
Now it's past my bed I know
And I'd really like to go
Soon will be the breath of day
Sitting here in Blue Jay Way
Please don't be long please don't
you be very long
Please don't be long for I may be
asleep.
Please don't be long please don't
you be very long
Please don't be long
Please don't be long please don't
you be very long
Please don't be long
Please don't be long please don't
you be very long
Please don't be long
Don't be long—don't be long—
don't be long
Don't be long—don't be long—
don't be long

Imagery of fog and the related haziness of sleep is coupled to a hypnotic Eastern melody. The fragmented thought-images of lines 7, 8, 14, 15 and 16 add to the feeling of personal disorientation. Adding to this singularity, there is a sense of being repeatedly told, "Please don't *belong*"—but, rather, be a contemplative *individual*—a theme which recurs more strongly in "I am the Walrus."

12 Perhaps it is a nefarious literary trap!

"Your Mother Should Know" is written in the form of an early dancehall (or English pub) sing along:

Let's all get up and dance to a song
That was a hit before your Mother
was born
Though she was born a long time
ago
Your Mother should know—your
Mother should know
Sing it again
Lift up your hearts and sing me a
song
That was a hit before your Mother
was born
Though she was born a long long
time ago
Your Mother should know—your
Mother should know
Your Mother should know—your
Mother should know
Sing it again
Though she was born a long long
time ago
Your Mother should know—your
Mother should know
Your Mother should know—your
Mother should know
Your Mother should know—your
Mother should know

This work may be a self-contained poem—entirely about itself. On another level, it may be a paean to the traditional pleasures of procreation.

John Lennon's Joycean "I am the Walrus" is, by far, the most complex work the Beatles have produced. Rorem yawns and comments: "If ['I am the Walrus'] contains a philosophy of today's despair, this intention escapes me. But then I'm over thirty." Jahn perspicaciously observes:

... The "Bhagavad Gita" (The Celestial Song of Hindu Theology) intended to define the perfect discipline ...: "Who sees me in all / And sees all in me / For him I am not lost / And he is not lost for me." The disciple has just replied and in surprisingly similar terms: "I am he as you are he as you are me and we are all together." [Herein,] the yogin, [the fool, formerly of the hill] ... tells what he sees. ... The song mixes surrealist imagery [with] the "we are all together" thought.

The text of the song follows:

I am he as you are he as you are me
and we are all together.
See how they run like pigs from a
gun see how they fly,
I'm crying.
Sitting on a cornflake—waiting for
the van to come.
Corporation teashirt, stupid bloody
tuesday man you been a naughty
boy
you let your face grow long.
I am the eggman, they are the egg-
men—I am the walrus GOO
GOO GOO JOOB.
City policeman sitting pretty little
policeman in a row,
see how they fly like Lucy in the
sky—see how they run
I'm crying—I'm crying I'm crying.
Yellow matter custard dripping
from a dead dogs eye.
Crabalocker fishwife pornographic
priestess boy you been a naughty
girl,
you let your knickers down.
I am the eggman, they are the egg-
men—I am the walrus. GOO
GOO GOO JOOB
Sitting in an English garden wait-
ing for the sun,

if the sun don't come, you get a
tan from standing in the English
rain.

I am the eggman, they are the egg-
men—I am the walrus. GOO
GOO GOO JOOB

Expert texpert choking smokers
don't you think the joker laughs
at you? Ha ha ha!

See how they smile, like pigs in a
sty, see how they snied.

I'm crying.

Semolina pilchard climbing up the
Eiffel Tower.

Elementry penguin singing Hare
Krishna man you should have
seen them kicking

Edgar Allen POE.

I am the eggman, they are the egg-
men—I am the walrus GOO
GOO GOO JOOB

GOO GOO GOO JOOB GOO
GOOGOOOOOOOOOOOO
JOOOOOB

In a possible interpretation of the
text, one motif disdains conformity.
Much of the imagery supports this:
pigs run and smile collectively; a *van*
is a collective vehicle; a "corporation
teashirt" presumably accommodates
(categorizes) many individuals at
once; the bearded young man who
"lets his face grow long" is censured
as a non-conformist (whether he is
or not); policemen (pronounced
"please-men") are all in the same
uniform, and in a row. A second mo-
tif warns against *cultism* of the type
that centers upon the Beatles when-
ever they move in a new direction.
Lennon says, "I am the eggman"
(that is, "I adopt a new role or fol-
low a new direction and everybody
follows—"); "They are the eggmen,"
("But I can perceive this and change
to still another role as an observer
—"); (... therefore,) "I am the Wal-

rus." Lines 22 and 23 refer to the cult
of Indian mysticism (e.g., "Hari
Krishna") now gaining great popu-
larity in Western "popular" culture,
to the temporary exclusion of West-
ern tradition (e.g., "Poe").

After the written section of the
work ends, one hears a distorted and
confused chant—possibly "... every-
body smoke pot..." or perhaps "...
everybody join now..." Through
this found and chance music one can
barely hear a reading from *King Lear*
—an attempt, presumably, to show
chaos striving for order. Subsequent-
ly the chanting fades out, suggesting
infinite irresolution.

As one might deduce in following
the evolution of the Beatles from "I
Wanna Hold Your Hand" to "I am
the Walrus," the rock poetry (like
film) is no longer (at the risk of a
cliché) a linear, printed form of liter-
ature. Only the recorded perfor-
mance can reveal all of the devices of
style and imagery which the poet-
musician provides.

The rock literature is, perhaps, the
fastest and most direct form of ar-
tistic feedback which contemporary
society has. At a time when little else
troubled youth, the Beatles reassured
the teenager that "She Loves You."
In 1966 "Eleanor Rigby" and "No-
where Man" commented on *social*
awareness. *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts*
Club Band celebrated a new (and
universal) form of *sensory* aware-
ness. The sophisticated *Magical Mys-*
tery Tour traveled the road to
mystical awareness. We can and
should expect more (and yet more
sophisticated) innovations here, and
as educators we should welcome
them, for the Beatles have raised their
child (and, for that matter, their mil-
lions of adopted children) quite well,
and rock literature is growing up.

Work, Leisure, and the American Schools

Thomas F. Green. New York: Random House, 1968, 174 pp. \$2.25 (paper).

We surely know what it means to live in a society dominated by the idea of work. But what would it mean to live in a leisure society—a society, say, in which 10 percent of the population could produce all the needed goods, services, and food? And how might we think about schooling in a society in which it would be assured that 90 percent of our students would not get jobs? Questions such as these have already been asked and they have led some writers to put forth specific proposals as to how to cope with such a situation. It has been proposed, for example, that we institute a guaranteed annual wage for everyone. And there has been much in the way of suggestions as to how people should spend their free or leisure time. Professor Green attempts no such proposals. What he does is more radical.

He asks what we mean by work and leisure. The task he sets for himself is a "philosophical assessment of the ideology of work." (11) He asks, for example: "Are work and leisure really opposing concepts? Is there some way of understanding the meaning of work so that, even if jobs disappeared from a society, work would remain? How are the ideas of job and work now related? How might they be related? (11-12) These questions do not lead Green in the direction of writing social science or educational fiction. They are asked as part of an attempt to do some coherent and systematic thinking about what it might *mean* to live in a leisure society.

Of special interest to this reviewer is the way in which Professor Green conceives of his task. He does not set out to discover the *correct* analysis of the concept of work—or of the other concepts which he studies: leisure, labor, job, time, and play. If I understand him, he does not think that for such concepts there is anything that could stand as a correct analysis. What he seeks to analyze are our beliefs, that is, how we think about and with these concepts. Green writes:

To the philosopher of education, what is important about these beliefs is neither their truth or whether they are rationally grounded, self-consistent, or explicitly stated. It is quite possible, indeed, that in any specific instance they will be neither consistent, rational, nor well-established. The fact remains, however, that they are believed to be true—whether or not they are—and believed even with the sort of passionate attachment that is normally reserved for "eternal truths." It is this aspect, quite apart from their truth, that gives such beliefs their ideological character and, at the same time, their educational importance. The proper philosophical study of such beliefs is not an effort to test their truth; the philosopher of education may be more interested in assessing their pedagogical or heuristic value. He may be more concerned with weighing their social adequacy than with determining their objective

validity. In that sense, the philosophy of education becomes the rational criticism of those ideologies, the assessments of the social adequacy of these anthropological beliefs that are inherent in the practice of education. (6)*

In addition to such an assessment, Green also offers some suggestions aimed at making our views more relevant. What is interesting in this connection is that the question of relevancy turns out not to depend on a leisure society of the future. Our present ideology of work and leisure is already dysfunctional. Green shows convincingly that we are now in need of a revised ideology of work.

Human beings require a world in which they can feel that they make a difference, a world that in some way answers to what Green calls *the quest for potency*. If what men have learned to value is experienced by them as inconsequential and irrelevant, then, however much the effort they put forth, the upshot is a sense of impotence. Green reads the contemporary crisis of values in these terms as he writes:

If it is a fact that in the modern world traditional values are experienced as irrelevant and their expression in action is experienced as inconsequential, then that is a fact of greater weight for the practical affairs of men than the question of whether they are in fact irrelevant or whether their expression is actually ineffective. For if traditional values are experienced as right but irrelevant, then that will become manifest in a crisis of personal identity; and if the pursuit of such values is experienced as ineffective, that will be felt by the individual as a sense of personal impotence. (117)

Green connects this sense of impotence with the futility of labor. Following, at least in part, Hannah Arendt's discussion in *The Human Condition*, he distinguishes between *work* and *labor*. The distinction is a difficult one. Roughly, it corresponds to the difference between activities that issue in identifiable products which have some permanence in the world and activities which result in no product at all or in a product that is quickly consumed or used up. While work has an identifiable end, labor can never cease if life is to continue. Labor is necessary and inasmuch as it is unending it is, like the labor of Sisyphus, futile. The following statement by Green shows the connection between the quest for potency and work.

The contrast between power and impotence corresponds precisely to the initial distinction between work and labor. The principal characteristic of labor is its futility; it is effort expended without any consequence in achievement. Insofar as a man views his efforts under the category of labor, he will see himself as impotent.... Conversely, the exercise of potency displays all the marks of work. It is the consequential expenditure of effort—effort that calls for the display of human capacities and

* Unfortunately this is not the place for the extended discussion that this conception of philosophy deserves. For myself, I agree with Green and have no doubt about the need and importance of the kind of study characterized above.

therefore has more than extrinsic value, in addition to looking to completion in some worldly accomplishment. Whoever has found potency in this sense will view his world as supporting his efforts and making possible some durable achievement. (133-134)

Green also concerns himself with the relation between work and job. As he develops these and other related concepts, the outline of a new ideology of work and leisure begin to emerge. In his closing chapter on American schools, he shows to what extent the schools reflect the current ideology of work and the extent to which they are not preparing their students how to live with the amount of free time that most of them will be facing in a very short time. Green doesn't put it this way, but the schools would seem, on his account, to be offering a training for futility. If the jobs for which young people are trained fail to answer their quests for potency, schooling oriented exclusively towards job preparation is designed to produce a sense of impotence. Both the quality of many jobs and the increase in time free from these jobs raises fundamental questions about the orientation and functions of our schools. The schools have been subjected to unwarranted criticism, but the difficulties noted above seem to be genuine. Might it not be that the bitter attacks made on our schools by some of our brightest young people can be read in terms of just the kind of irrelevance that Green's analysis suggests?

Professor Green's book is more ramified than this brief review can indicate. It is scholarly, yet well written. It is philosophy, yet it can be understood by anyone willing to read carefully. It deserves a wide audience.

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Policy Issues in Urban Education

Marjorie B. Smiley and Harry L. Miller, Eds. New York: The Free Press, 1968, 490 pp.

Six Urban School Districts

Marilyn Gittell and T. Edward Hollander. New York: Frederick A. Praeger Publishers, 1968, 329 pp.

The increasing volume of educational literature dealing with the urban scene is a painful reminder that we recognize social problems after they become terribly complex and extremely difficult to solve.

The Supreme Court's ruling of 1954 in the Brown case marked a watershed in educational history. Since then many in the academic community have at long last turned to the City and its schools as a crucial arena for study. With a plaintive sigh this reviewer, a former big city superintendent, dares ask, but only *sotto voce*, "Oh, where the cognoscenti then, before the unheard anguish of a few became a stylish cause for many?" Well, better late than never.

The foregoing catharsis is in no way meant to deprecate the value of these two eminently worthwhile volumes. They supplement each other effectively. The first deals with basic policy questions and the second is a comparative study of responses in six large school systems. Taken together they serve well for an intensive analysis of urban school problems; but, as may be inevitable, they are long on diagnosis and short on therapy.

The readings edited by Smiley and Miller constitute a companion text to *Education in the Metropolis*. Both these collections have been used experimentally in Hunter College classes for teachers of disadvantaged youth. This latter volume deals with authoritative statements addressed to three topics: Challenge To The Teacher, What Curriculum For the Disadvantaged?, Patterns and Issues, Redressing the Imbalance Of The Urban School.

The introduction to the readings is effectively presented; however, a synthesis at the close of each topic would, in our judgment, serve to unify the collection. Likewise a bibliography related to each general area would be of additional help.

Obviously no collection can be all inclusive. Nevertheless, since the case for school desegregation and integration is so well documented in this volume, it would have been highly desirable to include at least one paper by a black community leader who holds a contrary view. Black power advocates are in ghettos from coast to coast. Not only in New York City will they emerge as a power bloc with which school leaders will have to contend. As such, the position of the black militant merits inclusion in a volume which deals with policy issues in urban education.

The postulate of the study conducted by Gittell and Hollander is that fiscal status is of limited significance in explaining differences in the innovativeness and financing of big city school systems. Their findings seem to support this thesis. However, since as H. Thomas James and others have observed, the studies of school finance in general show no consistent relationship between fiscal independence and per pupil expenditures, one speculates whether a more significant variable could have been used.

The fiscal and administrative operations of six large systems were investigated: Baltimore, Chicago, Detroit, New York, Philadelphia and St. Louis. Both fiscally dependent and independent systems were thus represented. As a measure of output they use innovation as evident in three categories: program innovation for the disadvantaged, administrative reorganization and school organization.

The authors state that their most significant conclusion from the comparative analysis is that "school systems are very often a product of the political culture of the city regardless of fiscal status." Not surprisingly they found that the influence of a city's political culture pervades school politics while, on the other hand, school systems appear to have little influence on the political culture of the city.

When the authors undertook the investigation they assumed that innovation was dependent on the level of new funds. They now hold that "increased expenditures are a function of the level of innovation and not

the other way around." Strong community participation, claim the writers, is necessary if both new programs and needed finances are to be achieved.

The theoretical model developed by Gittell and Hollander will be of special interest to those undertaking similar comparative research. The design used by the investigators is an alternative approach to the conventional indices of school system quality which the authors state fail to explain why these differences exist and the effectiveness with which school resources are allocated. They claim that their measure of outputs has several advantages including "effectiveness of administration." Nevertheless in speaking of the characteristics of innovation which they used as a measure they note, "whether these programs provide meaningful solutions is of less significance to this study than the fact that some attempt is made to face up to the problems." If solutions are not meaningful, then a measure of effectiveness as such is not obtained. Since a measure of efficiency was noted earlier as a criterion of design selection, it is not clear to this reviewer how the alternative approach is necessarily a superior one.

Innovation seems a natural approach for analyzing change. The tricky phase arrives when a definition is selected. The authors use this one: "the successful introduction to an applied situation of means or ends that are new to the situation." Note the word "successful." How is this to be determined? The writers avoid the common pitfall of assuming that "more is better" and in dealing, for example, with program innovations they hold that "those systems which responded to the needs for compensatory education prior to federal aid were considered to be more innovative and those which utilized federal aid most advantageously were considered more flexible." But again a question arises, what valid and reliable measures are there to estimate advantageous use? A justification for the inferences drawn is not clear. As Fred T. Wilhelms and many others have noted, there is a wide gap between the promise and performance of innovations in general. Specifically, the controversy surrounding the actual value of compensatory education suggests the difficulty of using such categories in studying institutional response. However, the investigators of this study are clearly highly qualified and the model they have developed for further research as well as their findings are a significant contribution in an area sorely needing further analysis.

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Strategies for Elementary Social Science Education

Bruce R. Joyce. Chicago: Science Research Associates, Inc., 1965.

Joyce contends that there are three basic goals directing the social studies: (1) humanistic education, (2) citizenship education, (3) intellectual education. He further concludes that these goals are compatible and learning activities can be designed to achieve them concurrently. The thesis of the book is that the child in the elementary school should receive instruction in social studies which will be centered on an examination of his social world, that he should be helped to examine social topics in such a way that he progressively learns to apply the intellectual tools of the social sciences. The author emphasizes the point that there is no conflict in the three goals of social studies, that the tactics of the social sciences are the best tools for helping the child comprehend his life and face his problems.

Few would disagree with the goals of social studies even though such goals might be stated in different terms. Major disagreement would come with the thesis that they could be accomplished concurrently or with the strategies utilized for their fulfillment. The remainder of the book is devoted to an explanation and application of these strategies.

Joyce relates that the organizing concepts of the social sciences will aid children in seeking new knowledge as they have provided the scholars with methods of acquiring knowledge. The organizing concepts are defined as the way we think things are related and thus change as new knowledge is acquired. One of the most difficult tasks is to translate the scholarly concepts and methods into forms that can be readily taught to children. He suggests that these organizing concepts can be discovered by the child's observation of experiences around him. Once the concepts have been discovered in the familiar, the child can apply them to the unfamiliar.

The author defines three types of organizing concepts utilized by the social sciences:

- (1) observed—"formed by noting similarities, differences, or relations between objects that can be apprehended directly by the senses, such as verbal statements, physical actions, or objects."
- (2) inferred—"are made about things that are not seen directly but are inferred from things that are perceived."
- (3) ideal-type—"refer to such complex or large-scale phenomena that they are 'ideals' that have no perfect representative in reality."

He then proceeds to take each of the social sciences: sociology, anthropology, political science, economics, geography, and history and give examples of how these concept forms can be taught to children within experiences of their understanding.

Since it is impossible as well as unadvisable to teach all concepts from the social sciences, Joyce suggests criteria for the selection of content: "(1) Content needs to be drawn from a number of academic disciplines without damaging the identity or separate integrity of any of them, (2)

Content with a view toward providing continuity in the curriculum and growth of ideas through the grades, (3) Content that relates the child to his community, (4) Topics dealing with daily happenings in the classroom and with contemporary events on the world scene." The human group should be used as a focus for selecting content based on these four questions: "(1) What human groups can be found in this society, in this region, in this era that we plan to study? (2) What relations do these human groups bear to one another? (3) How did these human relations become what they are? (4) What is the future of these group relations?"

Joyce readily admits that it is unwise to introduce children to organizing concepts from all the disciplines simultaneously and suggests that with the focus on the human group, instruction can be patterned so that successive units gradually reveal more and more tactics used by the several social sciences.

The author then discusses the psychological aspects which should be considered in planning social studies programs since he contends they should not be confined to knowledge from the academic disciplines. "The manner in which a person faces problems, or this disposition or system for processing information, can be characterized as his conceptual style." The type of conceptual style that a child develops is to some extent influenced by the atmosphere for learning provided by the teacher. Joyce discusses conditions which are necessary to develop open minded individuals—the interdependent environment where the teacher helps versus the unilateral environment where the teacher determines. He then discusses a limited amount of learning theory which should be considered in developing instructional programs.

The theory thus far advanced is then applied to (1) planning lessons, and (2) planning curricula. Joyce parts company with the rigid application of the expanding horizons approach since he feels that it does not apply to all children in all schools and requires that too much content be covered in six years. He concludes that: "(1) Relatively few topics should be studied in any school year and these topics should provide comparative analysis; (2) These depth studies should be arranged so that organizing concepts of the several social sciences will be reexamined and extended periodically; (3) The studies planned for any one year should be few enough so that the teacher and children can build part of the program out of the study of current affairs and out of events affecting the class group itself or its interests; (4) The depth studies should be selected so that the child acquires essential information about his society and the contemporary world."

The author develops the rationale for the depth study and applies such in pursuing world cultures and teaching materials and individual differences. Skills for handling symbols such as maps, charts, graphs, and words he suggests are best taught within the context of depth studies since so many opportunities are provided for their actual use.

The section on evaluation presents the thesis that evaluation should be a cooperative venture involving teacher and child. Evaluation should

measure not only knowledge and thinking ability of children, but their attitudes as well.

The book concludes with a section devoted to the teaching of disadvantaged children and a look to the future. The author recognizes the need for extensive research to be completed to aid in planning for education of the disadvantaged, but suggests strategies for working with them such as providing a warm sympathetic environment, abundant experiences, and the opportunity to use words.

Joyce sees the new projects which are being developed in the social sciences as a possible way out of the stereotyped curricula dominated by the expanding horizons theory, and textbook series. Also, new instructional strategies in the form of simulation, training groups, and planned social environment will lend their assistance.

Those advocates of the expanding horizons theory will quickly take issue with Joyce, while those who feel children in our present world need to be exposed much earlier to experiences beyond their immediate environment will applaud him. There is a freshness in his approach to the teaching of the social sciences as he attempts to bring some order to the confusion surrounding conceptual framework, structure of the disciplines, and inquiry. The section which presents practical application of his theory to the social sciences is particularly enlightening. Equally as penetrating are the theories advanced concerning the psychological considerations which should affect the teaching of social studies.

The section of the book that fails to provide sufficient information, especially for the inexperienced teacher, is in the application of the ideas to lesson planning. There are too few examples of the application of the ideas to the wide spectrum of learning experiences suggested for the social studies. However, the application of the theory to planning curricula is more complete.

The other area lacking in content is social studies for the disadvantaged. If the intent was merely to recognize the tremendous problem of the disadvantaged, the rather light treatment of the topic would fail to do even this. An area so critical to our present world deserves more emphasis.

Overall the book offers much whether one agrees with all the theories advanced or not, it will certainly stimulate thinking. Hopefully, the book will cause change in the teaching of the social sciences in the elementary school.

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American Education, Challenges and Images

F. Robert Paulsen. Tucson, Arizona: The University of Arizona Press, 1967,
118 pp. \$5.00.

After all, "American Education" is a nice, innocuous phrase—maybe even a bit boring. "Images" have been "in" for so long that they're veering toward "camp." And Bel Kaufman killed any serious consideration of juxtaposing

"education" with *that* word: instantaneously one remembers, "Let it be a challenge to you." (Bel Kaufman, *Up the Down Staircase*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964, *passim*.) So much for the title!

Unfortunately, one cannot leave it at that, for the book in many ways reflects that dissection of the title.

There are chapters dealing with the politics of education, cultural anthropology and education, mental health and education, communication and education, and jurisprudence and education—among others. It may be recalled that when Ignatius Loyola wrote, "*I make myself all things to all men*" (*Cartas de San Ignacio*, Vol. I, p. 434, cited in S. Rose, *St. Ignatius of Loyola and the Early Jesuits*, Burns, Oates & Washburne, Ltd., 1891, p. 309), the Jesuits were accused of casuistry. What shall we say?

However, this abortive attempt at Proteanism is minor. Just as one is about to drown in an avalanche of "appropriate" quotations, the intellectual waterwings come to the rescue. Once upon dry land, the *real* world is visible and it is then that one knows what truly ails this book.

Statement: "Our educational system has been rather successful in teaching idealistic beliefs relating to acceptable standards of conduct." (p. 8).

Query: Which system? Where? Acceptable to whom?

Statement: "In the school they should hear of the 'good life' and should be given the knowledge and skills to achieve it." (p. 11)

Query: "Good life" for whom? In whose world? In the world of "burn baby," here, or "burn baby" in Cotton Mather's hereafter?

Statement: "To assert, however, that modern educational opportunities, methods of instruction and learning achievements are inferior to those of a yesteryear is foolish. Such criticisms are marks of an uninformed person. They are not substantiated in fact." (p. 13)

Query: For what percentage of the society was the education of yesteryear viable? For which stratum? And who's uninformed?

Statement: "While men cannot be free or equal, they can achieve a degree of personal freedom within the bounds of a culture. Such a freedom should permit the assumption and development of personal responsibility and the acceptance of a moral code based on knowledge of the 'good life' rather than on the fear of sanctions and eternal punishment." (p. 19)

Query: With the kind of punishment right here, who needs to worry about the eternal kind?

Statement: "If a liberal education does nothing else, it should impart to men the knowledge that within the cultural framework, each individual is a person with considerable power of choice." (p. 21)

Query: Who is getting that liberal education? Is choice available without a liberal education?

Statement: "Democracy postulates the ideal of the equal chance. It survives on the realization of that ideal." (p. 74)

Query: If that is so, is democracy surviving in the United States?

Statement: "Persons who blame someone else for their condition of non-living, or who fail to assume responsibility for their own actions, even their own lives, might then be called ill, mentally ill." (p. 85)

Query: And what, pray tell, is the cause of their illness?

Statement: "The American school has become the institution wherein each child born in this nation might learn about the opportunities available for self-fulfillment and success." (p. 105)

Query: Would the gentleman be good enough to document the statement? For a Navajo child? For a child in Appalachia? For a child on the South Side of Chicago, etc.?

It must be obvious to the reader that Paulsen seems unaware of "Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka," nor does he evidence knowledge of what led to it, nor what has followed it. (There are two references dated 1965, several dated 1963, and some from 1955 to 1958. Most citations antedate 1955.)

In a society rent with tension and reeling with dissension and fear, Paulsen seems to echo that charmer of Voltaire's who so persistently intoned, "All is for the best in this best of all possible worlds." What alarms one is the knowledge that the good Dr. Pangloss was afflicted with a then incurable social disease.

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Library Surveys

Maurice F. Tauber and Irlene Roemer Stephens, Eds. New York: Columbia University Press, 1967, 286 pp. \$13.50.

Library Surveys is a compilation of papers presented at a conference held at Columbia University, June 14-17, 1965 and sponsored by the Committee on Library Surveys of the Association of College and Research Libraries (American Library Association) and the School of Library Service, Columbia University. In the initial background paper, Guy R. Lyle, the Director of Libraries of Emory University, defined the library survey as "...a specialized type of investigation whose goal is the improvement of library service." Usually a survey is undertaken when those concerned with the administration of a library feel that they have a problem which they want to resolve. For help they turn to a consultant whose expertise and experience might be useful. The fresh examination of the situation or the resultant written report is called a survey. The purpose of the conference was to provide an opportunity for the registrants, most of whom also served as consultants, to increase their knowledge of the uses of the survey method in seeking solutions to library problems, and to discuss the techniques of library surveys in relation to particular situations.

Workers in any area of education, particularly those in administration, will find useful information and ideas in this book because education and librarianship are integrally related. Horace Mann called for the establishment of libraries at the same time that he urged the development of schools in the early part of the last century. The first landmark survey of the state of

librarianship in America was embodied in a monumental publication in 1876 which identified library services with education. And Dr. Paul Buck, recently retired director of the Harvard University Library, expressed the opinion that the library was basic to learning and the "exploitation of our intellectual resources," and that it was impossible to have a "quality faculty without a quality library" (p. 58). It is reasonable, therefore, that *Library Surveys* deals with every level of school library as well as state, public, and special (business and industrial) libraries. Further, it not only covers the various aspects of library work but it also focuses on administration, buildings, budget, and personnel.

A "yardstick" against which a particular library's resources, services, physical plant or staff are usually measured are the standards developed by the various professional associations. Standards are a benchline for the orientation of the survey (p. 38). They are evolved from a comprehensive study of the best library programs in a region or the nation. To win the practical acceptance of administration and trustees as well as the librarians, recommended standards are fixed at a level of operation better than that at most libraries but near or below the level of the best. This introduces a smugness on the part of the higher ranking institutions and the possibility of perpetuating an undesirable status quo. Furthermore, quantitative standards are difficult to evaluate as to quality, and any criteria thus far developed have failed to take into consideration the variables and to measure the intangible nature of library service. All too frequently the outcome of a library survey is an expression of an expert's opinion or an educated guess.

If librarianship is to assume its proper role in the necessary programs of universal education (in the development of each individual to the maximum of his capabilities), then librarians cannot compromise with the goal of providing all the information that any individual may need—literally from any part of the world, and at the time and place that he needs it. If in the world of the immediate future information will have to be as available as air, food, and water, then librarians who propose to do anything less are making political decisions rather than professional ones. To accomplish such goals a reliance upon standards derived from studies of current practice will help in bringing about some measures of reform, but not the more thoroughgoing change which now appears necessary.

The conference apparently failed to consider an alternate approach to the improvement of library service, such as that represented by the goal-centered concept of systems analysis. This involves establishing the necessary goals of a library, determining the resources necessary to accomplish the goals, drawing up a descriptive statement detailing, defining, and charting the component functions, and then, if study and analysis indicates that the model will achieve the desired results, putting it into effect.

In *Library Surveys* it is not clear whether consultants are being prepared to advise their clients to bring about some minor reforms or to help them accomplish their goals.

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Emotional Blackmail

Moshe D. Caspi

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In a talk five years back, on the B.B.C. Third programme, a Polish poet recalled a childhood encounter with emotional blackmail. He and his friend would climb the wall of a neighbour's orchard and steal the cherries. When he got home, he would be bombarded by his grandmother. "My grandson's a thief. Quick, bring me a chair, I can't cope with you any more. You're bringing me to my grave. If you love Grannie, promise her you'll never go again to the cherry-orchard."

Emotional blackmail is not, however, restricted to grandmothers who ensure their grandchildren's good behaviour by making them worry about their grandmothers' health. The father who turns to his son and says: "Is that the way to talk to a father? Is that my reward for all the sacrifices I've made for you?"; the girl trying out her lover with daily commonplaces: "If you really love me, then . . ." (not to mention "If you go now, I'll jump out the window"); the mother who says to her unhelpful child at the table: "Lots of children in the world would be pleased to get even a piece of dry bread, while you . . ."—all are engaged in emotional blackmail.

And the blackmail needn't be in words. The angry mother who withholds love from her son is a blackmailer, and so is the small boy who cries when forced to do something he dislikes.

Most people, even at first glance, would regard the concept of emotional blackmail as negative and destructive, and implying tension, compulsion, rigidity. It would seem closer to neurosis than to health, and to failure and constriction than to success, freedom and love.

And most people are probably familiar with the phenomenon that the term "emotional blackmail" tries to define but find it hard to define it. Emotional blackmail is so general that it is not perceived as a distinct phenomenon with a destructive effect on inter-personal relationships. A man climbing a small flight of stairs probably is not aware he is climbing them. But when he has several flights to climb, and aching feet or a weak heart, the stairs will become the focus of his attention and complaint. Because most people think some

Using a telling metaphor, Professor Caspi here presents a small anthology of instances in which people deal with tension by exploiting negative and irrelevant emotions. Readers may not agree with his charge that "blackmail" of the sort described is prevalent in our classrooms; but this remains a cautionary tale. Dr. Caspi wishes to thank Yona Sternberg for her contributions to the article, Zvi Lamm for his remarks, and Dennis Silk for his stylization.

mode of emotional blackmail a necessity, they are unaware of it even when it occurs often and causes obvious misery. It has been so lovingly fostered by us that it has become a routine and degrading habit accepted by grown-ups and by children.

Moments of Stress Emotional blackmail cannot be completely understood without an attempt to see it in its context. One has to catch the tone in which something is said, the distorted movements of a talker, the expressions on the faces of blackmailer and blackmailed during the ceremony. One has to know both the blackmailer and the blackmailed, the kind of relationship between them, and their cultural background. Emotional blackmail is only one aspect of the vicious circle of inter-personal relations. To understand it and its difference from other "means of treatment" for overcoming inter-personal tensions, emotional blackmail should be localized and its roots described.

It may be applied to a variety of inter-personal relationships: at home, at school or in the peer group of young people and adults. It may be localized in the enormous area called "the education of emotion," especially where inter-personal relationships are involved.

Inter-personal relations comprise three major groups of relationships. The first relationship is that of "the big" to the "small." The "big" are more qualified, know more, are stronger; the "small" are beginners, the ignorant, the weaker, etc.—for example, the relationship of parents or teachers to children or pupils, as demonstrated in leadership, initiative, influence, guidance, instruction, etc. A second group is the relationship of "the small" to "the big." The relationship is exemplified by obedience and by all the other attributes opposed to those just mentioned. A third group consists of various relationships between equals. This group lives between two poles: of competition between equals (not in all societies but at least in ours), and of cooperation between them. In their competitiveness they attempt to retain (or "increase") their individuality while cooperation is simultaneously a certain relinquishing of the individuality and an extension and strengthening of the ego. According to current conceptions, a man responds well when he can shift easily from one kind of relationship to another as required, and at the same time act or be acted on in all the relationships in each of the groups. Whenever "the big" or "the small" don't have this flexibility, there is a chance of tension. Emotional blackmail can be identified as one of the tactics to be used when such tensions arise. The "big-small" tensions may be created by the "big's" constant fear of failure in leadership of the "small," and his attempt to be a perfect model in everything he does. The tension in the relationship of the "small"

to the "big" might grow from their constant dependence on the "big." Some of the "big's" demands may be arbitrary and a response to the "small's" attempt to enlarge his self-image by exploiting the Achilles' heel of the "big." Tensions in the relationships between equals (competition and cooperation) may develop out of the constant struggle to remain equal and not inferior to another person in anything, or to their alternative aim to be superior at least in one thing.

I do not maintain that all parents and children engage in emotional blackmail whenever they feel tense. Nor that husbands, wives and children, or wives, husbands and their children should not openly express anger or rage. Quite the contrary. If they expressed it openly, the instances of emotional blackmail would be a good deal less. In particular, this applies to children who are forbidden to be angry with the grown-ups or even cry in their presence. I maintain only that emotional blackmail is used as often, perhaps more, than other means of overcoming inter-personal tensions.

Disguises and Irrelevancies Emotional Black-

mail is a disguised enforcement of a certain behaviour upon a person (the "small" or the "equal") through the arousing in him of negative emotions in spheres entirely irrelevant to the actual behaviour being enforced.

What is the difference between emotional blackmail and conventional blackmail? The conventional blackmailer forces his victim to pay him money under threat of revealing his secrets, usually not demanding more than the victim can pay, although his appetite may grow inordinate. Parents and teachers, in contrast, make demands out of all proportion to children's misdeeds. They force those dependent on them to behave along certain lines in order to conceal their own weaknesses. They work through the exciting of negative emotions irrelevant to the behaviour required.

By "disguised enforcement" we mean implicit, indirect and, in most cases, unplanned ways of making the child act or preventing him from acting. The blackmail exerted could, superficially, be thought refined when compared with the brutality of ordinary corporal punishment or the piercingness of sarcasm. The child seems to choose of his own free will what to do. I believe that in most cases neither blackmailer nor blackmailed is aware of the act of blackmail. Though it is indirect, it hurts both parties. The blackmailer may be angry because the blackmailed does not accept his opinion or suggestions—"I'm not punishing him, I'm doing it for his own good"—while the blackmailed may be trapped by the unfair arousing of his emotions and not be able to do what he is supposed to do.

By "certain behaviour" I mean the attempt to correct or improve wrong

behaviour, or to instill a suitable attitude towards values important for the blackmailer. A lying or impertinent boy will provoke an extraverted parent, while a wool-gathering child or an untidy child will make the introverted parent nervous. The extravert parent will be provoked, probably, into enforcing "good social behaviour," the introvert "good personal behaviour." If a lazy or undisciplined child is blackmailed, the aim will be to improve his behaviour, to ensure that in future he'll be more industrious or disciplined, according to the blackmailer's standards.

A child who does not acknowledge the authority of his parents or the adult world, or without sufficient respect for property, will be blackmailed into changing his attitudes. The emotional blackmailer may have in mind a great number of other and more bizarre aims.

By "arousing in him negative emotions," I mean the factors impelling the blackmailed to act in order to escape them or at least minimise them. The emotions aroused by the blackmailer form a depressive spectrum: intensive anxiety aroused by the threatened deprivation of love; strong guilt-feelings, for instance, through making a connection between a parent's sickness and a child's conduct; feelings of inferiority and a damaged image of the self; a deep sense of failure, and many other negative emotions. Of course, the blackmailer does not always manage to evoke the appropriate negative emotions which will impel the blackmailed along the desired route. Sometimes he may arouse only disgust or rage by his demand for proof of loyalty to a person or ideal the blackmailed does not value at all. The blackmailed person, after all, has not prostrated himself at the altar. The blackmailer sometimes does not even attract the attention of the potential victim: in his ammunition dump there are any number of duds.

Those who see nothing wrong in emotional blackmail—and there are many such people—don't easily understand why and how "negative emotions" do not count in enforcing behaviour. Conversely, the naively progressive, who regard every negative emotion as pointing to a basic flaw in the educational process, don't see what has to be explained at this point. My argument is that there are no necessary connections between the behaviour enforced and the emotion aroused. For example, what connection is there between stopping a child from breaking into an orchard and making him worry about his grandmother? Or between correction of the child's way of talking and the sense of ingratitude felt by the child? Or the parent's wish that the child eat everything prepared for him, and his feeling guilty about starving children?

It is to the advantage of the blackmailer to conceal his weak points. A parent becomes a blackmailer because he wants his child to behave well with others,

and also because aspects of his behaviour disturb him personally. And when he feels he can't do anything to change the behaviour, he attempts emotional blackmail. When he really feels his impotence, unconscious factors might drive him to blackmail: bad table-manners or forbidden sexual activity will sting him. Mrs. Grundyism makes him a blackmailer; he is sensitive to the opinions of others about the behaviour of his child. Most parents will do all they can to ensure a favourable public opinion concerning themselves and their children. (How many parents worry about their children's free-floating anxieties compared with the number who worry about the same children's failure in some school-subject?) Or as Bertrand Russell said: "The fundamental defect of fathers is that they want their children to be a credit to them."

Youthful Blackmailers Emotional blackmail on the part of the "small" is a direct attempt to exploit the weak points of the "big" or/and a reaction to being blackmailed.

The child learns the technique of emotional blackmail very early. It can begin the moment the baby decodes his parents' facial expressions when he responds in the wrong way to some stimulus. It can even begin when he understands that his parents are decoding his gestures of protest against their action, and he sees they want to prevent them. This blackmail differs from the blackmail of the adult in his moments of impotence because the child is always dependent on the adult and tries to defend himself from overmuch interference and intrusions aimed at restricting his freedom. This kind of blackmail can be conscious and directed, and just as or even more piercing than adult blackmail. While the adult has any number of ways for overcoming tension, blackmailing attempts by children are more limited in scope. Very likely they can only awaken a small number of negative emotions: pity, anxiety about health, attempts to arouse guilt-feelings in the parent because of his arbitrariness or severe demands.

From this point on, I intend the term "emotional blackmail" to mean emotional blackmail practised by adults. I'll give just one example of emotional blackmail between equals. A woman has just been told by her husband what he really thinks of her. She avoids the bitter truth by saying: "If this is what you have to tell me, I know you don't love me any more."

Students¹ have various pretexts for their blackmail: pregnancy, for instance, or a job. It is not difficult to guess the possible forms of blackmail open to a girl-student with a child, when she hands in a poor seminar-paper.

1 University teachers are relatively less engaged in emotional blackmail, for objective reasons: they haven't the time to get interested in their students. On the other hand, they all engage in emotional blackmail of one another.

Responding to Tensions There are four ways of responding to interpersonal tensions: removal of tension; exploitation of tension; "therapy"; relaxation of tension.

Ways of removing tension include compulsion, repression, punishment, threats with or without intent to hurt the feelings. All these are immediate, direct and explicit. They are intended to help restore a mode of behaviour which has temporarily been disturbed. This kind of tactic arouses an immediate response, overt or covert. Punishment results in a negative attitude to the person inflicting it and an unconcern about the act that caused the punishment. Children usually understand why they were punished or threatened. This doesn't mean they justify the action taken.

Means used to exploit tension include ridicule, irony, sarcasm and moralising. These means are indirect but conscious and purposive. They are intended to wound the feelings of "the guilty" (for wherever there is tension we are used to looking for the guilty party). We make use of his possible misbehaviour for settling our accounts with him. All this is based on the assumption that a really powerful appeal (to the conscience) of the "guilty" party will arouse his sense of guilt not only in regard to the specific issue but also concerning his conduct in general. Anyone who's had to endure such an appeal to his finer feelings retains the unpleasant memory of it and understands its ineffectuality.

"Therapeutic" means include emotional blackmail and its concomitant bribery. They are pseudo-paidocentric: they apparently only attempt to persuade the child, and don't aim at his punishment. Emotional blackmail and bribery are both disguised means of enforcing a desired pattern of behaviour. Bribery, however, is based on external and irrelevant motivation and does not play on the child's negative emotions in the short run. Children have a good grasp of the meaning of bribery, though not of blackmail. Bribery distorts the child's sense of values. The "therapeutic" approach, which also depends largely on the children and their quickness of response, has not had overmuch success. Children will sometimes regard verbalised emotional blackmail as moralising. They just turn a deaf ear to it.

Ways of relaxing tension include motoric relaxation, humorous relaxation, a modification or abandonment of the demands made on the child, turning a difficulty into a challenge, and other ways of creating positive emotion or at least reducing the negative emotion caused by the tension. Transforming a tension into a challenge, in contrast to turning it into a threat or blackmail, is expressed in the arousal of positive emotions. This can only be done through an understanding of the child, and it requires empathy and flexibility, in addition to intellectual understanding.

Emotional blackmail, then, differs in several ways from other means of overcoming tensions: it is not confined to narrow punitive ends. It is employed not only in unequal relationships but also among equals in all walks of life. It flowers in an atmosphere of falsely positive emotions and good intentions. It is little understood, unlike a direct threat or challenge. From a long-term point of view, its intense poison slowly but surely ensures the death of interpersonal relations.

Emotional Blackmail in School The reader may want to limit or redefine the problem of emotional blackmail in education. His main argument will be based on a conception of emotional blackmail in terms of culture, parents, affect, children, appropriate conduct. Emotional blackmail, he'll argue, could be understood as the result of cultural pressures on the parents, themselves conditioned by the self-same culture, to process their children into civilized persons. The greater the gap between the cultural demands and the child's wishes, the greater the parents' problem. There are a limited number of logical and direct means of persuasion open to the parent, so his feeling of impotence may deepen. He now falls back on emotional blackmail, that is the mobilisation of irrelevant negative emotions to make the child understand how badly he's behaved, and to make him, for his own good, do what his parents think he should do.

If this is the archetype of emotional blackmail—the argument will run—what has it to do with school? The school is very different from a home's affective atmosphere and does not allow for the expression of emotional blackmail.

Most people, on reflection, will formulate this argument in a less extreme form. They will argue that, while emotional blackmail is practised in school, it will be found mainly in the lower grades. I think the argument is mechanistic and based on a partial grasp of the problem only. The argument depends, in fact, on the blunting of our own emotions: emotional blackmail has become so integral a part of our inter-personal relations that we don't recognize it any more. When it is discussed, the comfortable reply comes pat: emotional blackmail is confined to small children—that is, to the age when it became part of our system.

Those who minimise emotional blackmail have a mechanistic view of the web of inter-personal relations and their interaction. They assume that students, not to mention professors, do not require praise or encouragement anymore because they're... mature. They are maintaining that there is a sliding scale of emotions. Since adults don't need encouragement or praise or love, then they cannot be blackmailed because they're indifferent to the fact

that love has been withheld from them. (We gave only one example of emotional blackmail practised through the withholding of love but it could easily be demonstrated in other cases also.) In fact the child isn't less subject to blackmail as he grows up: quite the contrary. It is applied with increasing sharpness and bitterness. The mother of a young child won't faint or become hysterical to get the child to do what she wants. But when the child begins to grow up, the blackmailing mother has to abandon her usual technique. She has to fall back on a bout of hysterics or some equally drastic weapon.

There is a third argument concerning the restricted application of emotional blackmail. It begins by conceding that school-teachers do engage in it, but, so the argument runs, only in progressive schools. In the older type of school, where there are prescribed relationships for teachers and their pupils, there's no place for emotional blackmail. It flourished most where there's an informal relationship of teacher to pupil.

I cannot accept this argument for the following reasons: Where can you find a school, today, which is not progressive? One of the first steps taken by any so-called progressive school is to modify the external relationship between teacher and pupil. The pupil addresses the teacher by name, or has private discussions with him at the end of the lesson, etc.²

In schools that want to be regarded as "progressive"—whatever that may be—there's a tendency to abandon, among other things, the various forms of overt punishment. Since these reforms aren't basic, the schools will obviously search for substitutes for the former overt punishments, just as they in their turn were diluted forms of earlier corporal punishment. Emotional blackmail provides a potential and shadowy substitute for "unprogressive" punishment. Even if it is not used to an inordinate degree in schools to-day, though I personally think it is used quite enough, one doesn't need a daring imagination to guess that the application of this "educational" tool is likely to increase.

In addition, school as a social-cultural institution reinforces the factors which impoverish pupils' emotions and—as I'll attempt to demonstrate—prepares the way for the emotional blackmail practised by certain types of teacher.

² Even in the child-centered educational institutions of the Israeli Kibbutzim, the possibility of personal contact between teacher and pupil is often used for emotional blackmail of a special kind. When a pupil who has failed in his studies meets his teacher, who treats him not as a pupil but as a friend, the friend-teacher may employ a form of emotional blackmail. He'll perhaps force the pupil to study harder by telling him he'll lower the level of the whole class if he doesn't improve. Or he'll try to persuade the child not to damage his image as conceived by his friends. (The pressure of the children's group on its members in closed communities is a subject in itself.)

The fourth and last argument is that we should, on the whole, confine our discussion of emotional blackmail in school to certain types of teacher. This is true, but I prefer to talk about "learning atmosphere."

A Procrustean Bed As everyone knows, a school works on the basis of written and unwritten rules. It is not easy to formulate the unwritten rules but it seems worth trying. One of the most observed could be set out as follows: "Teachers and pupils should try not to respond in an *exaggerated* emotional way to any situation." Perhaps the formulators of this unwritten rule had considered the negative influence of emotions on balanced social behaviour, or the uninvited interference of emotions with logical thinking.

Another rule might run: "Pupils should give their undivided attention to all subjects of study, though naturally only certain subjects appeal to them." The less rational the demand made on the pupils, the more high-flown the formulation. Here are two more examples of high-class fudge: "An educational establishment has to cater for man in his totality," or "We have to take care of the complete and integral education of humanity in a compartmentalising and specialising universe." These unwritten directives may help to explain the following specimens of emotional blackmail: "I'm very disappointed in you. I thought you were mature," or, "You are a disgrace to our school."

Here's another unwritten rule for our new school-anthology: "The good pupil will identify himself with the hero of the story (which we selected), will be impressed by the effectiveness of the formula (which we wrote on the blackboard), will appreciate the importance of the experiment (which we planned), and will be emotionally aroused by the eternal values (with which we confronted him), to the same extent that the teacher identifies, is impressed, appreciates and is aroused by them." Two unwritten corollaries reinforce this: a) "The good pupil will identify, be impressed, appreciate, be aroused to the extent that the teacher *expects*;" b) "The good pupil will identify, be impressed, appreciate, and be emotionally aroused more than the teacher himself since he's younger and more receptive." Since the last and until now unwritten rule is incompatible with the first—the withholding of exaggerated emotional response—the contradiction in the last rule can be blurred by a fresh and negative formulation: "The teacher must ensure that the pupil won't learn in a mechanical way." (This seems the place to note that even the few teachers who wring something positive out of this negative formulation, and who want to get the pupil to experience the learning—even they cannot distinguish between what they think the child's interests are and his real interests.)

These kinds of rules may (or may not) be an occasion for emotional blackmail such as: "I'm doing my best for you. . . . I sat up half the night marking your papers, and now you cannot even give me your attention for a moment."

Here is another instance of a cluster of unwritten rules disturbing a pupil's emotional balance. "School represents democracy and is one of the ways in which it is best realised. The teacher is allowed, for their own good, to demand of the pupils what they clearly cannot be allowed to demand of the teacher." This "educational double morality" reveals itself in the following: the teacher can allow himself to get angry with the pupil but the pupil isn't allowed the same privilege; the teacher can make a fool of the pupils but they cannot pay him back in kind; the teacher who calls his unprepared history-lesson "an educative discussion" proves his flexibility while the pupil who hasn't prepared his homework for Tuesday at 8:15 proves his idleness. Sometimes this unwritten rule takes the following form: "We must establish self-discipline for the pupil's own sake."

The pupil generally accepts his yoke simply because he was conditioned from an early age and has no choice. The teacher acts according to the unwritten rules because he was trained to do so and accepts that he must sometimes hurt the child for the child's sake. Yet some pupils and teachers don't keep to the rules of the game.

The written and the unwritten rules provide the institutional background for emotional blackmail. Just as cultural stresses mark the parents, institutional stresses mark the teachers. They result from the school's role as a mediator between aspects of the governing culture and the younger generation who will one day become the carriers of this culture (which must be preserved from too radical a change).

The institutional background does not depend on this or that teacher or subject, and not even on this or that school. Various teachers, in various ways, perform against the backcloth of these institutional stresses.

"Learning for the Teacher" The following three types of learning atmosphere illustrate the difference between the varied tactics needed to overcome tensions in the classrooms: the relaxation of tensions, the eradication of tensions and emotional blackmail. They could also be called "the good class," "the unwilling class," and "the class which learns for the sake of the teacher."

a) *The good class.* There are few negative tensions in this class: the teacher enjoys his work, is interested in what he teaches and in his pupils; the pupils learn of their own free will because they're interested in what they're learning. There are few such classes.

b) *The unwilling class.* Here, the teacher teaches unwillingly. He knows by rote a limited amount about his subject, which he regards as a neatly-tied parcel to be presented to his pupils. The pupils he classifies always as good, average, or bad, obedient or disobedient. They learn reluctantly, and their interest in what they learn is marginal. The tensions in this class are generally overcome through punishment.

c) *The class which learns for the teacher.* Here, the teacher attempts to win the pupils' love. They are rewarded according to the extent they identify with him and aren't trouble-makers. This is the kind of class where the tension may produce emotional blackmail.

Theoretically, a teacher can use various means to overcome tension in the classroom. But most teachers are only slightly aware, if at all, of the kinds and degrees of tension in their classes, and they tend to react in a stereotyped manner to any tension. I have listed above three kinds of learning atmosphere. How will the teacher behave in these three different classrooms?

a) In "*the good class*," the teacher consciously or unconsciously employs methods of relaxing tension. He regards tensions as built-in to a lesson, and therefore they won't strike him as a special problem. When he encounters a very strong tension, he'll look for its cause; he'll try to find out what needs correction, and correct it (use "educational feed-back"). He can react to the tension in various ways. For instance, he may react verbally. He'll remark, "Well, I see I didn't make myself clear." Or he'll apologise without words. He may say, "We'll soon finish with this and pass on to something more interesting." And he'll pass on to the promised subject. Or he'll turn to the troublesome pupil and try to quiet him with a simple phrase or calmly warn him: "If you're talking the whole time, you won't hear what I'm saying." Or when the tension grows, the superior teacher, who is also more aware of the result of his actions, will find some physical or other outlet for his pupils. He'll joke about the boring things he has to teach, about himself and his pupils; he'll let them crack jokes about him; perhaps he'll go over to a secondary subject because it's interesting or switch to something else entirely. In his class, emotional blackmail will be relatively rare.

b) In *the unwilling class* the teacher regards disturbances, disobedience, problems in grasping something, and even certain questions put to him by the pupils, as barriers stopping him from attaining the educational aims expected of him. "I don't want to hear anyone scraping his chair or whispering. Sit up there, stop talking, don't raise your hand again, and stop that talk, there, in the corner!" A teacher of this kind can only work along such lines. He punishes pupils a good deal but doesn't fall back much on emotional blackmail. He threatens, and is bitterly sarcastic. Whenever there's tension in the class—

in most cases the fault of the teacher rather than his pupils—he will use his favourite punishments. The threatening teacher, the blaming teacher, the teacher who reduces marks, the teacher who takes away privileges, the teacher who sends out pupils from the class, the teacher who sets new examinations (especially at end-of-term): a little repertory company of punishing teachers act out their parts for a not very appreciative audience.

Not much insight or foresight is needed to predict a pupil's attitude toward subject "X" when it's been mediated through a teacher in the following fashion: "I see you like talking. Well, come and talk to me. (Turning to the class) I'm ready to give a chance to anyone who wants to talk. (After inspecting a couple of pupils) I see you know a lot about this subject, so we'll have to test your understanding in our next lesson!"

c) *The class which learns for the teacher.* In this class the teacher attempts to use the tensions "constructively." Sometimes they will slacken for a moment, sometimes they will sharpen despite the teacher's good intentions. Everything done by a pupil which doesn't fit in with the teacher's plans or expectations can create new tension. Every deviation hurts the honour, security and status of the teacher. The pupils are always tense with anxiety not to anger him. The tensions increase when the teacher tries to overcome them because he's not considering the pupils at all but only himself and his reflection in their eyes. He'll exploit the tensions to prove to the class how much he's interested in it. He doesn't use punishment since it reduces his popularity, and wants to keep the class's love. Instead, he uses techniques intended for "the good of each individual pupil," "for the good of the class as a whole," and sometimes for the good of the teacher who thinks of the good of the class as a whole. This type of teacher is the archetypal emotional blackmailer in formal education. Everyone who has studied under such a man has experienced a hundred variations of emotional blackmail practised on his own flesh. A pupil who didn't do his homework won't be punished. He'll merely receive a motherly admonition: "Well, this is what your promises amount to. This is what you've done to me. This time I'll forgive you but there won't be a next time." Or he will receive a fatherly rebuke: "I see you stopped studying. You disappoint me. I thought you'd prove a good pupil. Now I see I'm completely wrong."

A pupil who talks to her neighbour throughout the lesson won't be sent out of the class. Her solicitous teacher will jump toward her and hiss through his teeth: "I'm tired of warning you. You're disturbing the whole class with your chatter. I don't mind whether you listen or not but you're not to disturb the whole class!"

Toward the end of the lesson, he'll make his appeal to the class. "Please be

quiet. My throat is hoarse from shouting. Do be quieter, I cannot shout any more."

Headmasters plump the blackmailing roster. Whenever a class was making trouble, one headmaster would subdue them with the following thought: "You aren't worthy to sit in this beautiful building which cost so much to put up. Have you any idea how much money and work went into it? And your one thought is to make trouble." Since he used to repeat this often, one must assume the pupils got used to the *need* for such humbug. This same headmaster (or another one—who can sort them out?) would ask his seniors at their school-leaving ceremony: "Do you think I'm a pedant? You couldn't guess how many of my former pupils come back to thank me for the education they got here and to say 'Now we see you are right.'" At this point, the vicious circle of emotional blackmail is completed, when a new generation of the educated apply the same tactics to their own children: "Do you know how much this new coat cost? You're not worth it, with your dirty habits."

Influences and Results A distorted personality and falsified inter-personal relationships are the norms in a society that does not see anything wrong in emotional blackmail.

Emotional blackmail in the home apparently ends when the child has grown up and left his parents' house, and emotional blackmail at school with the end of one's school-days. In reality it becomes a habit which a man carries with him all his life. The teacher-blackmailer doesn't realise that a very specific kind of "concomitant learning" is the main thing a child picks up. Cleanliness, honesty, precision, the classroom subject, are forgotten, but the way in which the blackmailer attempted to "transmit" them persists. This paradigm for overcoming difficulties in relationships becomes fixed for always in the character.

And the child counter-blackmails. As an adolescent and later, he inflicts worse damage.

Why do people continue to blackmail, and what does blackmail do for the blackmailer? Just as a child will use his toys as a scapegoat, so the parents will sometimes use him. Emotional blackmail is one of the channels for emptying dirty energy dammed-up in the persons of those who took upon themselves a task beyond their ability or training: that is, to educate a child according to certain fixed ideas or the directives of the society in which he lives. A man achieves catharsis by looking at his destiny with open eyes: the relief derived from emotional blackmail depends on averting one's eyes from the truth and projecting part of one's own misery on those who depend on us. We conceal from ourselves the satisfaction we get from our blackmail. We think of it as

the expression of our care for our children or as a necessary pedagogic tool. Many parents boast they never punished their children. When they are asked how they did bring them up, they provide a detailed description of emotional blackmail that beggars the imagination.

How does emotional blackmail influence the pupil and the whole personality of the man? It is well known that the bad pupil isn't the one who knows nothing but the one who knows the wrong things. It is not so well known that the adult who never opens a book isn't the one who as a child neglected his studies: rather, he is the child who studied for the wrong reasons, that is, he studied because of the pressure of emotional blackmail on the part of his parents or teachers.

Some people rationalise the disease. They maintain that it is natural for a child to learn in order not to lose the love of his parents and teacher. They go on to say that gradually he weans himself of this and learns to study for its own sake. This argument is misleading. The personal undercurrent which nourishes emotional blackmail is increasing (not decreasing) and sometimes even distorts the interests of the child as an adult. A recurrent example would be the influence of a teacher's sex-appeal on adolescents. Many girls suddenly become interested in a subject taught by a charming teacher, and many boys won't object to studying what they have always considered a "sissy" subject when it is taught by a pretty woman. When the sex-appeal of the teacher doesn't distract from the lesson, it is a positive thing. But there is a basis for emotional blackmail the moment that the class, or a part of it, is concerned more with attracting the attention of the teacher than in what she is teaching.

I assume that blackmail intensifies people's immunity to words in general and to their emotional connotations in particular. They just stop listening. If a child, morning and night, hears how sorry, angry, disappointed his mother will be if he does, or doesn't, do this, or that, how is he going to react when he hears the same words in another context? Will he be able to feel the sincerity in the sorrow expressed by some friend whose sensitivity is still unspoilt? (I'm afraid that question cannot even be put, since a man whose emotions have been blunted by the process of adjustment demanded by our society won't be able to associate with a man who has living emotions. Emotional affinity is impossible: the man whose feelings have been crippled will regard the man whose feelings are intact as "naive," "feminine," "too serious," etc.)

Lawrence K. Frank³ describes the effect of emotional blackmail on the personality in this fashion: "Our traditional methods of child-training may be

3 L. K. Frank, "Four Ways to Look at Potentialities," in A. Frazier, Ed., *New Insights and The Curriculum*. Washington, D.C.: ASCD, 1963.

considered as 'a form of psychological bleeding,' depriving the child of his self-confidence, his trust in the world, his ability to live with himself and cope with his life tasks. . . . The traditional modes of expressing and withholding parental love ('it hurts me more than it does you') create disturbed, stunted and aberrant personalities."

It is clear that what governs day-to-day interpersonal relationships is bitterness, suspicion, shallowness of emotion and relationship, hypocrisy, outer pleasantness with inner deceit, the perpetual bias to do things for somebody and not for their own sake. These are the norm in inter-personal relationships. It is an exceptional experience to meet someone of whom we can afterwards say "How nice it was to be with him." Yet no one ever seems disconcerted by the rarity of the experience.

Is Emotional Blackmail Inevitable? Anything that is effective in overcoming difficulties in interpersonal relationships proves its effectiveness to the degree that one needs it less and less. But the emotional blackmailer has all the time to pile on more pressure to achieve the same ends achieved before with less. Someone may say at this point that if we didn't resort to emotional blackmail, the number of unresolved tensions would be greater, and the means used to relieve them sterner.

Educational research provides a good deal of ammunition for the proponents of emotional blackmail. A number of studies have come up with the following varied but not essentially different findings: "A limited amount of anxiety isn't harmful to normal children and can be used to direct their behaviour." (Normal means children conditioned to respond to "stimuli" with "adequate quotients" of anxiety: adequate to the amount of their parents' love for them and adequate to the children's sensitivity, which is determined by their scores on anxiety tests. Can someone who has learnt to live and respond with anxiety and guilt-feelings, when he is one year old and in the kindergarten, *not* be activated by similar, though even more severe, means, after immunization to smaller amounts?)

Let us suppose that one day parents, nurses and teachers stop "reactivating tensions," exploiting tensions, and using "therapeutic means" to overcome tensions, that instead they commence relaxing tensions, through humour, for instance. What would happen? An educational disaster of unknown dimensions. More than the family and school would be damaged. (I do not mean the break-down of parental and teachers' authority, but the confusion in the children themselves.) Our education is based to a large degree on conditioning and is intended to maintain by any means our neurotic equilibrium. It cannot supply the psychic and social mechanisms needed to cope with rapid change.

"The genital suppression in infants and adolescents was necessary; its omission would have been fatal, since these children and adolescents had to adjust to a social structure which *requires* armoring against emotional freedom. Un-armored children could not have existed in the society of 1930 anywhere on this planet..."⁴

The world is becoming more and more tolerant; the attitude toward sex, crime, punishment, etc., is becoming more and more permissive. But too rapid a change in methods of reacting to interpersonal tensions might do harm. Lack of consistency might hurt the child because he has been trained to look for directives and to distinguish between the forbidden and what is allowed, between the undesirable on principle and the possible but undesirable at a certain moment.

The following kind of reasoning, very similar to the mode of emotional blackmail itself, is a manifestation of the *imaginary education* in which we engage most of the time. "If emotional blackmail is harmful, it should be stopped immediately. And if it is not harmful, then..." or "If stopping emotional blackmail will improve children's behaviour, then..." or "If we won't see any considerable changes after (the reader must fill in the time), then..."

This article was not meant to encourage such reasoning.

A Methodological Note

Emotional blackmail is a metaphorical term, mediating between the intuitive perception and the psychological-analytical concepts.

Our description of emotional blackmail is far from being accurate and definitive. It is difficult, and may be unnecessary even, to define it, since it is metaphorical. Meanings attributed to it by different persons in different situations are not over-numerous. There are two seemingly opposed views of its suggestiveness. From the one point of view, emotional blackmail itself, as a concept, is first studied, then "financial" blackmail, and lastly blackmail as defined in its original sense by *The Shorter Oxford Dictionary*: "1. (Hist.) A tribute formerly exacted from small owners in the border of districts of England and Scotland by freebooting chiefs, in return for immunity from plunder. 2. Hence, any payment extorted by intimidation." The first viewpoint is semantic, objective, abstract, convergent or analytic in its nature.

A maintainer of the second viewpoint again begins with a study of the concept of emotional blackmail, and moves on to a concrete situation, to the figures of the blackmailer and the blackmailed, and the emotions set in play. This second viewpoint isn't easily defined: it is hypothetical, psychological,

4 Wilhelm Reich. *The Murder of Christ*. Rangeley, Me.: Orgone Institute Press, 1953.

impressionistic, imaginative, divergent, and dramatic. In order fully to grasp the term more than the intellect is required. The power of this term consists in its fusion of the two viewpoints: the analytic and the intuitive, and its ability to shift its viewpoint while always extracting the maximum amount of meaning from it. An over-rigorous definition might over-emphasise one aspect of the term.

The analytical concepts required for a reasonably comprehensive discussion of emotional blackmail cover a wide range. They include concepts belonging to Political Philosophy: freedom, tyranny, equality, power, etc.; Sociological and Social Psychological concepts including: "disintegration," "latent functions," "dissonance," "conflict," "morale in small groups," "authoritarian personality," etc., and a third group of concepts from the fields of Psychology and Psychopathology: "identification with the aggressor," "reaction formation," "retroflexion,"⁵ "reinforcement," "negative and positive motivation," the "emotional plague of Homo Normalis,"⁶ "Petty Paranoia,"⁷ various sorts of sensitivities, for instance the histrionic sensitivity, etc.

In contradistinction to the conceptual systems of the empirical psychologists and the philosophers of education, most teachers tend to use—and depend on—relatively concrete terms, commonsense notions and uncoordinated impressions. Even when a teacher is familiar with analytical concepts, he doesn't seem to use them in his practical work. His vocabulary is closer to that of the demagogue. When faced with difficulties in the classroom, he will talk about "controlling the class," "keeping discipline," "showing the pupils you can be firm when you have to be," and so on.

A teacher has to react quickly though not clumsily to pressure while a scientist or philosopher must delay his reactions. A teacher is expected to be efficient but not mechanical, and his responses must be adapted to the individual (though not a stereotype of the individual), while the observer and the theoretician collect data, and sort them into categories from which they deduce generalizations applicable to various situations and pupils.

A teacher may feel that the concepts and principles acquired in training college are inadequate or over-theoretical but may not feel that his notions of what is going on in class are over-fluid or inadequate. Such metaphorical-mediating terms as emotional blackmail may bridge, to some extent, the gap between the abstract concepts with their solid meanings and the practical notions with their short-term usefulness. The selection of metaphorical-me-

5 F. S. Perls, *et al. Gestalt Therapy*. London: Pitman and Sons, 1951.

6 W. Reich. *Ether, God and Devil*. Rangeley: Orgone Press, 1949.

7 C. C. Mooney, "Petty Paranoia," in R. A. Baker (Ed.). *Psychology in the Wry*. Princeton: Van Nostrand Co., 1963.

diating terms in education, however, is not easy. We could have borrowed from Erich Fromm, for example, the term “psychic manipulation” instead of emotional blackmail. It is difficult to explain why one term is better than the other, though the “analytic direction” in one’s choice can of course be clarified.

Fromm’s term embraces too many examples. Also, it does not carry enough weight of connotation. Another term—“bribery”⁸—though metaphorical, appears to imply something less complex and harmful, although the consequences of emotional blackmail and of bribery are the same in the long run. L. K. Frank’s very powerful “psychological bleeding” may obscure with its power some of the implications of the things described.

The general characteristics of emotional blackmail should not tempt anyone with a theoretical turn of mind to transform it into an analytical concept. Conversely, teachers and parents should not regard any negative aspect of interpersonal relations as necessarily the manifestation of emotional blackmail.

8 A. S. Neill. *Summerhill*. New York: Hart Publishing Co., 1960.

The Teachers' Educational Process Workshop

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How can teachers be helped to acquire an insight into classroom dynamics? The educational process workshop represents one attempt to communicate such knowledge to teachers and provide an experiential learning situation that enables the teacher to keep his professional and personal life quite separate. The workshop avoids the intensity and climate of group psychotherapy but provides a continuing opportunity for self reflection, mutual experience, and voicing difficulties in handling classroom problems. It deepens teachers' perceptions, and helps them to a better understanding of children.

Several previous reports have discussed somewhat analogous group activities. One group of nine educators, in a group experience, was able to develop greater understanding of themselves, colleagues, and students as a result of twelve quasi-therapeutic sessions.¹ A 15-week group therapeutic experience was undertaken by eight teachers (three high school, three junior high, two elementary), who reported improvements in flexibility, attitudes, work satisfaction, and professional functioning.² Fifteen junior high teachers met weekly for

1 Leo Berman, "Mental Hygiene for Educators: Report on an Experiment Using Combined Seminars and Group Psychotherapy Approach," *Psychoanalytic Review*, 40, 1953, pp. 319-332.

2 F. M. Buckley, "Use of Analytic Group Discussion Method With Teachers," in M. Krugman, Editor, *Orthopsychiatry and the School*. New York: American Orthopsychiatric Association, 1958, pp. 213-221.

The Educational Process Workshop provides a setting in which teachers can freely discuss their classroom problems with others and, in doing so, gain insight into themselves and their own students. Asya Kadis is Director of the Group Therapy Department at the Post-Graduate Center and Consultant at the Manhattan Country School. Charles Winick is Professor of Sociology at The City College, and Eileen Clark is coordinator of Early Childhood Education for the Danbury Public Schools. Their article is based on two decades of participation in the workshops they describe. The settings and situations on which they report are varied; the implications are considerable.

two years and experienced considerable professional improvement.³ Thirty-two sessions over a one-year period proved a valuable experience for a group of newly-appointed elementary school teachers who increased their classroom effectiveness and relations with others.⁴ Principles of analytic group psychotherapy have been found to be relevant to a variety of aspects of the school situation.⁵

This report is based on twenty years of participation in educational process workshops in several settings. They have been conducted at non-residential private schools in a large metropolitan area, a suburban residential school, and a public school in an urban community.* Nursery, primary, middle and high school levels have been involved.

School administrators are seldom invited to the sessions, in order to minimize inhibition and permit the teachers to feel free to express themselves frankly about any conflict, even if it involves supervisors. Another reason for excluding administrative representatives is that their judgmental role in connection with contract renewal, tenure, promotion, and salary increases might inhibit the freedom of teachers' communication. As a result of their exclusion from the workshop, some administrators may feel threatened by being criticized in absentia, both as persons and functionaries. Ideally, administrators would be present; and at least one educational process workshop has included an administrator and still maintained a free and non-threatening atmosphere.

Format Whether the locale be private or public, residential or non-residential, only school matters are discussed. Any inter-

3 E. M. Daniels, B. Snyder, M. Wool, and L. Berman, "A Group Approach to Predelinquent Boys, Their Teachers, and Parents, in a Junior High School," *International Journal of Group Psychotherapy*, 10, 1960, pp. 346-352.

4 Martin Nass, "Characteristics of a Psychotherapeutically Oriented Group for Beginning Teachers," *Mental Hygiene*, 43, 1959, pp. 562-567.

5 Asya L. Kadis, "Analytic Group Work With Teachers," *Journal of the National Association of Women Deans and Counselors*, 23, 1960, pp. 78-86; "Application of Group Therapy to the Educational Process," in Kadis and Charles Winick, *Group Psychotherapy Today*. New York: S. Karger, 1965, pp. 242-249.

* Among the administrators who encouraged and facilitated the operation of an educational process workshop were Florence Leonard of the Leonard School and Frederick Alden of the Columbia Grammar School in New York City and Dr. Christina Stael Bogoslavasky of the Cherry Lawn School, Darien, Connecticut. Charlotte Durham, formerly head-mistress of the Dalton School in New York City provided administrative support for the workshop at Dalton, which has also been described in David Mallory, *New Approaches in Education*. Boston: National Council of Independent Schools, 1961, pp. 152-164. During much of the period in which the Dalton workshop was in operation, Eileen Clark was chairman of the Nursery and Primary grades at the school. Administrators at P. S. 84 in New York City, at 32 West 92 Street, also co-operated in the establishment of a workshop at this school.

pretations or spontaneous responses or reactions of any kind are made primarily by members of the workshop other than the leader. There seems to be a mutual and sensitive awareness of the need to respect the privacy of each participant's personality.

For both less and more experienced teachers, the workshop helps to provide an extra dimension of understanding. Teachers feel they are growing professionally as a result of the workshop. As one said, "The workshop helps me to feel that something interesting is happening to me at school. A teacher needs to learn to see more clearly and hear better as the years go by. Because of the workshop, I feel I am able to reach out and handle new challenges."

The workshop seems to facilitate better relationships among teachers and other colleagues and it helps a teacher to tap and gain insight into himself and his students. Insight is achieved by helping the teacher to see how he is responding to students and to understand the factors contributing to his responses. It results from the mutual exchange of information and the development of relationships among the participants. For both young and old teachers, the workshop provides a means of communication that is not otherwise available. The older teacher gets an opportunity of talking to colleagues about professional matters on a regular basis. At the other end of the experience spectrum, new teachers are prepared for situations and problems that they inevitably will have to face. The value of the workshop is great for the new teacher because of his embarrassment at discussing his difficulties with others, especially with supervisors. Indeed, the novice may even find it difficult to discuss his problems with contemporaries.

Teachers ventilate common problems but slowly learn to accept the unlikelihood of reaching definitive conclusions. Admitting difficulties and what they consider to be "failures" helps the workshop members to realize that their problems are shared by others, an assurance that is necessary for the well-being of all persons. The workshop peer group provides an excellent matrix for clarification of many kinds of problems.

The leader could be a teacher, social worker, psychologist, or psychiatrist, who has had experience in an education setting. It is very helpful for the leader to have a role in the school where he or she can observe the children in the course of their daily activities and may be called in for consultation about their difficulties. His or her role at the workshop, however, does not involve counseling, but is built on the catalytic opportunities provided by the combination of the relaxed atmosphere, subject matter of the discussions, and the interaction among the participants. Identity of the activity as a workshop removes any possible sting of therapeutic intent. There is no attempt at formal evaluation of the workshop except in terms of a continuing scrutiny of the

child's relationship to school, peers, authority, and his developmental level. There is never any evaluation of the teacher in connection with his workshop role or activities. A participant may speak as much or as little as he wishes or dares, and a shy person may say practically nothing in the workshop's early phases. Informality and lack of pressure make it likely that a person who is ready to say something will have an opportunity of saying it.

A Public School Setting The workshop proved very valuable for public school teachers who have fewer extra-classroom resources, more difficulty in communicating directly with parents, and less guidance time and other auxiliary services than are available in private schools. They were able to ventilate and obtain some clarification of problems resulting from cultural and ethnic heterogeneity of student background, large classes, conflicts resulting from culture shock of recent migrants to the city, and pupils' behavior disturbances.

It was not possible to schedule the workshop after school hours, so that it was held during the lunch period and on the school premises. The workshop was set up for ten sessions. It proved very important to provide a procedure for teachers to stop coming to the workshop without looking for an excuse. The teacher who wished to drop out was able to do so simply by not returning and without having to resort to dissimulation. Four of the original fifteen participants had dropped out by the last session, but three of these had become sufficiently motivated to take subsequent courses in guidance. Five of the remaining eleven members volunteered to become the nucleus of a subsequent group.

A Residential School Setting Teachers at the residential school met weekly for several hours during the evening with the headmistress, with whom they had an excellent relationship. Behavior problems posed by students are more immediate in a residential school because the students are always on the premises and get into difficulties involving living conditions as well as academic subjects. The student poses a wider range of problems than if he were in a non-residential school, but his classroom problems are similar to those found in any other setting.

The teacher in a residential school must also be able to cope with the gossip that is sometimes found in such a setting. He often has a relatively intense relationship with students because he carries multiple roles as a result of the lack of other specialized personnel, e.g., guidance counselor or chairman. For such reasons, the workshop could be especially valuable in a residential situation.

A Non-Residential Private School Setting A non-residential urban private school setting has provided an extended experience with the educational process workshop. This co-educational day school runs from nursery through twelfth grade. The discussion which follows is primarily based on experience with teachers in this setting.

Every attempt is made to make the physical environment of the workshop meetings as pleasant as possible. They are held away from the school premises in order to maximize informality, which is also enhanced by a substantial supply of coffee, tea, cake, cheese, and other refreshments that are appropriate for the time of year. The provision of snacks that each participant can select whenever he wishes helps to set a non-threatening tone of ease and informality and clearly identifies the setting as different from the classroom.

The meetings are usually held weekly from 3:30 to 5:00, allowing ample time for participants to arrive after school and still permit them to keep evening appointments or be free for any other demands on their time. A member who wishes to leave before the established ending time, for whatever reason, feels free to do so. Attendance at the weekly meetings is entirely voluntary. No records are kept of attendance, absence, or lateness. Indeed, the workshop meetings often do not start promptly and may run over the time allotted for them, in order to avoid any reminder of the rigidity of classroom periods. The flexible closing time insures that a teacher with something important that did not emerge during the session can stay and discuss it with the leader, or colleagues, or both.

The use of first names strengthens informality and camaraderie. Interaction is also facilitated by the considerable age range of the teachers who are present. They may be as young as their early twenties. Some of the senior participants, in contrast, are able to leaven their remarks with reminiscences. There are always teachers of both sexes, helping to provide a texture that would not otherwise be present. If the tension should reach too high a level, as the result of discussion of some administrative "injustice," the leader may arrange to have an outside lecturer come to the next meeting in order to present some new material.

The presence of coffee and various edibles provides an activity for participants who are restless, nervous, or do not wish to speak. A teacher in the workshop who feels like an isolate and wishes to call attention to himself, for whatever reason, may do so by sitting on the floor rather than in a chair, or ostentatiously and often refilling his coffee cup.

As in any series of meetings conducted over a long period of time, the sessions vary in intensity, excitement, and dominance and submission relation-

ships of various members. The degree of anxiety, hostility, humor, and non-verbal communication also varies from week to week.

During the first few weeks of the semester there is generally considerable enthusiasm for the sessions because they provide a safety valve for feelings and attitudes that might otherwise have no outlet. Many newer teachers are eager to prove themselves early in the year, and are relatively active. Around March and May, the sessions are likely to be more waspish, and there is open expression of hostility and irritation.

There are certain periods of the academic year when the teachers appear less involved in the sessions. The week before the Easter and Christmas vacation is such a time of comparative torpor as the members can barely contain their inability to wait for the holidays. Some who may be inclined to somatization develop symptoms like asthma. In order to help ease the tension at such times of the year, the workshop leader may give a talk or an outside specialist may be invited to speak or show a film. Humor can play a role in tempering anxiety and easing the atmosphere of some sessions. Jokes and other forms of fun and playfulness may also lighten a difficult or demanding session.

The teachers participating in the workshop have classes ranging from nursery school through high school. Since the school includes students of many ages, a student may be discussed by teachers who have seen him over a period of some years and can refer to his behavior and characteristics as he has progressed through the grades. Such observations may be enormously helpful to the teacher who is currently working with him. The teacher's perception of the student is likely to be considerably extended as a result of hearing how others have coped with his earlier behavior. In some years, teachers from specific sections may want to meet only within their own group, e.g., primary years, or high school, in order to concentrate on a narrower age spread and delve more deeply into ways of resolving their problems and improving their techniques.

Experiences and Themes

One of the continuing values of the workshop has been its provision of a forum where a teacher could admit that he had no rapport with or couldn't reach or didn't like a particular student or parent. The ability to express such feelings to fellow teachers without fearing their reaction may be very liberating. Other teachers may help a teacher to understand the reasons for such reactions. The workshop provides a situation for such insights to be communicated with minimal unpleasantness. One teacher said she detested a student who engaged in much teasing. The group questioned the teacher about why her reactions were so strong. One asked her, "When you were young, were you ever teased that

way?" She looked surprised and said, "Yes, that's right; my brother used to tease me all the time." She quickly saw the connection between her over-reaction to the classroom situation and the earlier experience, which had been very unpleasant. "I see what I've been doing. I've identified with the little girl who was teased, and the boy with my brother. Now I see my involvement!"

During a discussion of students' prejudices, one teacher told the group about the hostility directed toward Jane, a young Puerto Rican child who was seemingly rejected by her fellow students. As the teacher discussed the situation, it became clear that Jane actually provoked rejection by punching other children. When the children were playing together, she would be the last to join the group, and would do so reluctantly. As a result of airing the situation, the teacher came to realize that it was Jane who was turning her back on the group.

It is not uncommon for teachers to displace their anxieties onto their students. The communication of such material is often facilitated because the insight comes from colleagues rather than the leader. When a teacher achieves such an insight, or is able to tap his true feelings, he is likely to be free to deal with his problems on their own level, rather than projecting or displacing them onto students and becoming exasperated as a result. The workshop affects the teacher as he deals with children because the participants experience each other as teachers rather than in any other role.

"Sensitivity Training" Most professional discussions that occur inside a school tend to deal with administrative and curriculum matters. It is relatively seldom that children are discussed systematically, except as behavior problems. The teacher has little systematic opportunity of discussing his impressions of a student with other teachers outside of a situation like the workshop. The workshop is definitely not a substitute for psychotherapy of the teacher, nor is it intended to be, but it does create a climate for "sensitivity training," within which the teacher can feel free to discuss matters that seem important to him, and many teachers undoubtedly derive residual benefits in terms of personal growth.

One important asset of the workshop is that a teacher can only experience a specific number of students at a given time. As a result of participation in the workshop, he can hear about students other than those with whom he is currently trying to cope. He can be prepared for such students when they enter his class in subsequent years, or when he sees them around the school.

Many different matters are ventilated at the workshop. One series of discussions dealt with the report cards that have to be prepared on each student. The workshop provides a forum for discussion of such requirements that are

shared by all teachers. The exchange dealt with various aspects of how to make it easier for the teacher to summarize the child's classroom situation to the parent, by report card or personal meeting with the parent. Role-playing with one teacher representing the parent and another the teacher has proved helpful.

Some sessions deal with classroom dynamics and authority and peer relationships. A frequent topic is the extent to which some children can only accept guidance from a teacher and do not learn from peers, while others respond best to fellow students and have difficulty in accepting guidance from a teacher. Another popular theme has to do with how the teacher may set limits, and why and when they are appropriate. One teacher wanted to know how to communicate to his class that he had reached the point beyond which he would have to set limits. There was an animated discussion about how the students perceived the teacher's having reached such a point and about the cues communicated by the teacher. There was general agreement that students seemed to know just when the teacher was about to say, "This is it—I won't stand for anymore."

The meaning of acts of defiance on the part of students is a recurrent theme. The understanding of defiance as a defensive or offensive maneuver, and as one of the few ways in which a child can respond to parents who are inconsistent, represents an important insight to some teachers.

The starting point of the workshop discussions is almost always one specific student, a particular Johnny. One teacher may see Johnny's behavior as aggressive, but others may regard it differently. Many discussions have dealt with aggressiveness and the establishment of a scale of aggression, ranging from simple assertiveness to kicking the teacher. It can be very rewarding for a teacher to realize that others have had exactly the same problem, and to learn how they have handled it.

Spontaneous Responding One procedure that has proved helpful is to have the teacher take a list of his students and match them with colored discs, with a different color placed next to each student's name. The teacher can discuss why he selected a specific color for each child. His elaboration of the reasons for the choice of color often provides an opportunity for the teacher to voice spontaneous responses to a student. It may also provide the first opportunity for a teacher to experience his direct reaction to a student: "Johnny—he reminds me of yellow. I thought I liked Johnny, but I dislike yellow. I never wear yellow. Now, come to think of it, Johnny is yellow. He has no courage and looks for excuses." The teacher would not otherwise have been aware of such feelings about the student, because he

never permitted himself to be "yellow" in his own life. The color-matching procedure may help a teacher to understand why he has much patience with one difficult child and none with another.

The materials discussed at each session generally emerge spontaneously from the members themselves. Occasionally a member will start a workshop session by saying, "I'd like to have a gripe session." Such a statement often seems to strike a responsive chord, and others will say, "Yes, let's gripe today," and they do.

A teacher who reports current difficulties with a class and whose problems with it have been previously discussed has an opportunity to bring the group up to date on his progress. If such a teacher doesn't mention his class, a member may inquire about how the class is faring. Such exchanges provide opportunity for the teacher to receive praise and other sincere approbation from colleagues.

One topic that frequently recurs is the best method of dealing with a totally overdependent isolate, a student who tells the teacher that "I can only do it if you help me." Such isolation may, of course, have many meanings. It is difficult for some teachers to realize that an isolate may be engaging in a form of healthy adaptation to a situation with which he is not able to cope. A discussion of a typical problem, like isolation, is conducted in ordinary rather than clinical terminology. Even when a child is clearly disturbed, the focus of discussion remains on the educational rather than clinical aspects of his behavior.

How a teacher feels after putting great but unrewarded effort into a student is a perennial subject. Every year the group members observe that it may be necessary for a child to fail before he can go on, and that his failure may not be related to the school situation. One teacher who pointed out that failure seemed to be a much more congenial subject to the group than success was able to spark an animated discussion.

Roles and Typologies Roles of students are often clarified. It was reported that third-grader Mary played the helpless female because her self-concept was one of inadequacy. Other teachers pointed out that Mary's teacher had to help her find out that she was not helpless and that it was important for the teacher to work against Mary's self-concept. This teacher had not realized that he identified with Mary and was overly protective, until the workshop members helped him to achieve such a realization. Another child had played the "bad" boy ever since he entered school. Some of his other teachers noted that he didn't really want to be a "bad" boy, but that he had negative feelings about adults.

Among other general topics regularly discussed are various typologies of children, how a teacher can communicate attitudes of caring to a student, how to determine the problems of children early in the school year, and how to cope with students' attitudes toward race, adoption, and stealing. Differences between the classroom doer and talker is another recurrent theme.

How to teach children the difference between good and bad is also a popular subject. Another is the way in which classmates seek each other out for the purpose of meeting reciprocal needs. A child who enjoys touching other children may seek out a fellow student who actively dislikes to be touched. The meanings of touch to each student and to the teacher and what the latter might do about such situations can be clarified by mutual exchange. Another lively theme is the overlapping role of the teacher who is also a parent. A number of teachers have been able to enrich the workshop by relating their own experiences as parents to their classroom work.

A perennial subject is how teachers can get children to voice fears. Such problems may have been discussed many times but represent a fresh source of concern for the teacher experiencing them for the first time. The problems of playing with matches are often voiced. Teachers are helped to come to terms with their own feelings about many such classroom difficulties as a result of the workshop.

One way of including experiences of students from other backgrounds is to have teachers from another school participate in the workshop. Two teachers from a school largely attended by low-income Negro and Puerto Rican children were regular members of the workshop. Their participation and attitudes made it much easier to discuss ethnic and racial problems.

Discussion of the paintings of young children has proved to be a very valuable way of helping to study how they translate their experiences into fantasy. Such material is never introduced by the group leader, but it may be brought in by a member. Interpretations of the paintings are restricted to the specific matter under discussion. Such discussions give the workshop participants an opportunity to absorb complex material in a relatively painless way. Teachers are also encouraged to bring in handicrafts and stories from their children. The teachers may write the story down themselves if the student is not old enough to do so.

Paintings, drawings, and stories are related either to understanding a particular child's perception of the world or distinguishing the class profile. The materials may be put on the floor and divided into more mature, middle, and less mature sub-groups. Such a procedure helps the teacher to see the developmental level of her classroom and its potentials and handicaps.

Perhaps the single most valuable contribution of the workshop is its provision of an opportunity to get perspective on what is happening in the classroom. Sometimes the perspective is provided by the atmosphere that is made possible by the workshop. It helps the teacher to realize that he cannot help each student every day and cannot solve the world's problems, but he can make his own distinctive contribution to the classroom.

Some Representative Sessions The quality of the meetings may be conveyed by summarizing some representative sessions. One session began with a teacher reporting on Albert, a nursery school student who was tense, would not rest, and withdrew from attempts to engage him in conversation. There was a discussion of other children in the same class who had problems or conflicts involving the expression of anger, anxiety, hostility, and inability to settle down. One veteran teacher summarized by noting that several of the children were experiencing sadness or pain which they most easily express by such behavior. Albert was communicating anger by insulating himself from the teacher and even from his friends.

Albert came to school with his arm in a sling and told the other children that he had cut himself. Actually he had not cut himself but was seeking attention. The meaning of his calling attention to himself was discussed, and various other ways in which other students did the same were ventilated.

Accidents were then mentioned as another attempt to get attention, for some children who may avoid pleasure and seek pain. How the educator can help such students was extensively discussed. What the teacher can do in the face of such methods of getting attention was clarified by many examples. It was noted that in spite of ourselves, we often punish such children who may find it more difficult to handle success than failure. What the teacher can do to prevent the children from enjoying misery was discussed. The teacher could give support to the child rather than wait until he provoked anger and also provide excitement positively before the child created the negative excitement of anger.

Another session began with a discussion of how the child uses his body to communicate feelings about himself. The way in which different children communicate through eyes and ears and other senses was discussed. Some implications of the use of dirty and messy paper and materials were presented by a teacher. Over-erasing as a sign of tension, emotional intensity as communicated by heavy handwriting, and the relationship between an antiseptic home environment and messiness in the classroom were touched on, along with the importance of the "I am a baby" feelings of some children as fac-

tors in their messiness. This led into a discussion of how children's dependency and independence could be detected by the kind and number of questions that a student posed to the teacher about "what do I do next?" There was an emphasis on how independence could be fostered by giving material back to the class instead of answering questions directly.

Helping the child to solve a problem by himself and distinguishing between questions asked by a child to get attention and those seriously seeking information represented foci of the same discussion. The child who seeks something from the teacher may want an answer more than its specific content. A teacher who communicates reassurance may eliminate a child's need to ask a question.

How a teacher can use classroom activity in order to determine which students are isolates was discussed. Some teachers commented on students who seem to be "all eyes and ears," but are not otherwise participating in activities of the class. Children who need to write on other students' papers were mentioned. One teacher noted how much information he acquired about students by their body movements, motor activity, and looking at their legs and feet. Some students keep their feet tight on the floor; others move constantly, and some move variably in accordance with the situation. This very active session ended with a lively exchange on how the teacher could support the strengths and cope with weaknesses of students. In this session many different levels of discourse were used, and past, present, and future were interrelated to provide a richly textured discussion.

Building on the earlier discussion of isolates, the next meeting was entirely devoted to the sociometry of the classroom: the isolate, star, island of two, the rejected one and the one who rejects, subgroups, aggressors, passive ones, those who hide behind aggressiveness, the shy student, provocateur, scapegoat, the wallflower who expects to be invited, and the like.

Another session began with views on how students can help each other on a peer level. One teacher noted that a typical classroom is likely to include children who are submissive, some who resist authority, and those who avoid doing anything. Some students ask the teacher to explain things, in a plea for special attention. Another teacher observed that children who cannot follow authority figures may try harder to perform for peers than for a teacher. A child's fear of the freedom provided by the classroom may express itself in negativism. Even the child who wants to do "the right thing" may be unable to do so without some help from the teacher. This seems to be especially important in shop, where it is especially meaningful for a child to be able to finish assignments.

An older teacher gave examples of children's anxiety and conflict when confronted by authority, and of how they are expressed in the classroom. A

recent graduate of a teacher-training program observed that some children need the security of classroom structure and are restless when given what seems to be too much freedom. This led to an examination of the differences between the values of teachers and students.

Occasionally the leader of the group talks about her experiences. On one occasion a teacher asked the leader how she would observe a classroom. She cited the relative placement in the room of adults, boys, girls, objects, animals, and the intensity and direction of the movement in the room; how the children acted in relationship to everything else in the room and to their own bodies. A child might form an island, or two children might constitute a sub-group. She would study facial expressions and see who was looking at whom and estimate interrelationships. The sub-group of two usually consists of two children who need each other and use their joint power in relationship to each other and to the rest of the class, although it may appear that Johnny is not good for Jack. How the teacher can use such awareness of what is happening in a classroom was clarified and led to some examples of classes that had congealed and to animated discussion of the role of scapegoat in a class. Other perennial student types were identified by the participants.

Head Start Programs and the Workshop Most recently, the proliferation of Head Start programs has provided a new setting and opened a fertile field for the educational process workshop. Many, if not most Head Start teachers, have little training and experience in working with pre-school children and are bewildered at their lack of "intellectual" or verbal response. The teacher learns only gradually that her students' lack of response stems not just from economic and cultural deprivation but from the children's age ("They grab, push, hit, scream—why, one even BIT me!").

Their short attention span is confusing to some Head Start teachers, who must learn the child's language of action, gestures, and free flowing activities. Working individually and in a comparatively small class leads to a climate in which the children rely on expressive behavior. The educational process workshop has proved that it can provide support and encouragement for the teacher who may see what appears to be nothing but chaos in her class every day. The workshop also can help her to channel the child's energies in socially and educationally acceptable ways and provide an opportunity to vent her own feelings ("That child has the largest vocabulary of cuss words I've ever heard. I just can't be near him when he talks that way.").

The workshop gives the teacher a continuing forum for problems arising from parents' close relationships with the classroom. When parents are present, many a teacher feels ill at ease and relaxes her expectations of the child, who

senses the uncertainty and "tests the limits" of the teacher. Yet parent visits and other participation are central to Head Start. The parent who doesn't cooperate may build up resentment and frustration in the teacher. It is reassuring to hear other teachers' experiences ("Yes, they hide when you visit and won't let you in. If you hated school the way some of them did, that's what you'd do.").

Interaction in the workshop can ease the teacher's ability to cope with other problems. Friction is often generated by the continuing presence of aides and volunteers and the need to cooperate with doctor, nurse, dentist, social worker, psychologist, and others. The "interruptions" of such specialists must be accepted by the teacher as necessary parts of the child's progress. The workshop offers a chance to ventilate feelings about what may appear to be salary and role inequities that are related to the many auxiliary personnel, e.g., physicians, social workers, indigenous leaders, each at different salary levels.

The educational process workshop is potentially so valuable to Head Start personnel because they work with very young children. By the age of six, a child may already be lost to the educational system. Effective Head Start programs have the potential of preparing a child to function effectively for his next thirteen or fourteen years in school. The opportunity provided by the workshop for expressing doubts and difficulties and for finding a way beyond them by interaction with colleagues is constructive and reassuring ("When I arrive here feeling all battered, it's such a relief to be able to talk about it and to know that I might get some ideas to help me.").

One criticism of Head Start is its lack of articulation with programs for the older child. An educational process workshop that includes teachers from Head Start and the later grades can help to make the Head Start experience much less isolated for both teacher and child.

For Head Start, as well as for other classes, one continuing value of the workshop is that a teacher may develop an awareness without necessarily doing anything different or changing the day-to-day classroom setting. What is learned in the workshop today may be useful some years hence. Any descriptive summary of the workshop cannot do justice to the richness of the interaction, its fluidity, the easy move from generalization to personal experience, shifts in content and subject matter throughout the year, the trusting atmosphere and freedom of expression. The workshop has proved itself over the years as a procedure for understanding what happens beneath the surface of the classroom. It would seem to be a modality of training and experience that can lend itself to many other educational settings.

Head Start is only one example of the massive change that is forcing today's teachers to re-examine their roles. Programmed instruction, team teaching, closed circuit television, ungraded schools, and classrooms without walls are only some of the new developments of contemporary education. In the face of such chipping away at traditional roles, one way in which the teacher can be helped to maintain a contemporary role is by continuing experience of the self and meaningful interaction with colleagues provided by the educational process workshop.

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Motivation For Teaching

Richard W. Saxe
University of Toledo

Despite improvements in the economic position of teachers, there is still a shortage of teachers.¹ It is still necessary to employ teachers on a temporary basis who do not satisfy all the requirements for permanent certification. It is still necessary to staff entire schools in some areas with beginning teachers. And these schools are usually the ones most in need of superior teaching.²

Large school districts have assigned personnel officers to full or part-time recruiting. Some districts help with housing for new teachers. Business men donate crates of apples so that each teacher has one on his desk at the beginning of the new school year. Administrators plan pre-school orientation programs complete with speeches and box-lunches. How could anyone do more to interest young people in teaching as a career? Why don't we attract more of our ablest students to the teacher-education curricula?

With these conditions in mind, it might be helpful to consider the reasons why present students at Illinois Teachers College chose to prepare for teaching. Such information suggests new approaches for recruiters and might even lead to hypotheses concerning the problem of the teacher shortage.

Accordingly, a simple form was prepared to elicit the appropriate information. It was completed by seventy-one students enrolled in a senior level course, Principles of Teaching, and by twenty-three students in the student-teaching seminar. Provisions were made for anonymity. In the case of the student-teachers, final grades were entered before administration of the form. Students in the Principles course had no contact with the writer other than one class meeting when the forms were completed. These measures were

- 1 See any of the National Education Association-Research Division Reports as: *Teacher Supply and Demand in Public Schools 1963* (4) (5) (Washington, D.C.: The Association, published in April each year). See also: *Teacher Supply and Demand in Universities, Colleges, and Junior Colleges*, published on the same schedule.
- 2 This condition is reported in three recent surveys of Chicago Schools: Hauser, Havighurst, and Janowitz and Street. See also Bruce Joyce, "Teachers for the Culturally Disadvantaged," in *Teaching The Culturally Disadvantaged Pupil*, edited by John M. Beck and Richard W. Saxe. Springfield, Ill.: Charles Thomas Pub., 1965.

Concerned about the problem of recruiting teachers, Professor Saxe undertook an investigation into some future teachers' expressed motivations for going into the profession. He discovered that the traditional appeals to idealism no longer suffice, and that a realistic presentation of what is involved in teaching is now required.

At this point five categories were established which seemed to include all of the variety of reasons. The categories were imposed on the data *post hoc*, they were not generated by a theoretical process. For this reason, they are not mutually exclusive and are not even of the same order of importance. Nevertheless, they do have the virtue of utility. They serve rather well to organize the findings in this area. Two judges classified all fifty-five reasons independently with perfect agreement.

Before examining Table 2 which summarizes these data, it will be necessary to list the five categories and sample reasons which were placed within their rubrics. They are:

Idealistic. This category includes all types of altruistic formulations. Sample entries:

My main reason for becoming a teacher is to help other (sic) children gain knowledge, understanding and appreciation of the world in which they live. I would also like to help them develop good personalities and work with them towards a happy and successful future.

I wish to be of service to my own people and community and society.

A large number of dropouts could be motivated to stay in school if there were more teachers.

Good Job. This category includes statements about personal advantages associated with teaching. Sample entries:

Teaching is a stable job leading to a stable way of living.

It is the most convenient for me.

It is a fruitful field, economically, socially, politically, and morally.

Persuaded. This category included all statements to the effect that a particular person or persons were responsible for the election of a teaching career. Sample entries:

My husband encouraged me.

I had a teacher in Senior English who was inspirational to me. She guided me in deciding whether or not I should go on to college and teaching.

I have a sister who is a teacher and she influenced me.

Actually this category is almost identical with the third item on the form which asks about persons who influenced the subjects to consider teaching. However, since the replies in this group were entered as responses to the question about reasons for choosing teaching they are reported here.

Influenced. This category includes all references to an experience or series of experiences as being causal factors in the choice of a teaching career. Sample entries:

As a "junior future teacher of America" I was allowed to take charge of classes and since I enjoyed the experience as well as little children I decided to become a full-time teacher.

Teaching in a church school.

Leadership opportunities in the Army.

Intellectual. This final category includes statements which suggest that the future-teacher was attracted by a love for learning. Sample entries:

I want to learn more about life.

I enjoy the pursuit of knowledge.

I want to untangle facts and explain causes and effects of events.

These are the rough-and-ready categories. Table 2 reveals the results of the tabulation.

TABLE 2
Reasons for Entering a Teacher Education Program*

Reason	Number of Subjects Citing This Reason
Idealistic	44
Good Job	28
Persuaded	21
Influenced	18
Intellectual	12

* There are more reasons listed than there are subjects because of multiple entries. When more than one reason was cited, all were tabulated.

Table 2 does have some surprises. The predominance of *Idealistic* reasons was expected. Some of these are sincere, some are probably "correct" answers. Not anticipated was the frequent formulation of *Good Job* reasons. If space permitted, it would be revealing to list all of these reasons exactly as submitted. They add up to a radically different concept of motivation for teaching. The result is a frankly materialistic, unambitious, often negative approach to teaching. This additional example has the flavor of this new element:

Convenience. Working in an office did not appeal to me, college was the alternative. Teaching sounded good and ITC (this institution) was practical. For a woman teaching seemed almost perfect. Good pay—reasonably good for a woman—and good hours, especially if you were married and had children.⁴

These findings suggest strongly that a new approach to recruiting teachers is necessary. If students can now admit to frankly materialistic motives, these should be pointed out. This is not, of course, to say that the more nobler aspects of the profession should be denigrated. It is to say that a more realistic approach is called for.

The data for the other categories tend to support the new pragmatic approach to teaching. The scarcity of *Intellectual* entries is appalling. The entries under *Persuaded* involve economic considerations. A small but significant minority of *Influenced* statements report negative influence, viz: "... my outrage at all the poor teachers I have had." In short, we seem in this sample to be dealing with mere mortals instead of the paragons of older days.⁵

Table 3 summarizes the replies to the final unstructured query.

TABLE 3

Persons Who Influenced Subjects to Prepare to Teach*

<i>Relationship</i>	<i>Number of Subjects Listing This Relationship</i>
Counselor	2
Friend	10
Parents	11
Other relative-teachers	11
Other relatives-not teachers	7
Teacher	36
No one	17

* Multiple entries are included as if each relationship were a separate entry.

It was necessary to impose arbitrary categories on the data to summarize replies to the query concerning persons influencing subjects to teach. In order to avoid losing the emotional context of the replies, an example of each category will be quoted in its entirety.

4 This was the entry of an exceptionally able student. It is representative of most entries in the *Good Job* category.

5 See, especially D. Louise Sharp (Editor). *Why Teach?* New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1957.

Counselor. "A high school counselor pointed out the financial and inspirational advantages of teaching to me."

Friend. "I was influenced by a family of friends who were all teachers and apparently all satisfied and content in the profession."

Parents. "My mother encouraged me to become a teacher. My father gave me the advice to prepare for an occupation, so I would always have it to fall back upon and it couldn't be taken away from me."

Other relatives-teachers. "I have two aunts who are teachers and an uncle who is a college professor. I admire these relatives very much and they always reminded me of the wise choice of a teaching career. They also told me about many of the benefits teaching offers."

Other relatives-not teachers. "My older sister thinks teaching is a fine profession. My husband decided that teaching would offer the most to me as a wife and a mother and fulfill my interests in children. My three girls think it's a wonderful job for a mommy."

Teacher-positive. "I had several inspirational teachers in grammar school, whom I tried even then to emulate. They seemed to epitomize the kind of work I wanted to do and would gain the greatest satisfaction from."

Teacher-negative. "The influence I received was negative. The teachers (sic) I felt were inadequate convinced me that something had to be done. It is my job to better the situation."

No one. "I don't think any one person influenced me in my decision to become a teacher."

The most interesting finding of the tabulation of influential persons was the frequent mention of a friend or relative who was a teacher. Some of these relationships are lost in the table which does not subdivide the category *Friend* into teachers and non-teachers and *Parents* into Parent-teacher and Parent-not teaching. At any rate, the point can be made that a significant number of this group apparently received important information about teaching from *teacher* friends and relatives.

Perhaps the obverse of this finding is the scarcity—two subjects—of respondents reporting the influence of a formal guidance or recruiting person. This opens up many interesting avenues for speculation. Are counselors in high school not suggesting teaching as a career to these students? To whom do counselors recommend teaching? Are students being counselled? In this connection, these data at least, suggest that the informative and recruiting efforts of the teaching profession are almost completely ineffective. Much more important, it would seem, is association with a teacher-friend or teacher-relative.

No comment is needed at this time concerning thirty-six reports of *Teacher Influence* other than to note that influence was both positive and negative. The seventeen reporting *No Influence* support the point made previously that recruiting efforts leave much to be desired.

Further Study This report has suggested several areas for further study. Subjects in this sample may well be typical of only certain types of students. Certainly the findings should be different at the University of Chicago or Harvard or any private high-tuition school. Certainly the results of this same investigation should differ significantly between rural and urban institutions. Persons in teacher education programs may wish to replicate this simple investigation to compare results. The writer was impressed with the pragmatic approach to teaching suggested by the sample. Other educators in other institutions may find surprises of their own.

There are implications for teacher educators and recruiters at this institution. They are specific. On the other hand, the sex differences in time of decision to teach have general application to a perennial problem of the profession.

Teacher Militancy: A Case Study of Contrasting Viewpoints

Theodore Zaner
Newark College of Engineering

The field of teacher-school board relations has become peculiarly complex. Academicians and scholar-consultants are continually evaluating dramatic events, like strikes and sanctions, and defining concepts intended to chart direction. Practitioners on both sides adapt what the experts say and go on to redefine their objectives in such a way as to justify what they have been doing. The battles will obviously continue and each side will get reinforcements as time goes on.

As of November 1968, seventeen states had consultation or negotiation laws covering public employees, including teachers. However, the legislation has not served effectively to prevent strikes. We hardly need to be reminded of the New York teachers' strike despite the provisions of the Taylor Law.

Furthermore, 10 of these 17 states have separate provisions for public school personnel. This "separation" is the result of NEA's effective lobbies which seek to provide that educational channels be used in resolving impasses—all of which underscores the overriding influence of the AFT and NEA in their keen competition for representation of teachers groups. In that regard NEA¹ reports that its affiliates are exclusive negotiators in 93 percent of the nation's negotiating districts which provide for such representation.

Of the roughly 810,000 professionals in 45 states covered by organizational representation, NEA affiliates in all of the states represent 643,300 or 79.3 percent. Union groups represent about 162,400 or 20 percent, about 80 percent of whom are employed in seven big cities. The remainder, 5,000 or 0.6 percent, are represented by groups affiliated with no one.

These data forecast a further acceleration of AFT-NEA conflict and consequent teacher militancy particularly in the big cities where decentralization is

1 *Today's Education*, The Journal of The National Education Association, Vol. 57, No. 6, September, 1968.

Using the Woodbridge teachers' strike as example, Dr. Zaner here presents an inside look at some of the issues of teacher-school board relations at a time when two staff organizations are in conflict. Professor of Industrial Relations at Newark, the writer is also a consultant on the staff of the New Jersey State Federation of District Boards of Education.

taking place. In New York City, for example, it will be more difficult to win representation in each of 32 separate districts as compared to the city as a whole.

The Contrasting Viewpoints

Two contrasting viewpoints underly this fast developing pattern of teacher militancy. These derive in part from the difference in stated policy of the NEA and AFT.

Stinnett, et al.² distinguish between board-staff relations in public education and labor-management relations in the private sector by conceiving "professional negotiation" to be a "new" procedure:

Professional negotiation has been defined as a set of procedures, written and officially adopted by the local staff organization and the school board, which provides an orderly method for the school board and staff organization to negotiate on matters of mutual concern, to reach agreement on these matters, and to establish educational channels for mediation and appeal in the event of an impasse.

It may be, of course, that Stinnett and his associates, who are officials of the NEA, are simply defending the professional character of the NEA procedures as compared with the collective bargaining procedures of the AFT. Lieberman and Moscow³ resolve this by proposing a compromise term, "collective negotiations":

... the objective here is to analyse issues which must be faced whenever teachers as a group negotiate with school boards, regardless of what procedures are adopted or how they are labeled. In doing so, it is desirable to use terminology that does not prejudice or appear to prejudice these issues. Hopefully, "collective negotiations" is a part of such a terminology.

Yet it may be argued that their term also appears to "prejudice" by compromising on the matter of the *professional* nature of the process. Metzler⁴ proposes that negotiations be limited to "salaries and economic matters" and exclude issues agreed to be "professional."

All teacher organizations ... insist upon the right to negotiate "all educational issues," or "every educational question," etc. ... Negotiation, how-

2 T. M. Stinnett, Jack H. Kleinman, and Martha L. Ware. *Professional Negotiations in Public Education*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1966.

3 Myron Lieberman and Michael H. Moscow. *Collective Negotiations for Teachers*. Chicago, Ill.: Rand McNally and Company, 1966.

4 John H. Metzler, "Subjects for Negotiations," *Journal of Collective Negotiations, School Board Notes*, Vol. 12, No. 7, April, 1967.

ever, requires pressure and conflict. It is impossible to negotiate with either absent. The questions then emerge: Should an issue, such as an alleged need for remedial reading teachers, be resolved by conflict and pressure, by militancy and muscle?

What stands out, after one looks over the differences of opinion, is the pragmatic and operational nature of the decisions actually made when conflicts arise. Systematic case studies, therefore, may be needed. They may lead to some inductive approach to the establishment of principles.

The Woodbridge Experience A review of the experience of Woodbridge, New Jersey is a case in point. This township has undergone simultaneous mediation-negotiation procedures involving both AFT and NEA representation. Within such a frame of reference it should be possible to observe in actual practice the contrasting viewpoints of teacher militancy.

Woodbridge Township is the third largest educational unit in the state of New Jersey. It has a population of about 100,000, with 22,000 students in 32 public schools. The Township is growing rapidly, and oil industries predominate in its industrial scene. The Township's Board of Education is elected, and the members serve without pay. The Township also elects a mayor who receives compensation for part-time duties.

Two teachers' organizations are recognized by the Board of Education: the Woodbridge Township Federation of Teachers (WTFT) and the Woodbridge Township Educational Association (WTEA). Both were disturbed by the Board's habit of consistently voting down the proposed education budgets and by the prospect, obvious in January 1967, that the budget would be voted down again, should any sizeable increase be proposed.

The WTEA was beginning to challenge the WTFT, which had predominated for a number of years. No representation election had thus far been conducted although one was now being considered. Agreements were developed annually—in 1966, with both organizations. In 1967 the WTFT refused to negotiate jointly with the competing group.

Negotiations between the Board and the WTFT were halted by the Board on January 16 when the union called a strike in which 350 to 400 of the Township's approximately 900 teachers participated. During the first week of the strike, the Board called in a consultant, John H. Metzler, Associate Chairman of the Department of Industrial Relations, Newark College of Engineering, and consultant to the New Jersey State Federation of District Boards of Education. The author joined with Professor Metzler shortly thereafter.

The consultant attempted conciliation and mediation, and the Board resumed negotiations with the WTFT. The WTEA⁵ responded quickly with 11 sanctions discrediting the Township, denigrating employment efforts and threatening to "stack contracts." At this point, a Board meeting with the WTEA was met with window serenading of "Let Me Call You Sweetheart" by the WTFT.

In the meantime, the situation was further complicated by court action which found the WTFT union leaders guilty of "contempt of court" for disobeying an injunction to order a return to work.

The crucial differences of money were as follows. Woodbridge teachers' salaries ranged from \$5400 to \$8500 (Bachelor's Degree). The WTEA and WTFT were quite similar in their salary demands of \$6,000 to \$10,800 (Bachelor's Degree) and commensurate increases in all others. The demands called for a total package of \$3,400,000. Thus far, the Board had offered \$5,850 to \$9,350 with a total package of \$350,000.

Mediation Begins The strike had achieved national prominence. Press and other mass media were continually reporting progress and impasse. The need for outside mediation was becoming apparent. Theodore Kheel, New York attorney and nationally prominent mediator, agreed to undertake mediation. The revealing "behind the scenes" sequence of events was as follows: The Board accepted mediation, then the WTFT accepted, then the WTEA accepted—whereupon Mr. Kheel proposed simultaneous negotiations, which was accepted by the WTEA and by the WTFT with the understanding that the organizations would not have to sit together. All this was followed by public proposals and acceptances by the Board and organizations, respectively.

All parties arrived on schedule at the Holiday Inn, Metuchen on Saturday A.M., January 28, 1967. Present were (1) the Board members together with key school administrators and consultants; (2) representatives of the WTFT and WTEA (on separate floors); (3) Mr. Kheel; and (4) representatives of press and other mass media. The Mayor was expected sometime later that day or the next morning.

From the beginning, the mediator structured the situation most carefully. His actions demanded a deliberate and painstaking step-by-step pattern. Emotionalism gave way to the mediator's strenuous requirements of procedure

⁵ Woodbridge Township Education Association. *Statement of Sanctions* (Mimeographed). January 24, 1967.

and of his need to gather data efficiently. The mediation of the Woodbridge Teachers' Strike was carried out through three broad stages as follows: (1) definition of differences; (2) give-take, push-pull; (3) resolution of differences.

The mediator requested two initial meetings, one comprising the Board and the representatives of the WTFT, and the other comprising the Board and the representatives of the WTEA. The pattern of both meetings was identical. The mediator presided. He requested that each issue be framed by means of a statement of the organization's position. After this the Board amended and/or added clarifying comments until agreement respecting the difference was arrived at by both sides. Then, the mediator asked the Board to compute cost disparities between each organization's demands and the Board's, item for item, and to report back on the matter of whether the Board's objection was on account of "money only" or on account of "principle."

The demands of the WTFT and WTEA contained both similar and unique items. Also, the demands of both groups had been reduced in number to 10 and 11 respectively. Following is a summary-analysis of these demands.

Both organizations were demanding substantial pay increases. Differences here related mainly to where and how much the increments should be augmented. It was concluded by the Board that these differences may have been reflective of the particular scale and step of large numbers or influential members of the respective organizations.

Then, there were the typical work-related and general curriculum demands. Both organizations, for example, demanded expansion of music, art, and physical education offerings, more professional periods, and relief from clerical and administrative duties.

Finally, there were a few unique demands raised by each organization that were identified as *key* (apart from pay increases). The "key" demands were known as such by the administration and the Board. For the WTFT, there were three such key demands: a reading improvement program, teacher aides, and no reprisals on account of striking plus court days. All in all, the ten demands of the WTFT constituted a far cry from the union concept of bargaining over "wages, working conditions, and related matters." For the WTEA there were two key demands: degree nurses' equal pay with teachers, and standards regarding qualifications and salaries of non-degree nurses. The nurses were evidently WTEA members. Interestingly, it seemed that this concentration on pay items swung the eleven WTEA demands closer to "collective bargaining" and further away from "professional negotiation" than the demands of the WTFT.

At first, the Board objected on account of principle to all demands except pay increases. However, as dollar figures were computed, compromises began to emerge. After several hours of caucusing, the demands were treated more on the basis of a "give and take."

Push-Pull Sessions The mediator requested that

small committees of three individuals be formed to participate in a give-take, push-pull, caucus-negotiation-mediation period. (Two separate committees of the Board were organized to negotiate with the respective committees of the WTFT and the WTEA. The committee design established by the Board comprised one Board member, one ranking administrator, and one consultant.) Then the mediator, moving from session to caucus to re-session, kept all parties moving, narrowing differences and scratching or trading items. A character of agreement was evolving by the time work was recessed on Saturday night.

A great deal more was involved than can be adequately described here. For example, there was continual pressure from press and radio representatives. There was the matter of obtaining "whole" Board and "whole" organization approval of the committees' agreements. There was the political aspect—the Mayor was yet to be heard from. There was an accidental meeting at the bar that evening. (A very subtle form of negotiating takes place in such a setting even "in all innocence.")

On Sunday A.M., the Mayor and two aides arrived quite early. He promptly issued statements to the press and radio representatives. In essence, he was critical of the strikers and lawlessness. Also, he felt that any additional concessions, particularly of the money variety, would be unthinkable.

When he entered the caucus room of the Board, he promptly proposed a plan for future operations. Hold down the budget expenditures. Send letters to all teachers on strike ordering them to return within a specified period or face contract cancellation and discipline on the record. "Only a very few would disobey," said the Mayor. Those who do disobey—"carry through with action." Work with the WTEA.

It was pointed out to the Mayor that even if he could succeed in destroying the WTFT by favoring the WTEA (a very unlikely possibility), he would still be facing the same teachers each succeeding year. Next time, they would be unified—one group and stronger. Next time, they would remember this time and him too. The Board members were either impassive or openly annoyed at the Mayor's "intrusion." Probably, as independently elected public officials, the Board felt its responsibilities in a different vein from that of the Mayor.

The mediation session resumed at 11:00 A.M.; and, by late afternoon, it was becoming apparent that agreement was in the making. Meetings and caucuses accelerated, and positions and costs were under continual reevaluation and surveillance.

At this juncture, the mediator emphasized a point of procedure already established *de facto*. Negotiate all other subjects first, and then negotiate pay. Clearly, pay would have to be a uniform agreement. Whom do you favor here? Though the differences in pay demands were shallow, the distinction would have to be dealt with; and the Board was confronted with the requirement of not satisfying either the WTFT or the WTEA *exactly*. A delicate balance would have to be established. Even with respect to the other demands, a difficult problem presented itself. Conceding to the different demands of one group called for compensating concessions to the other.

Reaching Agreement By 3:00 A.M., the differences were resolved and final committee meetings were set up to formalize the agreements. With respect to pay, Mr. Kheel undertook the task of personally recommending a pay scale, \$5850 to \$9850 (Bachelor's Degree), etc. It was approved by all parties.

The WTFT won the following:

1. A remedial reading study would be conducted by an impartial group, whose proposal would be the basis for negotiating a plan for the 1967-1968 academic year.

2. Advisory arbitration would be added to the grievance procedure.

3. Both the Board attorney and the mediators would seek court clemency.

The WTEA won the following:

1. Degree nurses would be paid like teachers by two yearly advances.

2. Standards for qualification and pay of non-degree nurses would be articulated. The WTEA would be consulted on these standards before issuance.

The WTFT agreed to halt the strike. Also, it was expected that the WTEA would rescind its sanctions.

With respect to finalizing the agreement, a careful agenda was worked out. The Board would sign a "memorandum of understanding" on Monday night at a regular meeting, thus assuring that all commitments would be met, and the schools would open Monday, A.M. In the meantime, all parties were free to release information to press and radio.

The next day, Monday, the striking teachers were back in the classrooms. However, all problems were not yet resolved. The WTEA rescinded but two of its eleven sanctions. The rescinded sanctions dealt with advisories to "students at all colleges preparing teachers," and "all public and private teacher placement agencies" regarding the "unsatisfactory conditions in Woodbridge." The outstanding and unrescinded sanctions dealt with informing public and civic groups in general, of the allegedly adverse educational conditions existing in Woodbridge.

Then the people of Woodbridge Township voted down the budget twice. The budget was finally cut \$130,000 and approved by the Council, in whose hands authority rested, under the circumstances. This created further problems, particularly with the WTEA, which organization demanded to know where the cuts would be effected.

Also, the WTFT leaders were fined and sentenced,⁶ despite pleas for leniency. Cries of "breach of faith" resounded in the board staff relations arena at Woodbridge.

It was in mid-April that agreement finally was reached with the WTEA and all sanctions were lifted, while relations with the WTFT continued to suffer from "hard feelings" generated by court action. However, the 1967-1968 school year passed without another strike or mediation. The contrasting viewpoints of the WTFT and the WTEA did not come to the surface for the clear observation provided by the simultaneous strike-sanction mediation.

On September 13, 1968 the State of New Jersey⁷ enacted a statute which provides that:

A majority representative of public employees in an appropriate unit shall be entitled to act for and to negotiate agreements covering all employees in the unit and shall be responsible for representing the interests of all such employees without discrimination and without regard to employee organization membership.

Therefore, two separate agreements will no longer be negotiated in Woodbridge, New Jersey. However, once again the WTEA is challenging and the "majority representative" will be decided on the basis of an election.

Signs in the Wind Woodbridge, New Jersey,
has its cast of characters as must any school system. On occasion, "hard-liners"

⁶ "2 Get Jail Terms in Teacher Strike," *The New York Times*, Feb. 21, 1967, p. 1.

⁷ "New Jersey Public Employer-Employee Relations Act," Chapter 303, *Laws of 1968, State of New Jersey*, enacted September 13, 1968.

and "professionals" of both the union and management variety served as "hold-outs" and "theatricians." On the other hand, the slowing of progress, whether planned or the consequence of personalities and inter-personal conflicts, served a useful purpose as well. The passage of time during impasse seemed to develop an alternating "soft" and "hard" attitude which promoted a pattern of sustained progress during the "soft" attitude periods. Furthermore, all concerned profited from the experience. There was evident change, particularly in individuals who might have been characterized initially as "extremists" (of any persuasion). There was also evident group growth and intergroup efficiency improvement. Actually, it seemed that all members and groups, dedicated and well qualified, improved their individual and group values and skills, while recognizing increasingly their common interests above all.

The school board turned to "outside" assistance after the strike was begun. Surely additional resources could have been enlisted earlier. Yet had the board so done, would the staff have viewed the action as an opportunity to "harden" its position—to wait and "try" the third party? Also, would the public consider the board's action as a sign of weakness? The answer to these questions could well be in the affirmative. However, the answer to these questions is somewhat irrelevant. The board has the overriding responsibility of utilizing all available resources at all times, and particularly when the educational program suffers or is threatened. All concerned should be acquainted with the sources of assistance required and available to the board. A sound public relations effort in this respect would neutralize tactical or political reactions to the utilization of "outside" resources.

With respect to the contrasting viewpoints of the AFT and NEA, the Woodbridge simultaneous strike-mediation demonstrates a wide variance between the stated positions and practice. The AFT pursued matters that covered a somewhat broader segment of the continuum that stretches from strictly "wages, working conditions, and related matters" to problems of curriculum improvement, than did the NEA. Yet, what emerges as most significant in this experience is the *similarity* of both AFT and NEA in Woodbridge with respect to areas of demand, and procedures desired for teacher-school board relations.

A related court action in Union Beach, New Jersey would seem to confirm the conclusion that the contrasting viewpoints do indeed fuse in practice. On August 4, 1967, a trial judge held that sanctions declared and implemented by the Union Beach Teachers' Association, an NEA affiliate, were a coercive activity designed for the sole purpose of compelling the Union Beach Board of Education to act in accordance with the desire of public employees and contrary to law. In effect, such a decision equates sanctions with strikes. This

decision is under appeal to the Supreme Court of New Jersey, and if upheld, an attempt would undoubtedly be made by the NEA to test the decision in the Supreme Court of the United States since its national implications are obvious.

Thus, it may well be that the fusion of practice is complete even without a merger of the AFT and the NEA. In that regard, the NEA continues to reject invitations by the AFT to consider a merger of the organizations.

Finally, what is the effect of all this upon the education of the students? Little benefit accrues the learning process although such a "living" experience cannot help but contribute a kind of developmental character to the curriculum. Is the pressure to achieve parity at the negotiating table slowing progress in curriculum development or teacher improvement? After all, human energies are finite. Doherty,⁸ when comparing problems of negotiation with problems of teacher capability, says:

This has always been a greater educational problem than too little teacher collective influence, although one does infringe upon the other.

Considering the growing unrest and conflict developing in the entire field of teacher-school board relations, it seems evident that the very structure of our program of public education must be reexamined on a most comprehensive basis. The best minds and the highest attention are warranted here-now—much, much more than we seem to be bringing to bear. And the beginning of such an effort ought to consider a massive organized program of public orientation into goals and responsibilities of all concerned. Perhaps, if all the people were to understand more fully the relationship between effective education on the one hand, and the importance of encouraging high potential teachers into the service and nurturing their progress on the job on the other, then each vote would be calculated to achieve the results rather than allow for the rationalizing of a vague hope that somehow it will yet "all come out for the best."

⁸ Robert E. Doherty. See *Teachers and Unions* by Michael H. Moscow, and "Collective Negotiations for Teachers" by Myron Lieberman and Michael H. Moscow, *Teachers College Record*, Vol. 68, No. 5, February 1967.

American Elementary Reading Textbooks: A Sociological Review

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When, how and what Johnny learns to read has become an issue of national and international significance. Stimulated by the 15 per cent to 30 per cent estimates of reading retardation among high school dropouts, both federal and private foundations are supporting research for the discovery of the formula for teaching the gifted and the slow, the retarded and the handicapped, the acculturated and the culturally-different. Instead of some one elegant solution, there has been a recognition of the many intermingled factors involved in the reading process. The main emphasis of this paper will be on just one aspect of these many factors, the content of elementary readers past and present.

There has been a growing body of experimental data pointing to the tremendous impact the content of reading texts has on the child's lifespan. Not only is the content of these first readers seen as a possible contributing factor in reading retardation; it is also seen as a transmitter of our cultural values and attitudes. Both issues will be developed in the following pages.

The Colonial Period The readers used by the colonists prior to the revolution have been described extensively by several historians.¹ The description of their content bear out the fact that for the early settlers, religion was the overriding characteristic of their lives. In an analysis of the content of these early books, 92 per cent was found to be of a religious nature.² Interspersed generously with the alphabet and syllabarium were benedictions, catechisms, proverbs, and fables which illustrate well the attitudes, values and behavior of these people. They considered their own values the only absolutely correct ones to live by, and these were not open to debate.

- 1 Charles Carpenter, *History of American Schoolbooks*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1963. Clifton Johnson, *Old-Time Schools and School-books*. New York: Dover Publications, Inc. 1963. John Nietz, *Old Textbooks*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1961.
- 2 John A. Nietz, "A Gift of Old School Textbooks," *School and Society*, XLVIII, 1959, pp. 340-341.

Dr. Zimet, a Research Associate at Colorado's Medical Center, has written several articles on children's story preferences and reading textbooks. Here she presents an historical overview of American readers, showing how they have expressed "official" versions of American values through the years and calling for an application of social scientific thinking to the writing of textbooks appropriate for children today.

The Protestant Tutor,³ with its anti-Catholic doctrine, serves as a fine example of how biased content was purposely introduced to misrepresent and adversely criticize those attitudes, beliefs or customs not held by the establishment.

The spirit of child rearing practices in this period is well illustrated in the *New England Primer*,⁴ from the following statements taken from the section entitled, "Lessons from Youth":

FOOLISHNESS is bound up in the Heart of a Child, but Rod of correction shall drive it from him.

LIARS shall have their Part in the Lake which burns with Fire and Brimstone.
UPON the Wicked God shall rain an Horrible Tempest.

This single-minded emphasis on conformity to a Spartan religious life makes one wonder whether indeed they had been successful in achieving this end.

Loyalty to the reigning English monarch was also discernable from the pictures on the frontispiece of the books as well as from the occasional references made in the texts. However, following the revolution, the king's picture was replaced by a portrait of George Washington and the references made to monarchs were less than edifying.

The Period of National Expansion

The readers in post-revolutionary America had a new function to perform, that of developing loyalty to the new nation. Much of the content also reflected the emphasis on developing an intelligent citizenry capable of discharging their duties more efficiently. Nationalism, to a large extent, became equated with moralism. This created a secular kind of religion which demanded the same kind of rigid conformity that prevails under a sacred doctrine. Religious content in the readers was reduced by 22 per cent while content devoted to inculcating morals increased by 25 per cent.⁵ Thus, the trend at the turn of the century was away from a Protestant ethic towards a social ethic.⁶

Noah Webster's *Old Blueback*⁷ epitomized the new breed of readers. It

3 *The Protestant Tutor* was the first English textbook printed in America. It had a sizable circulation judging from the number of editions printed.

4 *The New England Primer*, also published under the titles of *The New York Primer* and *The Columbian Primer*, enjoyed an estimated sale of around 3,000,000 copies.

5 Nietz, 1959, *op. cit.*

6 Richard de Charms and Gerald Moeller, "Values Expressed in American Children's Readers :800-1950." *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, LXIV, 1962, pp. 136-42.

7 The title, *Old Blueback*, was an affectionate reference used in place of the long scholarly title: *A Grammatical Institute of the English Language Comprising an Easy, Concise and Systematic Method of Education, Designed for the Use of English Schools in America, Part I Containing a New and Accurate Standard of Pronunciation.*

combined the speller with the reader and included poetry for recitation, speeches of the patriotic leaders of the revolution and a moral catechism. In addition, it was the first text to attempt to overcome the diversity of dialects, the variety in word structure and the chaos in spelling that existed throughout the colonies.

The nature of the child, his inclinations, tastes and desires became more and more dominant factors in the choice and arrangement of the subject matter. Illustrations were introduced to make the lessons "a pleasure rather than a task,"⁸ and in 1820 one of the earliest educational toys, a revolving alphabet, was introduced. This indicated a significant shift away from the severe punitive attitude which existed during the Colonial Period.

The question of literacy for girls was undergoing a change as well. In an early edition of a reader by Caleb Bingham,⁹ he stated that it was hardly worthwhile teaching girls much except sewing and housework. However, in a later edition of another reader,¹⁰ he stated that care in the selection of content suitable for the fairer sex should be given due consideration.

The stories designed specifically to build character through the development of proper moral attitudes and behavior were presented in terms of a sharp contrast between right and wrong. Evil suffered prompt, severe punishment, and good was as promptly and decisively rewarded. Reforms were astonishingly sudden, successful, and permanent. A prime example of schoolbooks which represented a stronghold in this kind of content were the McGuffey Readers, which first appeared between 1836 and 1844 and continued in use until 1920. A dominant value stressed was that of individual salvation through hard work, thrift and competition, which was quite consistent with the economic individualism of *laissez faire* capitalism. It also reflected the high achievement drive created by the technological and industrial revolution that transformed America from a rural agrarian society to an industrialized urban culture.

The Emergence of a Technological America

The behavior expected of children continued to be clearly and unequivocally stated in these readers. Throughout the stories one gets the impression that the world is indeed a serious place, fraught with many problems and tribulations. Learning to live properly in society is a job that requires constant vigilance and concentrated effort. The sources of these difficulties are both external

8 Attitudes expressed in Noah Webster, *The Little Reader's Assistant*, 1790, and H. Mann, *The Columbian Primer*, 1802.

9 In Caleb Bingham, *The Child's Companion*, 1782.

10 In Bingham, *The American Preceptor*, 1794.

and internal; therefore the child must develop inner powers to protect himself against these evils. In order to accomplish this, the child must follow a clearly stated code of Christian virtues preached daily through the strong authority of the father, who represents unshakable wisdom and sanctity. Hence, social behavior is handed down from an indisputable source through a set of established rules which the child must live up to.¹¹ The stories are essentially means-oriented rather than goal-oriented so that the achievement sequence more often dwells on obstacles to success and specific means of overcoming them rather than on the goals themselves.¹²

The Rollo series which was published between 1844 and 1860 provides an excellent example of how this cultural pattern is communicated. Although Rollo is a good boy, most of his experiences are unpleasant and have direct consequences. The problem lies in the fact that Rollo is basically filled with bad impulses that must constantly be suppressed.

Rollo interrupts his mother at her work, causing her to make a mistake; Rollo leaves something that has been entrusted to him on a rock while he plays; he loses it; Rollo loses interest in a tedious job his father gave him to do and he does not get it done on time;¹³ Rollo's father is the most important character in the books and in Rollo's life. He presents the goals to be sought and achieved and explains, in detail, why an action is right or wrong. He punishes and rewards; corrects and encourages.¹⁴ As pictured in the stories, Rollo's family life is typical of the child rearing practices during this time of high achievement motivation. This is indicated by early parental stress and independent training for mastery.¹⁵ Hard work is highly honored and rewarded while play is strongly discouraged and judged harshly if the two are combined.

Work while you work,
Play while you play;
One thing each time,
That is the way.
All that you do,
Do with your might;

11 Richard Mandel, "Children's Books: Mirrors of Social Developments," *Elementary School Journal*, LXIV, 1964, pp. 190-99.

12 David McClelland. *The Achieving Society*. New York: D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 1961.

13 Mandel, *op. cit.*

14 *Ibid.*

15 de Charms and Moeller, *op. cit.*

Things done by halves
Are not done right.¹⁶

Where literary and historical selections had previously been included for practice in elocution, they now took on a new set of purposes: 1) to replace moralistic fables and stories in the development of good character; and 2) to develop a permanent interest and appreciation in literature.¹⁷ Both Arnold and Gilbert's *Stepping Stones to Literature* and Judson and Bender's *Graded Literature Series* were among the first to introduce cumulative tales and rhymes into primary readers and to express a conscious concern for children's interests and maturity levels in their selections.

Since large numbers of children reaching the upper grades could not read, a dissatisfaction with the word method stimulated the desire for developing a new technique for teaching reading. Therefore the alphabet and spelling-word approach was abandoned and replaced with an elaborate phonetic system, using diacritical markings. Also, in an effort to develop comprehension skills, the sentence and story method was introduced.¹⁸ An example from Ward's *Third Grade Reader* illustrated how the new method and content were combined:

George's mother, knowing they had come from the fields, began to ask about the horses. . . .

Then George said, 'The sörrel is dead, mädam; I killed him.' His mother looked grieved. . . .

When he had finished she said gëntly, 'I regrèt the loss of my sörrel, but I rêjoice in my son, who always speaks the truth.'¹⁹

As an outgrowth of the aim to develop interest in literature, supplementary reading materials became popular and included additional sets of readers other than the basic text, fairy tales, folklore and the literary classics.

The advent of professional books and separate courses of study dealing with reading instruction signified the trend toward a scientific consideration of educational content and pedagogy. Edmund Burke Huey's famous study on *The Psychology and Pedagogy of Reading* (1908) is the first book to treat reading instruction scientifically. The emergence of the reading specialist

16 McGuffey's *Eclectic Primer*. New York: American Book Co., 1909.

17 Nola Smith. *American Reading Instruction*. Newark, Delaware: International Reading Association, 1965.

18 Warren Cutts. *Teaching Young Children to Read*. Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Bulletin No. 19, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1964.

19 Smith, *op. cit.*

signified the professionalization of this area of education, and more and more attention was given to a careful consideration of reading instruction. Thorndike, Huey and Parker gave this movement a vigorous push forward which eventuated in dramatic changes in school practices.

Through extensive testing programs it was again discovered that few children could read and that those who could understood little of what they were reading. This time, blame was placed on the meaningless phonic symbols and the overemphasis on oral reading. Thus the proponents of silent reading instruction came to the fore. This point of view is well summed up in the following statement:

The social needs of former days required the teaching of expressive oral reading; the social needs of the present require the teaching of effective rapid silent reading: 1) Reading material is abundant; 2) Reading is universal; only a few are unable to read; 3) Communication is very rapid; 4) Written language is the chief means of communication.²⁰

So, as we enter the twenties, we find almost a complete abandonment of oral reading and phonetics and a strong new emphasis on silent reading for meaning and as a utilitarian asset.

The content of these new readers was made up largely of factual and informational material closely approximating the experiences frequently encountered in the child's daily life. But the long dependence upon folk tales and fables as a means of motivating the interest of young children caused the authors to be afraid to trust a straightforward presentation of this factual material. To cope with this problem, inanimate objects were endowed with life and linguistic ability, and fairies and other imaginary beings were used as media for transmitting the information. Colored illustrations were most common, amounting to as much as 30 per cent of the text in the primary readers, denoting quite a refinement of the printing process.

Scientific studies on reading continued to be produced, and by 1925 there was an accumulation of data pointing out the diversity of purposes for reading and the different abilities necessary to achieve them. These findings called attention to the need for a more liberal provision of varied materials and for the use of different methods of instruction designed to develop these diverse reading habits and abilities. Although this produced a significant increase in the publication of courses of study and teacher's manuals, the instructions were much less dogmatic than they had been in the past. Teachers were given choices in a wide range of supplementary materials and were encouraged to use their own initiative and originality.

20 *Ibid.*

In addition to providing a broad variety of stories, several innovations came about in an effort to make reading more effective and more meaningful to the child: 1) A scientific approach to vocabulary control and readability formulas was applied with the result that after 1928, the vocabulary in the readers had decreased by one quarter; 2) Pre-primers were introduced; 3) Repetition of words was amply provided for by nearly all the authors of primers and first readers, and sometimes in second and third readers as well; 4) Supplementary work pads, charts and flash cards were used to reinforce the reading words to be learned by various kinds of exposures; 5) The systematic study of the basal readers became an established fact; and 6) Ability grouping, diagnostic testing and remedial work were started. The mechanical make-up of the readers also reached an all-time high of excellence in over-all eye appeal. Bright colored pictures made up approximately 40 per cent of the content. Print was large and clear and wide margins were allowed on each page.

Contemporary America The direction in which the reading content has moved has remained fairly stable. The criticism which ensued in the 40's and 50's was largely directed at the methods of instruction rather than at the subject matter. But during the last five years, attention has been focused on the kinds of messages that are being communicated through the content per se, and the adverse effects these messages have on a significant proportion of our population. The critics also relate the character of these reading texts to a very fundamental change that has come about in the American culture.

The technological and economic advances of the 19th and 20th centuries and the aftermath of the two World Wars inevitably exerted an influence on the ways in which the individual viewed other people and the world at large. Increases in population and urbanization, expanding literacy, and the intensive development of mass media, helped spur the move away from the "inner-directedness" of Rollo to the "other-directedness" considered characteristic of contemporary readers. People learned of the importance of others in their lives; and the dominant values of individual salvation through hard work, thrift and competition were gradually replaced by a belief in belongingness, generosity, and gregariousness as the ultimate needs of the individual. Therefore, a significant shift occurred from a dependence on personal-institutional tradition to a dependence upon specific interpersonal relationships.²¹

Contemporary America, as seen through these readers, is an other-directed society in which the ego is not motivated to interact by traditional institu-

21 McClelland, *op. cit.*

tional pressures but by pressures from others whose requests or demands are respected enough to produce compliance.²² Individuals enter into relationships for specific reasons, and these relationships are generally controlled by the opinions and wishes of others. A look at the world of Dick and Jane (of the 1950 Scott, Foresman series) discloses a dramatic depiction of this "new" America.

Dick and Jane's world is a friendly one, populated by good, smiling people who are ready and eager to help children whenever necessary. Strangers, therefore, are not to be mistrusted but are viewed as potential helpmates. Human nature and physical nature are also cooperative and friendly rather than competitive and conspiring. There are no evil impulses to be controlled. Instead, free rein and encouragement is given for seeking more and more fun and play. Life in general is easy and comfortable; frustrations are rare and usually overcome quite easily. Combining work with play, seeking out new friends, and giving generously are all amply rewarded by nature, adults and one's peers. There is an apparent lack of negative example in these stories, so that a code of ethics is not included as part of the content. Yet the stories seem to illustrate without overt preaching, the virtues of honesty, fair play, cooperation, family solidarity, friendship, independence, cleanliness, courage, and forgiveness.²³ Furthermore, one does not find the child's base of authority in traditional sources. The text is almost exclusively conversation among children; there is very little interaction with parents. It would appear, then, that the child's identity is confirmed and his social behavior is molded by his peer group.²⁴

However, the Dick-and-Jane type texts display a marked ethnocentrism and socioeconomic-centrism:

One might conclude from these books that Americans are almost exclusively Caucasian, North European in origin and appearance, and are quite well-to-do. Poverty does exist but only in stories set in a foreign environment or in fairy tales. Foreign nationalities as well as American minority groups are placed in either an unfavorable light or are treated inadequately. Religion is rarely mentioned, but Christian religious observance is over-emphasized with no hint of the range or variety of observances found among different religious groups.²⁵

22 *Ibid.*

23 Otto Klineberg, "Life is Fun in a Smiling, Fair-Skinned World," *Saturday Review*, February 16, 1963, pp. 75-7, and 87.

24 Mandel, *op. cit.*

25 Klineberg, *op. cit.*

In reality, however, America is a pluralistic society, a society of diversity and complex problems and, in fact, "life (in America) is not always a sun-drenched Sunday afternoon."²⁶ Despite the fact that 60 per cent of Americans live in cities, city life is largely ignored in these readers. In line with this, research studies have pointed out that the cultural inappropriateness of the stories has been an important contributing factor to the low reading achievement of culturally-different youth.²⁷ Very recently this has stimulated several textbook publishers to produce readers which take this into account. These readers, then, are designed for children from all economic, social and cultural backgrounds and are aimed at further democratizing American reading texts.²⁸ Dr. John Niemeyer, president of Bank Street College, has pointed out that the city child's world is not the only one neglected in traditional readers:

Kids from large families, or one-parent homes, children who wear glasses, youngsters who are short, tall, slim or stocky—they all belong in any but a falsely glamorized fantasy world.²⁹

With the increased exposure of children at all ages to the mass media, their interests have broadened and changed. The readers, although professing to reflect these interests, have not kept up with the changing times.³⁰ The very fact that a higher incidence of reading retardation is found among boys has also led to the assumption that there is a sex-inappropriateness in the kinds of activities depicted in the stories.³¹ And if all this isn't bad enough, it is also felt that unnecessary barriers to the intellectual development of children are perpetuated by the adherence to out-dated vocabulary lists and readability formulas, as well as to the proliferation of anthropomorphism and animism in the content of the readers.³²

26 Frank Jennings, "Textbooks and Trapped Idealists," *Saturday Review*, January 18, 1964, 1964, pp. 57-9, and 77-8.

27 Gertrude Whipple, "Multicultural Primers for Today's Children," *Education Digest*, XXIX, 1964, pp. 26-9.

28 Richard Waite, "Further Attempts to Integrate and Urbanize First Grade Reading Textbooks: A Research Study," in press: *Journal of Negro Education*.

29 Joseph Michalak, "City Life in Primers," *The Herald Tribune*, January 26, 1965.

30 Sara Zimet, "Children's Interests and Story Preferences: A Critical View of the Literature," *Elementary School Journal*, LXVII, 1966, pp. 122-130.

31 Richard Waite, Gaston Blom, Sara Zimet, and Stella Edge, "First-Grade Reading Textbooks," *Elementary School Journal*, LXVII, 1967, pp. 366-74.

32 O. Klineberg, *op. cit.*; and Jules Henry, "Reading for What?," Claremont Reading Conference, *Twenty-fifth Yearbook*. Claremont, Calif.: Claremont Graduate School Curriculum Laboratory, 1961.

Striking differences exist between reading textbooks of the Early Colonial Period and in the contemporary world of Dick and Jane. Changes in the content over the years have reflected society's concern for increasing the literacy of the population as well as for communicating its cultural values. As our scientific knowledge of the child in a dynamically changing society has increased, the more subtle factors influencing children's attitudes have been recognized. Therefore, if we are to accomplish our goals of literacy and transmission of appropriate cultural patterns more effectively, a conscious application of research findings to textbook writing is essential.

Cultural Pluralism and Racism

Colin Greer

CHANGE Magazine, New York

Several months ago, the National Educational Television aired its program on "Prejudice." Viewers watched a group of affluent American youngsters, from a variety of ethnic backgrounds, discover an uncomfortable and frightening degree of prejudice in themselves. In discussing their feelings toward each other, they showed quite clearly how far a country which once called itself Christian may now be accurately styled "Protestant, Catholic, Jew and Negro." This is not to deny the identity conflicts of Irish Catholics and Italian Catholics as Irish and Italian, old Protestant groups as Yankee, and the respective Jewish groups as non-Israeli. It is rather to point up that in the United States the clichés of acculturation debates are an intrinsic part of being an American. The hyphen is still an independent variable.

Inevitably the issue of Black Power took its predictable place in the train of conversation. A young Negro made it clear that he was distrusting of dominant America, that he sought the security of ethnic pride and the strength of ethnic solidarity in the historic world of American ethnic parochialism. At odds with this logic, the other Negro present was horrified by the narrowness of the world being

demanding for her and very much afraid of a society which permitted her membership on the basis of her skin alone. It is to this fear and to this horror that I am trying to address myself. It may well be the stuff of utopian dreams is somewhat out of place within the present structures of American minority groups, but it is nevertheless the too often ignored cry of the individual to be heard.

Without a doubt and with no less persuasion of its relevance at this time, I have myself been energetic in arguing that to get out of his time-honored rut, the Negro must conspire and be encouraged to rise within the framework of American pluralism. That, in fact, "integration" as a social policy really indulges the wistful mythography of American social processes. However, after careful thought, I find myself having been a typical victim of the polarities which have characterized most positions regarding Negroes in this country. In chastising the young militant, Negro and white, for his oblivious sacrifice of vast numbers of Negroes in the cause of his own dislike of American values and systems, in being caught up in denying the challenge of the racist (much as the Negro has himself) we have forgotten the role of the extremist in the process of change. To an unfortunate

degree, our ambition for the disadvantaged groups in this society have reacted so strongly and yet so feebly to the chasm of their deprivation that we have been able to see no further than a comfortable status quo. It should be remembered that in asking for the moon, it has sometimes been possible to establish the framework for the granting of half a loaf.

From Status to Visibility

To be sure, the nation's poor, not exclusively Negro, must be given access to the middle-class affluence for so long denied them—no higher principles can be allowed to stand in the way of those excluded from national prosperity to be included. On the other hand we might well heed Howard Zinn's remonstrance and remember that this was once a "revolutionary country." While our vision remains no greater than the achievement of middle-class status for all, we simply conform to the wider application of the symbol of conglomerate identity described by Ralph Ellison as "invisibility." Let me make it quite clear that I am not suggesting that our efforts to addend the Negro to the national rubric of "Protestant, Catholic, Jew" are vain or that they should be discarded. The promise of middle-class America has been fulfilled for large numbers and must speedily, by one means or another, include increasing numbers of the excluded. *But this is not accurately defined as the "race problem" nor will its solution answer the problem of racial and ethnic antipathy in America.* Mere change is not overhaul, no matter how important and tardy the change.

Just as critics of industrial and post-industrial society have bemoaned the

brutalization and massification of man which they see accompanying technological expansion, so we must bemoan the reality which supports the criticism even if we chose to doubt the relationship they proffer. An apparently very human facility for categorization and labelling has enabled us to turn deaf ears on the cry of the individual. Our attempts to rewrite the wrongs in an ongoing structure are fine but we have yet to recognize that part of the battle will have to be fought in changing the structure itself. I do not mean a change in government and in electoral systems but changes in our very understanding and expectation of the scheme of things.

Questionable Accommodations

The efforts of American educators are particularly pertinent to this discussion. Not among the most revolutionary of institutions, public education has carried within itself the paradox of its philosophic ideals and its practical arm, with educational philosophers with their Erasmian hope and pragmatic (school men) passing on skills as required. The hope and the job have rarely met. Now faced with the task of fitting the needs of a considerable number who fail without the sanction of the wider society, public education has begun to confuse its role just as it did during the period of heavy European immigration. Never an effective arm of either melting pot conformity or cultural diversity, it has believed itself the mighty instrument in both successively. Meanwhile economic need or absence of it worked its weal on foreign and native newcomers to the city. It was the city, and certainly there was less

organized public education outside the city, which became the active agent of emerging American culture. Now in respect to lower class city populations and additions to this class from declining ruralism, we are being confounded in the belief that the educational and economic dislocation which frustrates the technological society is primarily a non-white problem. The issue of desegregated education is of obvious import in underlining the nation's commitment to undoing longstanding social and legal inequities while it confounds the irrelevance of our educational apparatus in a highly skilled, "achieving society."

We have still to address education to the needs of those who remain cut off from meaningful participation in the society. For the Negro, historically-shaped social and legal discriminations have been compounded by the rate of change in the nature of society itself and their inability to mount the uniquely vital "swiftly moving educational escalator," as Daniel Bell dubs it. Bell has asked whether this society is willing to make the necessary investment to revamp itself and its education systems to a new responsibility and whether "given the revolution of rising resentments" it has time. Summer rioting unites the question of the non-achieving and the question of race in the United States.

The "Negro" label is a symptom here. If we imagine for one moment that our pupil reading problems are reduced to the level of their incidence in the middle-class suburb (a rate we have taken little account of in our generalities) or that by some other means we provided meaningful accommodation in the society for the less fortunate and the less bright, we would not have moved significantly

forward in combatting racial hatred. If we accept that the Negro has endured, to an exquisitely greater degree, the host of difficulties confronted by most immigrant groups, we would have to satisfy our own logic and conclude that racism in America might well remain a degree less satisfactorily solved than is, for example, the question of anti-Semitism. While public education and the most well meaning national ambition rest on the established framework of ethnic diversity, the hobgoblins of historic prejudices will continue to play a major role in the perceptions of one group toward another. The Negro will continue to carry with him, in his skin color, all the poignance and paradox of his existence in America.

Ethnic Identities

America is a society comprising a series of sub-societies based on ethnic identity. Each immigrant group identified with the land of its nativity, partly because they were strangers and partly because participation in such a sub-culture was a vital part of being American. For some Baltic peoples, national identity and language were expressed for the first time upon arrival in the new world. Within each group is a world of self-respect and self-hatred in the face of a wider world, respecting this generalized characteristic and abhorring that one. Experience in the new country played a great part in determining what cultural adaptation, emphasis and denial might be concentrated into the emerging sub-culture. After equality in the selection of jobs and houses was more enhanced, so the quest for status deepened and this, as John Appel points out, depended on being granted by

others—other groups, less recent newcomers to industrial America and the quest for status. Amid all this, the Negro continued to characterize all that was least valued and most guilt-ridden in the society. Denied a "soul" in slavery, the long tradition of exclusion, discrimination and expulsion in social and economic life continued the material evidence of his lack of worth. Scholarship supported the image of the Negro as a "contrast conception" from Bible analysis through brain weights and psychometric measurement, and the legitimacy of employing visible biological phenomena as a scientific variable. In the city, in North and South, the Negro's identity was compounded in its despair by material poverty, proletarian jealousies and political pragmatism.

"Racism," Theodosius Dobzhansky states, "is a form of typological misjudgement which assumes that an individual is a manifestation of a racial type." Similar generalities have been used in abundance, though more benignly on the whole. The individual is lost in a plethora of "ideal-types" which obscure both his momentous achievement and his abject failure. Neither for the immigrant nor for the Negro do we have precise criteria of adjustment and performance modes applicable to specific and small populations under given, controlled conditions. If there ever was such a time, the time for some degree of fairness in such measurement lies in the early days of urban growth. During those days at the beginning of the century the experience of Negro Americans varied only very little from his marginal role as developed in slavery. Without a soul as a plantation slave, he moved northward to find himself

closed off from the industrial society. The consolidation of his inferiority was effected by intermeshing social, legal, political and economic intracables so that integration became a symbol of aspiration for some future freedom. Integration captured both the hope and the plight of Negroes. Among the leadership, Negro and white, of civil rights campaigning "integration" seemed to argue the re-balancing of an historic inferiority but in fact denied the very essence of developing cultural pluralism. The battle for Negro rights has proceeded since that time while other ethnic groups were busy establishing a more meaningful balance in the "nation of nations."

When Malcolm X exclaimed that, "I don't even consider myself an American," he broke straight through the traditional lenses of "integrated Americanism." He believed that because the Negro had been taught to hate himself in America, he now had the freedom to despise, rather than embrace a society "that had grown alien to humanity." Contrastingly, the demands of Black Power, frighteningly militant though they might be seen to be, are in the pattern of American ethnic group structure—seeking the viability which will give the Negro dignity and relevance to the society. In both, the Negro has been preparing to give up the melting pot. Integration as an aim for black and white only, asks too much from the Negro. It asks that he come naked into his citizenship.

The Individual Within

The brutalizing "invisibility" of ethnic labels presently cherished in America is as fertile a soil for group

hatred and violence as it has been of social strength. Inevitably, Negroes have come to demand a more positive ethnic identity for themselves and history has bestowed them a treacherously barren soil to work in. While we can fully appreciate the benefits of ethnic strength in this society, we must also appreciate the paradox which has imprisoned the Negro. Today the upwardly mobile Negro seeking adult success suffers serious costs in attempting to make it. Remember how Guy Smith (President of his class in an integrated school) told *Time* reporters how his hands would sweat when alone with white people. Adam Clayton Powell won the support of many who on a personal level would have been much less supportive. "Spitting at Whitey," Meredith tells, is a unifying Negro emotion. Ethnic strength must be more positive than this and may be destructive in its frustration.

We must recognize the danger in our becoming subservient to the strength of our labelling. We must at least look beyond what we have and envision a society which fosters the integration of all American secondary cultures into what Professor Price calls the "culture of humanity"; it was once revolutionary to conceive of America as a "nation of nations"! If schools were once expected to provide an opportunity for groups to participate in middle-class society, let the search to re-establish this relation be accompanied by an overhaul of the

entire apparatus of our ambition and its hallowed educational instrument. What I have in mind is not a retreat into the Anglo-conformity of melting pot ideology nor the Americanism of cultural pluralism, but an America which is sensitive to the individual inside the categories. If this is indeed the stuff of utopian dreams, I would caution respect for our dreams and concerted effort in dressing the bare bones.

The young people on that television program I mentioned at the outset were dangerously caught in what George Lamming has called "The Castle Of My Skin." They typified the conflict of self-respect and respect for others which was determined by their respective ethnic origins and allegiance to them. On another, more extreme front, one finds the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC—black leftwing "revolutionary" organization) and the National States Rights Party (NSRP—a white racist, neo-Nazi organization) have both permitted themselves the use of the same anti-Jewish, declaratory propaganda. In his preface to the *Steppenwolf* manuscript, Hermann Hesse captures the paradox as only the artist can. "Self-hate," he writes, "is really the same thing as sheer egoism, and in the long run breeds the same cruel isolation and despair." It must be understood that to challenge racism is to challenge the efficacy of the lenses through which we magnify our pimples.

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Public School: Melting Pot or What?

Marjorie S. Friedman
New York University

America's educational system has been thrust into a nation-wide battle that involves not only the demands of American Negroes for "equal education" but, by extension, the aspiration of all minority groups as they pit their demands for justice against the power structures. Minority groups have become conscious of themselves as distinctive and identify with people in other nations and societies. Actions taken by what is viewed as the Establishment (conceived as either acquiescent or castrating) have wide repercussions; and American responses to ostensibly domestic challenges take on international significance.

The American public school system has responded to the demands made on it in two important ways. Educators have accepted Federal funds for pre-kindergarten programs, experiments in ungraded schooling, etc.; and, by implication, they have accepted Federal directives and control. Decentralization has taken place, allowing for increasing community control and opening the way to increased accountability for local groups. Although these and other efforts by northern schools to meet the more insistent demands of minority groups have been widely supported and well publicized, and although some steps towards integration have been taken, what has not occurred is a genuine re-evaluation of the fundamental rationale of the American public school.

The Melting Pot Approach

The schools' major assumption is that every newcomer to this society desires to adapt to the dominant culture,

if not ultimately to be assimilated by it.

The common school, started in Massachusetts in the early 19th century, was apparently conceived as a deliberate instrument to reduce cultural and religious differences. . . . The schools have attempted to file down or erase distinctive cultural traits, denying that important cultural diversity ever existed; the procedures of the school reflect a mandate to persuade youth that all groups share a common language, common political and economic institutions, and common standards of right and wrong behavior.¹

The educational cliché having to do with respect for individual differences has had psychological rather than cultural implications. The emphasis continues to be placed on cultural deficiencies, cultural negatives; the cultural positives have yet to be recognized.

In the nineteenth century, the problems created by immigration and the advent of new minority groups were defined as largely economic. Was a rising population desirable? Did immigrants lower the standards of living? What was the effect of immigration upon industrialization, the business cycle, and labor conditions? Europeans and Americans both believed that acculturation was a simple process. The experience of living in a new environment, it was believed, could be depended upon to alter the

1 Fred M. Newmann and Donald W. Oliver, "Education and Community," *Harvard Educational Review*, Vol. 37, Winter, 1967.

nature of the immigrant and bring him into conformity with the cultural patterns of his adopted country.

In the twentieth century, the professional community has enlarged this configuration. Immigration—and related acculturation problems—now include ethical, social, familial, and psychological factors. The new environment's impact on the inner life of man has been subjected to scientific scrutiny. "Through the normal socialization and learning process within the family, during childhood, the migrant has internalized the culture of his origin."² Cultural inscriptions cannot, it is admitted, be easily erased. Family, cultural heritage, and the broad social context itself leave deep marks upon individual character, culture, and personality—marks that do not simply disappear with a change in residence.

The Inequality of Assimilation

"Acculturation" means a variety of things: the result of somewhat close contact between peoples, resulting in a give-and-take of their cultures; a process whereby a specific trait is ingested by a recipient culture; or initiation in the patterns of an individual's own culture. There is implied in the term a relative degree of equality between the giving and receiving cultures. "Assimilation" is quite different. It means the process of transforming aspects of a conquered or engulfed culture into a version of the ruling culture.³ The tendency is for the ruling cultural group to enforce

the adoption of certain externals, in terms of which a superficial "adjustment" is secured. The adopting culture, it must be emphasized, is not in a position to choose.

Although oversimplified, the distinction remains significant. The concept of assimilation involves a relationship between a dominant and a submissive group. Basic to the "melting pot" orientation of the American school system, it pervades that system with inequalities.

Noting the mounting unrest, the drop-out statistics, and the fight for power among American minority groups, can we still insist on this assimilationist philosophy? Or can we afford to permit separate and distinct cultures to exist within society? Can we insist that our educational institutions find, foster, and forward a multiplicity of different cultures?

Towards Cultural Pluralism

Pluralism means that minority groups are accepted as distinct and separate elements in the nation at large. Is this nation unified enough to take such a risk? Psychologically, pluralism demands an acceptance of the idea that individual differences are partially cultural, that it is *culture* which forms the unity of the self, to be destroyed at an intolerable cost to the very essence of the individual. Instead of suppressing, eliminating, and filing down to a sterile and monotonous mass image, educators might well make an effort to identify the diverse elements that do exist in our culture. The next step would be to preserve those aspects of each foreign culture considered significant for the growth of identity, pride, and personality in individual cases. The problem of assimilation of "out" groups

2 Philip M. Hauser, Ed. *Handbook for Social Research in Urban Areas*. Paris: UNESCO, 1965.

3 International Sociological Association, *Population and Culture: The Positive Contribution of Immigrants*, a Symposium. Paris: UNESCO, 1955.

then disappears; and something quite new and rich is added to the nation's culture.

An example of what is being proposed can be found in the work done at the Institute of American Indian Arts in New Mexico. Here, Indian boys and girls of many different tribes (each of whom has introjected the sense of shame and rejection imposed by white culture) are relearning the arts of their Indian culture as a means of achieving identity and pride, and as a way of building potential bridges to the adult world.

The concept of cultural pluralism is surely not new. Horace Kallen, well-known pragmatic philosopher,⁴ became a spokesman half a century ago for the idea that each nationality should maintain its own dialect or speech, its own emotional and involuntary life style. Envisioning an America revitalized by the cultures of many peoples, he asked—in 1915—that each incoming group be permitted to preserve its own individual, aesthetic, and intellectual forms. But many were fearful—are fearful today.

The common school experience has been considered crucial in the development of an informed public, necessary for the inculcation of American values and for the maintenance of democracy. Intense, perhaps naive emotion has often been aroused by the idea of a "melting pot":

There she lies, the great Melting Pot—listen! Can't you hear the roar-

4 Professor Kallen, a founder of the New School of Social Research, has written—among many other works—*Culture and Democracy in the United States*. His latest book is *Liberty, Laughter, and Tears*. De Kalb: Northern Illinois University, 1968.

ing and the bubbling? There gapes her mouth—the harbour where a thousand mammoth feeders come from the ends of the world to pour in their human freight. Ah, what a stirring and a seething! Celt and Latin, Slav and Teuton, Greek and Syrian,—black and yellow—...East and West, and North and South... the crescent and the cross—how the great Alchemist melts and fuses them... what is the glory of Rome and Jerusalem where all nations and races come to worship and look back, compared with the glory of America, where all races and nations come to labour and look forward?⁵

Our schools still reflect the society's dominant values and are dedicated to the sustenance of the white middle class, which still equates schooling with success, upward and outward mobility, and money. It has been the policy of the educational establishment to keep the assimilative philosophy nonexplicit, "grey area," so that vocal or highly organized minority groups would not be able to see that *their* values were being erased rather than taught. This "hiding" has been passed off as muddling-through, allowing discretion to local boards, freedom for teachers, etc. Close examination makes it possible to see that power has been the decisive factor: the values which can be enforced will prevail, and a teacher will be safe and free if he stays within this area. But power shifts. In communities where it has shifted, we see reversals. White teachers are forced to resign; principals are ousted. But the

5 Israel Zangwill. *The Melting Pot*. New York: Macmillan Company, 1916.

"assimilative" stuff of the schools is still being demanded, as the Negroes ask for the traditional middle-class benefits—success, mobility, money.

Yesterday's Success Today's Failure

Minorities have always composed an important part of the American social structure. The original immigrants (the "old" minorities) accepted the assimilative conditions in the school; and, pragmatically speaking, the system worked for a long time. Thousands of European immigrants went through primary schools in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The second generation of Jewish, Italian, and Irish immigrants tended to accept the traditional success values, whether or not they held to the pluralistic traditions of their parents. They entered universities in large numbers; and many went on to professional and business careers. Judging by appearances, the system seemed indeed to work.

But it is becoming increasingly obvious that the "new" minorities do not fare this well. Color prejudice clouds the future of many of them; and acculturation is easier for them than assimilation. The language and culture ties which provide security for particular groups cause difficulties in a school system which has not even acceded to the need for dual-language teaching. The invisibility of the poor, the passivity and occasional withdrawals of some minority groups, all militate against assimilation. Ugly inequities, in consequence, characterize schools with large minority populations. Some Negro communities militantly demand desegregation in order to achieve "equality"; others demand separation from the system. The Puerto Rican com-

munity campaigns politically for dual-language teaching, more meaningful vocational education, increased attention to English language teaching. The Mexican-American community is beginning to test its strength in the west and southwest. What do all these minority groups want?

The social theorist, Louis Wirth,⁶ once constructed a "schema" helpful for viewing minority aspirations and, it may be, predicting minority pressures. As he saw it, minorities may be typed as pluralistic, assimilationist, secessionist, and militant. Each one calls for different strategies; but the aims of the first two types are most relevant here. The Wirth typology permits us to describe Spanish-speaking minority groups as pluralistic, verging on the assimilative; the Negro minority as assimilative, verging on the militant. Also, it offers us a life-cycle view of minority movements:

The initial goal of an emerging minority group as it becomes aware of ethnic identity is to seek toleration for its cultural differences. By virtue of this striving it constitutes a pluralistic minority. If sufficient toleration and autonomy are attained, the pluralistic minority advances to the assimilationist stage, characterized by the desire for acceptance by and incorporation into the dominant group. Frustration of this desire for full participation is likely to produce (1) secessionist tendencies... (2) the drive to become incorporated into another state with which there exists close cultural or historical

6 Louis Wirth. *On Cities and Social Life*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964.

identification. Progress in either of these directions may in turn lead to the goal of domination over others and the resort to militant methods of achieving the objective. If this goal is actually reached, the group sheds the distinctive characteristic of a minority.

The pushing and shoving described do not occur on an uninhabited island. Minority progress is made against resistance, hostility, and prejudice. The number of minorities in an area, however, seems to have a significant effect upon minority-dominant group relations. According to Wirth, if dominant group attitudes are directed towards a number of minorities, one can be played against the other. Also, he says, in a secular society the perpetuation of any group in a minority status requires that the dominant group resort to sanctions of custom, to law, or to violence, whenever the controls of public opinion, persuasion, and economic pressure fail.

Some educators, feeling morally incapable of taking any of the above positions, cite the "right of withdrawal" and simply cop out. This often means support of the white middle class's right to flee from the urban schools when they lose control over them. Many middle class people, as is well known, transfer their children to private and suburban schools which they can dominate. Others, impressed by the studies indicating that segregation reinforces hostility, plead for re-integration of the suburb and the city. Certain teachers, too, see new hope in giving responsibility to community representatives and break-

ing up the bureaucratic structures which dominate the system. They talk of using para-professionals, drawn from various communities to serve as bridges between the professional (but white middle class) teacher and the minority community he serves. Obviously, there is a crisis in the urban centers. Can public education survive at all?

Toward a New Pluralism

We need a new pluralism and the shaping of an *uncommon* school system attractive to both middle-class families and the minority communities, predicated on the notion that knowledge of the minority cultures may be made valid educational stuff. There are the advantages of depth, breadth, and (often) a touch of needed exoticism to freshen the stale air hanging over conformist schools. There are possibilities of creating enriched, world-touching curricula, of widening language teaching and the scope of what is called "American history." Pride might well result for the adults of a suppressed minority group—at last given recognition in the school.

Educators and communities would have to cooperate to bring this about. There would have to be significant commitment on the part of professionals and, as well, on the part of individual minority groups. As assimilative techniques, based on dominant-minority thinking, continue to cause frustration, hostility, and repeated crises, we may have no alternative but to experiment with a new approach to pluralism.

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Selections from *The Voice of the Children*

(We first heard these voices when listening to radio station WBAI in New York. We thought we detected a unique authenticity in what they were reading, a cool realism, and a courage unusual among children. We wrote, therefore, to Terri Bush, a junior high school teacher and Director of *The Voice of the Children, Inc.*, to ask for permission to print some of the children's poems. Characteristically, she suggested that we write to each of the poets, which we have done, and each has given his or her permission. Appropriately, we introduce the poems with a few words written by Terri Bush. MG)

Sponsored by The Teachers-Writers Collaborative, the Saturday writing workshop in Brooklyn was not school. June Meyer and I exploited this opportunity. We provided pleasures not commonly available in school: beautiful books for browsing, space, music, food. And we self-consciously differed from the adult roles of a classroom: we did not think to fill heads with information; on the contrary, we came to the children to learn.

June tried to frame a working focus by heading papers with an idea-title. If the title failed to lead anywhere, a new one was devised with, rather than for, each child. Or photographs served as the generative material. Every child wrote something during the workshop, before or after running around, dancing *en solo*, wandering through pages, and eating potato chips. From this situation lacking perceptible structure, there evolved one rule: you had to write, and write well, if you wanted to spend Saturday mornings inside the group.

Before very long, the children confidently brought to the workshop those poems and stories they had written at home, or in stolen moments at school. All of their writing was published weekly, as a newspaper finally called: *The Voice of the Children*.

Their published work changed only in respect to spelling—as and if requested by the children. No inflections were added, nor any idiomatic usage “corrected.” From the habitual and building fluency of their work, the children, spontaneously, became concerned about punctuation, stanzas, paragraphs, and form, generally. Questions about these aspects of serious writing were pursued by the children because they were determined to gain the respectful attention of a widening, partly adult readership. When we found a way to include drawings in *The Voice of the Children*, we began an extremely modest reaching into ancillary media of creative expression.

As the group knit together, in safety and with increasingly admired consequence, the children asked that we continue to use time together even when

writing was done, for the day. So we arranged trips, in the afternoons, exploring parts of their city other than Fort Greene. We asked them to teach and to tell. We went where they were: where they are. And they gave of themselves beautifully, blessing us.

Someday

Someday over that hill I'll
Find freedom
Someday I will have to no
Longer worry about
Slavery

Someday that dream would come
True that I have often
dreamed of

Someday I will live in a
castle
Someday I will no longer
have to worry about how
I will eat dinner the next
day

Someday I shall stop
dreaming and my
dreams shall come
true

Linda Curry

it will soon be over yes
it will, Every child mother
and Father will be able
to walk the street
talk and smile
freely

it will soon be over
yes it will because
we shall have
freedom now
not later
but today

Linda Curry

Why do the white men lie
why do they tell us plus teach us
That Christ was white

Why do they only talk about how
great the white man was and
how poor the black
why when they do talk about
the black they tell you minor things
about him not facts but lies
is anybody brave enough to give
or to tell me these answers?

Linda Curry

people are strange they be
your friend in front of
your face and then behind
your back they talk about
you like a dog

they will stay with you
until you get in trouble
and then run away

they get you in trouble
and then they're gone about their
own business

yes sirree
people are strange.

Linda Curry

You Do It—Not Me

You get on you knees and beg
that white man to please give
you a job

You get a bucket and a rag
and everytime a white man
pass you by say yes sir

But honey you know it's not me
because I've been a slave
much too long.

So Mr. White Man
You do it—not me.

Linda Curry

Life

Life is something like a train,
going fast then stopping once a long year.
It seems to me that life is going too fast.
Once you're a baby, then a little girl,
then a teenager.

Pretty soon an adult.

Life is really like a dream.

Like if something really happens,
it feels like a nightmare,

then when something good happens it's
like a beautiful dream.

Life is also like a game,

trying to figure out
what would happen next . . .

Miriam Lasanta

It Doesn't Matter

It doesn't matter,
only love matters,
I'm telling you the truth.

You may be ugly you may be white,
you may be cute or you may be black,
it doesn't matter.
Believe these words I say,
if you love me,
then you will think of nothing
but our love, 'cause as I say,
it doesn't matter!

Miriam Lasanta

What Is My Life

My life is nothing
With everything going wrong
It's like a wildness

With no end to it
Always turn up
On the wrong side

My life has ended
With sorrow and I
Have nothing to live for

Just like stones have no life
I have used up my time
To remain on this rotten world.

Juanita Bryant

I'm Not Going There
(You Hear?)

I'm not going where there is Death
I'm not going where there is breath
I'm not going there, you hear?

Just like I'm not leaving this world
Just like I'm not going to that place
Just like stones don't live, I'm not going there.

I'm not going to that lonely shadow
In the sky, you hear, you hear
I'm not going there.
It's a place where nothing grows.

Juanita Bryant

I am waiting
 for love
I am waiting
 for happiness
I am waiting
 for my dreams
I am waiting
 for a person to call my own
I am waiting, waiting
 for a fantasy
 a world of things unknown to man
Yes
I am waiting
 for things that can never be fulfilled
 never
I am waiting
 for a wallet as fat as the president's
Someday yes someday
 before I die.
Yes, I am poor and unworthy
 but I can dream.

Michael Goode

sitting on the dock
I watch the ships come
bringing shiploads of people in
doomed to spend their lives
in chains
the whip flickering about

a sharp crack of the whip
brings me to my senses
and getting up to my task
of carrying loads of iron

as I go on I stagger
and the heat grows
and I fall
the whip thrashes wildly

but I am dead dead
to this world of hellish
misery

Christopher Meyer

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"You White Folks ain't ready...."

*"...The Negro dock hand said,
'Ma'am, a platter of chitterlings.'
The ofay waitress smiled a blond dolichocephalic smile,
'That's not on the menu, Mister.'
Then the stevedore sneered:
'Night and day, Ma'am,
I've been telling Black Folks
you White Folks ain't ready for integration!'"*

from Melvin B. Tolson's *Harlem Gallery*¹

This is part of "an anecdote on integration" told to the Zulu Club Wits by Joshua Nitze, "ex-professor of philosophy," in Tolson's erudite, exuberant poem; and it is a passage white people must take very seriously today. This is because we probably are *not* ready, either for integration or for separation. We have only just begun to ask the questions we should have asked long before about the "menu" offered by our culture—and the one offered by the schools. How is the white educator to respond to the challenge of the stevedore, of the black militant? Short of a guilt-ridden identification with the justifiably outraged, what is the moral—what is the reasonable—stance to take? Is it possible for Negroes and whites to be present to one another as human beings in this moment of our history? "Every group," writes Nathan Glazer,² "has gone through (and some

have retained) a substantial degree of separatism...." Can we who are white overcome our fear of this and our frustration? Can we begin, at last, to see?

If honesty and authenticity were ever necessary, they seem to us to be necessary now. Neither can be achieved, however, *in abstracto*, with (as another black poet says it) "statues' rhetoric."³ They can be achieved only as the individual, whoever he or she is, considers the situation from the vantage point of his or her consciousness, confronts it as an aspect of his or her life-world. There is no "right" way, then, for all to follow. There are possibilities to be seized upon and acted upon by persons. And there is a responsibility to be chosen freely by each single one.

Looking at the situation in which we are immersed—as teacher and as editor—we want to make distinctions first of all, to organize and pattern what we see. But we must make such

1 New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1965, p. 85.

2 "America's Race Paradox," *Encounter*, October 1968, p. 17.

3 Robert Hayden, "Frederick Douglass," *Selected Poems*. New York: October House, 1966, p. 78.

distinctions and impose such patterning in terms of our own commitments, not in terms of some "official" or some "liberal" sacred writ. Our fundamental commitment happens to be to the existing person and his own struggle to create himself in uniqueness and singularity. We are crucially concerned, therefore, with identity—our own, and that of our fellow-creatures in the expanding world in which we live. We are concerned with identity in the sense in which Erik H. Erikson speaks of it when he registers "a certain impatience with the faddish equation of the term identity with the question 'Who am I?'"⁴

He goes on:

This question nobody would ask himself except in a more or less transient morbid state, in a creative self-confrontation, or in an adolescent state sometimes combining both; wherefore on occasion I find myself asking a student who claims he is in an "identity-crisis," whether he is complaining or boasting. For most, the pertinent question really is: "What do I want to make of myself—and what do I have to work with?"

We want to think about what we can make of ourselves, and we want to encounter black people in a similar vein: as human beings free to decide what to make of *themselves*...

The second commitment which grounds our distinctions is a commitment to personal responsibility, to *care*. We find ourselves to be appalled by distancing, by abstracting in

the context of relationships. We want to overcome indifference—not to pity, not to beat our breast, but to act upon sisterly (or brotherly) concern. To do this requires that we pay close attention to what Ralph Ellison (in the Prologue to *Invisible Man*⁵) calls "the construction of (our) inner eyes, those eyes with which (we) look through (our) physical eyes upon reality." It requires that we struggle against our own feelings of anonymity, emptiness, irresponsibility—since we cannot involve ourselves communally with others unless we attain an integrity, a fullness within ourselves. We must resist the temptation to be like Sartre's "anti-Semite"⁶ who conforms entirely to an external model, who "is under no necessity to look for his personality within himself."

It is in terms of such commitments that we wish to orient ourselves in the problematic situations we find in our life-world today. The demands being made are multiple: demands for courses in "the Black Experience," demands for revisions of American history, demands for a focus on Negro literature, demands that professionalism (now found wanting) accede to "community control." Not all are made by black people, and certainly not only by militants and nationalists. Many are being made by rebellious youth—the "young whites" Eldridge Cleaver writes about,⁷ the rebels "using techniques learned in the Negro struggle to attack problems in the general so-

5 New York: New American Library, 1952.

6 Jean-Paul Sartre. *Anti-Semite and Jew*. New York: Schocken Books, 1948.

7 *Soul on Ice*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1968.

4 "The Concept of Identity," in *The Negro American*, Ed. by Talcott Parsons and Kenneth B. Clark. Boston: Beacon Press, 1966.

ciety" which they mean to change. And some are (finally) being made by concerned academics, by practicing educators, who are now finding it impossible to tolerate what historian John Hope Franklin⁸ calls the "distortions and misrepresentations" abounding in histories of the American past. Franklin writes, in fact:

This whole phenomenon is as much a part of the Negro revolt as the demand for equality in other areas. It is as though Negro Americans were saying that the past injustices done them in recounting the history of the country are part and parcel of the injustices they have suffered in other areas. If the house is to be set in order, one cannot begin with the present; he must begin with the past.

Our concern is with modes of responding to this demand, with the kinds of actions that are appropriate for us to take.

It seems to us that white students and teachers have a clear responsibility to *correct* the distortions in the history books, and in their (our) versions of the past. We consider this to be a responsibility to ourselves. Would we, if we wished to be authentic persons and honest inquirers, *choose* a falsified rendering of our history—a species of the "doublethink" which so horrifies readers of 1984? Now that we know a form of "reality control" was in operation during the writing of American history, we owe it to ourselves (and to our own truth) to reexamine the record. Our integrity demands that we know—now

that the evidence is widely available —⁹ how to fill in the empty spaces with, for example, black Indian fighters and missionaries, with runaway slaves like James Beckwourth who became a tough Crow Indian scout, with the many slaves who rebelled by going "in the swamp," with the indefatigable Negro men who volunteered in the face of prejudice for service in the Union Army, with the courageous travelers on the Underground Railroad, with the Negro nurses who suffered through the Civil War, with such black heroes as those who took Charleston and such black heroines as those who went South to teach the children born in slavery. It is not a question of revisionism; nor is it a question of idealization. We need (for our own sakes) to eradicate such assumptions as those having to do with their passivity, their "invisibility" throughout history. We need (for our own sakes) to hear Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois (in *The Souls of Black Folks*) talk of the doctrine "that manly self-respect is worth more than lands and houses, and that a people who voluntarily surrender such respect, or cease striving for it, are not worth civilizing." (We need to hear him, too, responding to Booker T. Washington by stressing the importance of political power, insistence on civil rights, and higher education for Negro youth.) We need to be able to effect connections between this and Malcolm X's assertion that "the American black man needed to quit thinking what the white man had taught him—which was that the black man had no al-

8 "Rediscovering Black America: A Historical Roundup," *The New York Times Book Review*, September 8, 1968.

9 See, for a splendid example, William L. Katz, *EyeWitness: The Negro in American History*. New York: Pitman Publishing Corporation, 1967.

ternative except to beg for his so-called 'civil rights'.¹⁰

It does not seem appropriate to us that we reexplore our history to express our sympathy for or even to participate in the Negro revolt. This, as Professor Franklin seems to be suggesting, may well be fitting for the black student; but it strikes us as an act of bad faith on the part of white educators to "do" Negro history in the interests of any value but the truth. Similarly, it strikes us as a kind of dereliction to "do" anything but the best kind of historical thinking, the best kind of conceptual ordering, when we attempt to fill in the record of "what actually happened" and replace fictions with warranted beliefs.

Some of the same things might be said with reference to courses in the "Black Experience," initiated and taught by those of us who are white. Assuming that we launch such courses because of the shock of culpability, we cannot use them as expiation for our sins. Nor can we use them as substitutes for individual encounters with black individuals whose diverse human experiences cannot conceivably be encompassed by "the Black Experience." In fact, it appears to us that we ought to be particularly careful about presuming to "speak for the Negro," just as we ought to be careful about subsuming a diversity of persons under a category (now created in the goodness of our hearts) called "Black." Of course it is necessary to introduce courses in the "Black Experience" for white students whose attention has never been focused upon the actualities of Negro life—or

even upon the *existence* of the Negro human being in history. But it should be clear that these courses are for our benefit, for the benefit of white people who are uninformed. There is no magic in their titles. There is no more guarantee that people will learn because the subject is taught than that *any* students will learn just because someone is teaching them. Those taking such courses must choose to reconstruct their experiences by means of what they read and hear. They must somehow be liberated to continue to think about and make sense of the subject, each in his or her own way.

The same is true about Negro literature. In our November issue, City College Professor Addison Gayle, in an Essay Review on the Negro critic, took issue with Professor Robert Bone of Teachers College with respect to an article Bone had published in THE RECORD ("American Negro Poetry," February 1967). Objecting to an approach governed by "patriotic zeal" and a consuming desire to celebrate the Negro past, Bone called for an approach to the teaching of Negro poetry in terms of "artistic integrity, common humanity, group survival." Gayle objected to Bone's "academic" preoccupation with aesthetic or "new critical" criteria and discussed some of the distinctive contributions which might be made by competent (too frequently "invisible") Negro critics. There is legitimacy, we believe, in both arguments: Gayle, quite properly, was calling attention to the inexcusable neglect of Negro scholars by literary journals and was (it seemed to us) making a demand that might be considered "as much a part of the Negro revolt as the demand for equality in

10 *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*. New York: Grove Press, 1965.

other areas";¹¹ Bone was calling attention to the literary values to be gained from engagements with little-known Negro artists contributing as poets to their people's survival.

We ourselves, while trying to help overcome the Negro critic's "invisibility," are eager to encounter—and enable others to encounter—works of art which have been (as in the case of Charles W. Chesnutt's work¹²) set aside over the years, and which remain largely unknown. Reading Chesnutt's story, "The Wife of His Youth," for example, we were in the first place captured by its style and movement. Engaging with it, we entered (as we would with any work of literary art) a fictional world; letting our imagination work, we permitted it to move us into our own subjectivity; submitting to the form of the tale, we allowed it to shape the materials of our experience until we discovered things we had never known before. The story has to do with the discovery by a free and successful Negro in a Northern city ("the dean of the Blue Veins") that a woman he married in slavery has been seeking him for twenty-five years. About to announce his engagement to the "superior," light-skinned Mrs. Dixon at a great ball, Mr. Ryder is forced to make a bitter moral choice when his aged, black, and toothless slave-wife confronts him. Surely we "learned" something never suspected before about slave marriages and separations, about the ravages of the Civil War, and about the status strivings of free Negroes; but, if we had read the story as a

document or as a "celebration" of Negro fidelity, we would have truncated our own experience with the work. Reading it as a fictional work of art, we came in touch with meanings at various levels which shed light on aspects of our own existence—which may have brought us in touch with something universal. We saw more; and it may be that our capacity for care to some degree increased.

It is with hungers and desires like these that we read Tolson, Hayden, Leroi Jones,¹³ Ernest J. Gaines,¹⁴ Langston Hughes,¹⁵ Richard Wright,¹⁶ James Baldwin,¹⁷ Jean Toomer,¹⁸ Ralph Ellison, and the numerous other Negro artists we are beginning to discover. We read their works because they are artists, and because art serves the cause of our personhood and, perhaps, of our integrity; and we feel merely cheated that we did not know of many of them when we began. We can grant black people the right to encounter them differently; but we can only be ourselves.

None of this implies that we do not have the responsibility to move outside of ourselves to correct glaring wrongs—for which we were origi-

13 See, for example, *Preface to a Twenty Volume Suicide Note*. New York: Corinth Press, 1961.

14 See "The Sky is Gray" in the fine collection, *Dark Symphony: Negro Literature in America*, Ed. by James A. Emanuel and Theodore L. Gross. New York: The Free Press, 1968.

15 *Selected Poems of Langston Hughes*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1959.

16 *Native Son*, for instance. New York: Viking Press, 1960.

17 *Notes of a Native Son*, for instance. Boston: Beacon Press, 1955.

18 *Cane*. New York: Liveright, Publishers, 1951.

11 John Hope Franklin, *op. cit.*

12 *The Wife of His Youth and Other Stories*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1968.

inally not responsible. We have in mind some of the terrible and unforgivable distortions propagated by the movies up to a few years ago. It took a CBS documentary ("Of Black America") and a commentary by the comedian, Bill Cosby, to arouse audiences to the full horror of the stereotyping and demeaning which took place for so many years. Because so many of us were reared with movies of this sort, and because so many of us only realized what we had seen when it was mercilessly pointed out to us, it seems essential that we confront the damage done by those films as rigorously, as articulately as we can. Knowing as much as we do about the impact of "hot" media, we can only assume that those of us who grew up as late as the '30s and '40s (more than likely in segregated environments) were conditioned in the most cynical ways imaginable. It does little good to announce this today—and set it aside. Again, what is required is that each of us, as Sartre suggests, "look for his personality within himself," that we each ask—and ask again—"What do I want to make of myself? What do I have to work with? How can I choose myself today in the light of what I want myself to be?" We have been, perhaps, too glib in our concentration upon "Negro identity" and have forgotten that *our* identities are our concerns. Only as we discover ourselves and do something about our "inner eyes," can we help make it possible for some who are black (our students, our friends, not *all* black people) to be themselves.

The time for pieties, self-flagellation, over-compensation and the rest is past. We cannot but hope that more of us can choose against frustration

and fear. Joanne Grant (editor of the anthology, *Black Protest*), speaking at a Summer Forum at Teachers College,¹⁹ said:

It seems to me that while there can be a lot of criticism—and there has been a lot of criticism—about the way things are being done in the movement today, such as the tactics and some of the rhetoric, the important thing is for all of us to think about it and try to understand it, try to understand why the movement has gotten to where it is, to understand the whole different temper of our times. The people have really begun to think about making changes: they are thinking about ways to change and looking at things in a whole new creative, imaginative way. I think that goes for PS 175 and for Ocean Hill-Brownsville, and for all the crises we have had in New York. . . .

To do what Miss Grant quite properly asks ("to think about it and try to understand it") requires a decision on our part and sufficient sense of our own identities to allow others to choose. Glazer, in his *Encounter* article,²⁰ makes the point that "this is not a *white* society." He writes (perhaps normatively) of the distinctiveness of our group life, "its acceptance of individual merit and capacity and its calculated arrangements for group character and pride." If this is our potential, it does not seem to have been adequately realized (as Colin Greer and Marjorie Friedman remind us in this issue of *THE RECORD*); but a pre-

19 The Forum of Columbia University, *The Black Experience*, Part I, August 1968.

20 Glazer, *op. cit.*

sentation of it ought to reinforce whatever necessity we feel for reinventing our own freedoms—and making it possible for others to will their own.

All sorts of things are happening which indicate that black individuals (on their own) are going beyond the hopeless question, "Who am I?" Experiments in community control of schools are evidence of this; so is the emergence of such institutions as The Negro Ensemble Company in New York, organized by Douglas Turner Ward and Robert Hooks, and the Free Southern Theatre, organized by John O'Neil and Gilbert Moses. (Robert Hooks, recently interviewed for *Theatre Today*,²¹ said significantly: "The Negro in America has his position on the Negro's feeling and the Negro's treatment by the whites in this country and by the Establishment, and feels he has a right to put it forth in a play. If it is good, if it works, we will do it.") We are concerned about developing respect—absolute respect—for such an attitude. We want to go beyond the mere acknowledgement that Mr. Hooks is "doing his thing"; we want to be able to recognize, as one human being encountering another, that Mr. Hooks is working with the energies and talents he has (energies and talents which are multiple, it happens) to make of himself what *he* wants to make, and to construct an Ensemble Company in which others can do the same.

21 Vol. 1, No. 2, Fall 1968. Published by AIDART.

Perhaps it is partly a matter of learning to develop regard for what is called "soul." Writing about this in *Trans-action*,²² Ulf Hannerz says:

Being a soul brother is belonging to a select group instead of to a residual category of people who have not succeeded. Thus, the soul vocabulary is a device of rhetoric. By talking about people who have soul, about soul music and soul food, the soul brother attempts to establish himself in the role of an expert and connoisseur; by talking to others of his group in these terms, he identifies with them and confers the same role on them. Using soul rhetoric is a way of convincing others of one's own worth and of their worth.

"Using soul rhetoric" may be, in the language we have used in this editorial, a mode of self-creation. It is something we must deeply cherish—something we *must not* appropriate. "Soul" is not on the white "menu" and cannot be. But there is room for it in our culture, and the room must be expanded. Until we are "ready for integration," we need to learn how to choose ourselves in such a way that our fellow-creatures can choose as they will. This, at least, is our commitment. Each individual person must decide for himself.

MG

22 "What Negroes Mean by 'Soul,'" July/August 1968.

Teachers College Press



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1968 192 pp. Cloth, \$5.75

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The Stall-Oppenberger Syndrome: A Fantasy

C. Robert Haywood
Millikin University

Chancellor John B. Stall rocked back in his chair and then slowly swivelled around to face the photogenic features of the Governor hanging in a sturdy oak frame on his office wall. The Governor smiled back at the new appointee with benign confidence. The Chancellor's returned gaze vacillated between chagrin and something bordering on deep betrayal which resembled nothing so much as the sad-eyed expression of a beaten water spaniel. Finally, with a wry effort at optimism, he sighed aloud, "Yes, you said there would be days like this!"

After a quick, self-conscious glance around the room to reassure himself that he had not been overheard, he pressed the inter-com button for Miss Warts. "I am not to be disturbed for thirty minutes," he said. Once again he pivoted his chair back and for exactly thirty-two minutes basked in the warmth of the Governor's smiling countenance, completely lost in thought.

No one, and least of all Chancellor Stall, could have predicted the change those brief moments would bring, shattering the foundations of American higher education and charting new courses for all institutions from Maine Institute of Technology to Mid-West State Teachers College.

But, as history has now recorded, at 3:37 P.M. on December 4, 1968, when Chancellor Stall again slowly turned his chair back to his desk to dial Dr. J. Frederick Oppenberger, Chairman of the University's Physics Department, the value standards and the entire meaning of American higher education were irrevocably altered. The blast that emanated from his mind at the end of his reverie was so devastating that even the giant redwoods of the post-sputnik Groves of Academe were shrivelled like the scrub oaks above the timber line in the Colorado Rockies.

Chancellor Stall never publicly revealed his thinking during those fated moments. He did euphorically admit at a faculty cocktail party years later that he had put "a bit of reverse English on the old saw,—"If you can't beat 'em, join 'em.'" His interpretation, he said, was: "If you can't beat 'em playing marbles, then play baseball!"

That he considered the conversation with Dr. Oppenberger is obvious. Oppenberger, three times Nobel Prize winner for his work in inter-molecular stress in synthetic rubber bands, symbolized the pride and prestige of the University and the success achieved by its raids on East Coast faculties. He had been lured to the University by the previous administration with the

promise of a new five-story chrome and glass physics research laboratory building, research assistantships for the thirty young men working on his various contracts and projects, a healthy salary and a teaching schedule which called for presenting one seminar every four years ("once in each college generation," the contract had read).

Now, after only three years and before the seminar had been given, MIT had come up with a better offer. He had tried to break the news gently to the new Chancellor for he knew there would be an immediate outcry from the State Democratic Party Headquarters which would point to the deterioration of the state's education system now that their party was out of the State House. The meeting had been brief. Chancellor Stall appeared stunned. Oppenberger, with his usual good manners and concern for other people's sensitivity, had slipped out of the office quietly. Stall's order to Miss Warts had been intended only as a respite—a time to regain lost composure. Instead, the Chancellor devoted thirty-two minutes to solid thought—pure, unfettered cogitation, his first since assuming office.

After savoring a moment of self-pity, the Chancellor's disciplined mind turned to the problem at hand. "Oppenberger must be saved! But what appeal would touch his noble (prize-winning, that is) heart? The love of humanity? Not likely. After all his continued contributions in researching synthetic rubber could stretch across the nations of the world. (The Chancellor fought back the impulse to indulge in further puns. This was serious business.) Perhaps an effort could be made to

beat this new offer. No! That could only lead to an escalation of the recruitment war which was already threatening to rival Viet Nam. Maybe an appeal to the good doctor as a teacher? Ridiculous! Oppenberger hadn't come face to face with a live student, other than a research assistant, in twenty years. Just maybe an appeal to pure reason would work. Shaky ground at best."

Stall's doodling on the pad held on his knee had taken on the character of higher education's classic conflict: "TEACHING. — RESEARCH."

"To the victor belongs the spoils," the Chancellor mused as he underlined *RESEARCH*. "But why not redress the balance of power? (The eyes of the Governor seemed to sparkle back at the Chancellor with Machiavellian and paternalistic pride.) Surely Oppenberger at one point in his life must have wanted to teach. He was a professor and professors have been known to enjoy professing. A formula—that should appeal to a physicist."

Stall's doodling took on an algebraic directness:

"Let \rightarrow = Encourages. Let R = Research. Let T = Teaching.

$R \rightarrow R \rightarrow R \rightarrow R$ = Contributions in synthetic rubber.

$R \rightarrow T \rightarrow R \rightarrow T$ = Contributions to students and synthetic rubber."

At that moment pure inspiration of genius quality took over. "Why not go the whole way? Get Oppenberger's attention with the novelty and daring of a new gimmick! Yet never forget," Stall automatically glanced up for the Governor's approval, "that physicists live not by synthetic rubber alone."

For a fleeting moment another set of formulas flickered through the Chancellor's mind:

$T \rightarrow R \rightarrow T \rightarrow R = \text{Good Teaching.}$
 $R \rightarrow R \rightarrow R \rightarrow R = \text{Little Teaching.}$
 $T \rightarrow T \rightarrow T \rightarrow T = \text{Diminishing Teaching.}$

The disquieting implications quickly faded. The exigency of the moment and the Governor's spiritual presence outweighed the luxury and logic of ultimate conclusions.

At exactly 3:37 P.M. Chancellor Stall buzzed Miss Warts. "Get me Oppenberger on the phone."

"Professor Oppenberger," the Chancellor began, "I'm willing to beat MIT's offer. Obviously I can't touch their research facilities. But for the moment, Professor, look at it this way: Research isn't everything! You can't eat it or take it home and it won't keep your feet warm on a cold night. And, frankly, I'm concerned about those thirty young men you brought out here from Boston. I know some of them are about to complete their master's project and I'm troubled that they would find it necessary to return to the East Coast with you. Now I'm ready to make sacrifices. We'd hoped for at least one new high-rise dorm this year, but with this tuition thing and all that, I feel the dorm can wait. This is my proposition. I'll double the salary offer made by MIT and throw in as fringe benefits the deed to that eight room, luxury cabin at Aspen you have always admired plus a life insurance policy on your eighty-year-old mother-in-law for \$500,000.00. There will be no research demands made on you; no administrative functions; only a twelve-hour teaching load."

There was a pause—"heavy with suspense." Then Professor Oppenberger with his typical, unsophisticated directness replied simply, "I humbly accept."

To say that Chancellor Stall was unprepared for what happened in the next two weeks would be to attempt the superlative in understatement. By 4:30 P.M. of the same day, Dr. Otto Von Ruttenheimer had the Chancellor on the phone. Dr. Ruttenheimer was a man to be listened to. He was Chairman of the Sociology Department and author of six monographs dealing with the sexual mores of five suburban families in the fourteenth hundred block of West Wisteria Boulevard, Alhambra, California.

"What's this I hear about you paying Professor Oppenberger to teach?" his voice was a scarcely controlled rush of disbelief and belligerency.

The Chancellor, properly cautious, replied that he had "added a bit of something" to the physicist's take-home pay and he was to teach twelve hours, graduate and undergraduate courses, the coming year. Much of what followed was lost on the Chancellor as Professor Ruttenheimer in his excitement frequently lapsed into his native tongue. Stall gathered that what Rutty (as his friends called him) wanted was equal treatment. The conversation ended with the dictation of a new contract for an undisclosed amount and a twelve-hour teaching load.

By the week's end, the senior professors had initiated a petition to discontinue the use of graduate teaching assistants and to limit Assistant Professors to nine hours of teaching (with commensurate salaries, of course). The chairman of the Philology Department came in to retrieve

a report he had submitted the previous month demanding additions to his overburdened staff, explaining that now with full professors and associate professors demanding nine or even twelve-hour teaching loads, he was being pressed to find sections for the assistant professors on tenure. As for the rest, they would simply have to go.

When the Stall-Oppenberger Syndrome reached the East Coast, there was a flurry of top level conferences and even more AAUP meetings. There was also a dramatic lull in the slave-market hiring at the MLA and the AHA meetings in New York City.

Then the electrifying news broke. Rutenheimer had been signed by one of the Ivy League giants with promise of a new classroom building and a teaching load of fifteen hours!

In the flood tide which followed all the traditions and standards of academic status were swept away. Professor Elbert Switch, the world's foremost authority on Syrian cartography, was heard to boast at the Mid-West Cartological Society's Fifty-first Annual Meeting that he hadn't had time to prepare a paper since he had been lucky enough to get a grant of eighteen hours teaching supported by Danforth Foundation money and, he added with a broad wink, "You know what that means." The rumor circulated widely at the Dallas Convention in March of the APGA that one southern University was contemplating a trimester where full professors would teach twenty hours, associates eighteen hours, assistants twelve hours, and instructors (that is, the two that were to be hired that year) six each. At Kingston all research was placed in the hands of in-

structors without tenure, save for an occasional hour or two some kindly professor could squeeze into his heavy teaching schedule.

MIT never became completely caught up in the game. "It's in the nature of the institution to provide for some research," the Dean explained apologetically to prospective instructors. Although they found the Ivy League and the Big Ten graduates difficult to attract, Renassalear and East Dakota State graduated a number of young visionaries each year who simply liked to research regardless of the salary or status within the profession, so MIT did keep its basic projects operating. The standing of its graduates in the eyes of other institutions of higher education, however, is another matter.

The learned journals were among the first to feel the full impact of the Stall-Oppenberger Syndrome. The *American Historical Review* resorted to publishing student critiques of their favorite professors in order to fill out its forty-page quarterly. Henrietta Sandground, the respected first lady of American historians, told, in *Cleo in the Classroom*, how she had been working day and night on an article dealing with the interpretation of the fifth clause in the Rio Pact when she had gotten her advancement to twenty hours and never finished it. She added with a twinge of nostalgia, "For all their shortcomings, those who fought the battle of 'publish or perish' in 'the good old days' had a certain warmth and good will directed toward Cleo that we who concentrate upon education and students fail to bestow today. I suspect that no one will ever have the definitive interpretation of the fifth clause of the Rio Pact."

The Stall-Oppenberger Syndrome has been accepted now as being in "the nature of things for some fifty years," to quote Donald W. Harward, the foremost historian of the movement. There are some tottering emeriti professors who look back on the misspent years of their youth when professors in institutions of higher education were employed to research and publish with the same feelings that they have as they recall the old Elvis Presley records and gasoline power automobiles.

Chancellor Stall's over-sized bronze statue stands at the entrance of New-sprout Hall with the simple inscription:

JOHN B. STALL
1919-1999

Chancellor and Statesman
Originator of the
Twelve Hour Load
"Education Means Teaching"

It is an ironic footnote to history that Dr. Oppenberger eventually was lost to the University. Destiny's hand seemed to rest lightly on his shoulder. In 1972 he was voted the "Out-standing Teacher of the University" by the undergraduate students. He ran for governor on the strength of that endorsement and defeated the incumbent, who, ironically, had been Stall's inspiration. It was an emotional campaign with many voters crossing party lines. Victory is attributed by political analysts to Oppenberger's slogan which appeared on millions of lapel buttons and hundreds of highway billboards:

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On Pedagogy and Student Power: A Proposal

To comprehend student discontent and thus to revitalize the university, we might note with Heraclitus that "people do not understand how that which is at variance with itself agrees with itself: harmony consists of opposing tension, like that of the bow and the lyre."

Preeminently, the university is the institution whose harmony consists of opposing tension; the school properly pits the young against the old, the learned against the ignorant: through their struggle, in which the students and the teachers are two opposing, equal forces, the university causes the free, open distribution of accumulated knowledge to the community. When either the students or the teachers can effectively dominate the opposite group, there is no spontaneity or liberality in the allocation of learning; there is instead an imposition of the dominant group's judgments upon its opposite and upon the community at large. But with a balance between its two essential parts, the university occasions an open, cooperative competition, as the result of which the body of knowledge at hand in the community is continually reshaped. This reshaping accords not with the plans proclaimed by the knowing few on high, but with the general will implicit in the diverse, clashing wills of all who teach and study. Here, as John Stuart Mill showed from a different perspective, is the sense and safeguard of liberty.

But only when its parts are balanced is the community of scholars free and effective. Both the student and the teacher have a will of their own; the one selects what he will try to teach, the other what he will try to learn; and as each independently seeks to assert his will and to make his choice prevail, the educational accomplishment of the university unfolds. It is a liberal accomplishment, for no part directs the whole; the balanced, harmonious opposition of the learner and the learned causes more than a mechanical transmission of culture; it elicits a continuous transformation and rebirth of culture as both the experienced and the hopeful have their chance to select among the manifold possibilities. The greatest service the university can render society is to occasion such a continuous renaissance.

The opposing tension between student and teacher, which is the true harmony of the university, differs fundamentally from the divergent tensions that are presently dissipating the university. The difference is symbolized by the sites at which wills clash: recently conflicts have occurred in the administrative offices, places that are incidental to academe, whereas properly the opposition of intention should take place quietly but seriously within the classroom.

In the past, productive discord between the learned and the learner was created on the one hand by maintaining a marked difference of authority between the two groups and

on the other by having an approximate balance of power between them. Thus, the teacher was the classroom autocrat who could motivate youths by driving home to them, with the rod all too frequently, that they were still immature; yet this autocrat was rarely a match for the concerted wit of his wards. In addition, the official curriculum was then sufficiently circumscribed that each student could learn, with leisure to spare for self-set tasks, all that his masters proposed to teach. Academic paternalism was not yet dominant. The teacher's task was not to educate the whole man so that he even makes love by the book; it was to ensure that the student acquired certain rudimentary tools and standards, which would hopefully facilitate and elevate the man's independent tutelage in the school of life. With the natural nobility of youth, the student could tolerate, and even appreciate, his temporary masters, for he knew that in the debating societies he could learn what he would while needing to please only his peers, and he was further aware that soon, after *commencement*, he would have plenty of time to go it alone. Consequently, in the classroom both the teacher and the student were in a productive balance in which neither could ignore or dominate the other.

But every balance is struck temporarily. We have had a century and a half of incessant instructional reform; this reform has fabulously enhanced the teacher's power while the student has remained in his primitive innocence. At every level, the curriculum has burgeoned; schooling has been extended so that it spans from infancy to senility. Throughout, the student meets mainly trained teachers

who match him in ability and have the advantage in knowledge and experience; youths can no longer build their egos by besting an Ichabod Crane. Furthermore, although teachers still have to manage with rather large classes, each student has to deal daily with a succession of teachers and he does not spend enough time with any one of these to take the true measure of the man. On the higher levels, the elective system and the purported explosion of knowledge have loosed a barrage of course fragments, each taught by an able specialist; to the beleaguered student such massed intellect, which completely overwhelms his power of absorption, amounts to an insolent sneer from the faculty—"young man, you shall always be ignorant." To this insult, add the injury of asking the student to choose among the proffered plethora without even initiating him into the principles that might inform his choice and enable him to make it his own. Hence, he puts together a program—a major, a minor, and assorted irrelevancies. Then, instead of looking forward adventurously to the school of life, the student must beg admittance to graduate or professional school, which will be followed by special courses in the army, in business, and in the adult education program sponsored ironically by the local "Y". Thus, today's students are no match for their masters, and we are beginning to witness the resultant resentment.

Student restiveness in the present-day university signifies, among other things, that the harmony of opposing tension between the learned and the learner has disappeared. The teachers have overwhelmed the students, and the balance of power has been upset.

Contemporary academic deficiencies have arisen not from the sacrifice of teaching to research, but from the encompassing, monolithic scale of the university's teaching function. The craze for research results ultimately from the frantic effort to find sufficient new fodder to feed the didactic dinosaur. Those who wish to pursue the effects of this scale on the quality of college teaching will find them well analyzed by Jacques Barzun in *The American University*. Here the effects upon the student are more germane.

On the side of the learner, the present imbalance makes many students eschew their office; instead of independent inquiry, they are content with one of three responses—collaboration, apathy, or resistance. It is rare that one now meets a serious student, a person bent on pursuing the problems that he personally finds meaningful wherever they lead him. Rather, one finds first, and in numbers, the collaborator who has been overwhelmed by his masters and who hopes to join them through servile emulation. Second, there is the drifter who finds himself at the university for reasons beyond his ken and who slides through program after program by being quick to feign what seems to be expected. Third, there is the rebel who, at least, has perceived that there is scant place in the present university for the student *qua* student and who desperately, resentfully strikes out against the instructional monolith. These rebels, not all of whom can be dismissed as unkempt, have sensed that the imbalance of power in favor of the teachers has made it possible for extra-university groups to gain control of the teaching apparatus and to

harness it to the service of expediences that have little in common with the free pursuit of knowledge. They have a point in demanding a change, but granting that, we need not agree to the changes they demand.

Significant change will not come by mere tampering with the formal governance of the university. In the great din about relevance, the least relevant thing is the widespread expectation that students can attain salvation by having representatives on every university committee from those of the trustees to those of the custodians. The university does not really need restructuring; it needs revitalization, a revitalization of its substantive activity, the transformation of culture. To revitalize this activity, we need to find a way to restore the balance between the teachers and the students, to redevelop the harmony that consists of their opposing tension. There can be, of course, no going back to the simplicities of the old-time college; after all, we have not dwelt above on *its* insufficiencies. Encompassing, specialized, omnipresent, professional instruction is here to stay; there is nothing to gain by trying to cut back the teacher's present power. Instead, let us seek ways by which students can reform the art of studying in order to offset, without diminishing, the extensive reforms that teachers have made in the art of teaching; it has been these reforms that have brought about the unbalanced aggrandizement of the teacher in our time.

It is easy to call for a reform of the art of learning; it is not so easy to propose what this reform should be. The efficient acquisition of knowledge depends on certain age-old

abilities—intelligence and concentration, imagination and diligence—these are hard enough to find, let alone reform. Moreover, most so-called study aids are pernicious, for they further increase the student's dependence on his teachers. Thus, speed reading works if one merely wishes to acquaint oneself with things one is supposed to be familiar with; it allows a student to skim adequately the distended texts his teachers present to him. But the true student takes nothing important on authority, for he must consider all to the point at which he understands and is ready to defend with reasons his decision to accept or reject the point in question. Woe to him who makes such considerations on the basis of a subliminal glance at every other word. *Sitzfleisch* is a far better study aid than reading dynamics.

But if reform in the art of learning is not to come by trying to increase its efficiency, what also can be done? Before answering, let us look again at the problem. The classroom should be the place where a teacher with a definite conception of what it is that he should teach meets a student with an equally resolute idea of what it is that he should learn. It is not essential that both teacher and student have the same aim, but it is essential that both have coherent goals: the vitality of education arises as those aims clash and coincide, as they reinforce and qualify each other. In the present university, the teachers' goals have become so diverse and complicated that they overawe most students. Today, students do not bring into the classroom a set of personal, independent intentions that can serve as a framework by which they can organize the instructional frag-

ments they encounter; instead, they come into each classroom ready merely to respond either by adopting the teacher's intentions in varying degrees of sincerity or by rejecting them in varying degrees of outspokenness. Hence, in short, the problem in reforming the art of learning is not one of increasing the amount the student can learn, it is one of strengthening the student's capacity to choose, intelligently and independently, what it is he seeks to learn. What will strengthen this capacity?

Unnoticed possibilities often become apparent when we ask the question "Why?" Why is it that only putative teachers study pedagogy? The best answer is simple: because life is full of absurdities. To be sure, an historical tome might be written explaining how it happened that the study of pedagogy became confined to the schools of education and how the schools of education came to be set apart from the rest of the university, but that tome would record a series of historical accidents. To be sure also, many a critical essay has been written explaining that, given the state of the subject, the study of pedagogy is not worth anyone's time, certainly not the time of our best students; but the cogency of such critiques would immediately disappear with an improvement in the state of the subject. The facts can be rationalized in many ways, but there are no good reasons why only teachers should study pedagogy; and as soon as we look into the nature of the subject, we will find that pedagogy may be the key to that reform of learning through which the student can regain his proper power.

Americans have inveterately con-

fused pedagogy, the science or theory of education, with didactics, the theory of teaching; we have thus mistaken the whole for one of its parts. This mistake explains why it seems strange to us that pedagogy might be a subject useful to students. Moreover, that the theory of education should be generally equated with the theory of teaching signifies the degree to which the balance between teachers and students has been upset. But if we look at the real concerns of pedagogy, we will find that the student, not the teacher, is the essential figure in any sound conception of education. The German philosopher and historian, Wilhelm Dilthey, once put the matter well: "the blossom and goal of philosophy is pedagogy in its widest sense—the formative theory of man." Acquaintance with this theory may enable the student to formulate his intentions sufficiently to become again an independent power within the classroom.

Students are demanding that their studies be made more relevant. It is no accident that this demand has arisen at a time when the student's power in comparison to his teachers' is nil; the demand that studies *be made* more relevant signifies the student's total surrender: all is left up to the teacher. No faculty should permit itself to be so deified; at most it should help the students find meaning for themselves in their studies. Thus, the question of relevance should be left up to the student; and with respect to it, his first task is to make what he chooses to study relevant to himself, to the self he seeks to be. To articulate to himself the value of various subjects for his self-development, he needs a formative theory of man, a nascent conception of what he as a

man can and should become; hence, he needs to address himself to pedagogy.

This rationale for the student's interest in pedagogy, derived from reflection on the current academic situation, accords perfectly with the function of the subject defined in the seminal treatise, Plato's *Protagoras*. Plato suggested that, above all, pedagogy was the topic on which the student should meditate. The student could learn many things without knowing anything about pedagogy; and because of this fact, he should seek first to learn about pedagogy, for only then could he choose intelligently what other things to learn. By ignoring pedagogy, the student risked harming himself, for he would learn many things without having any inkling of what sort of person these things would make him become. Such reflections led to the dialogue recorded in *Protagoras*. Recall how the young man, Hippocrates, was going to study with Protagoras without having considered what effects on himself such learning would have. Socrates pointed out the foolishness of such an action, and the two together decided instead to ask Protagoras to explain what sort of persons his students would become by accepting his teachings. With that, all three were launched on an inquiry into whether excellence could be taught, and the resultant discussion is still relevant to anyone who wishes to find a formative theory of man that he can use to help guide his own pursuit of excellence. Present-day youth might follow Socrates and Hippocrates in asking its would-be teachers to explain how the various matters taught will form the man who studies them. Such

a request would lead to general courses on pedagogy.

Already, however, the curriculum is over-crowded. But the difficulty of finding room in the curriculum for the study of pedagogy should not be as great as it would at first seem. The subject matter dealt with in the study of pedagogy is much the same as that touched on in so-called general education. If pedagogy began with Plato's *Protagoras*, it has followed steadily through the important books of our tradition; these works have proved to be great because they have contributed significantly to our formative theory of man. Thus, we find in pedagogy not a new subject that must be squeezed into the curriculum, but a solution to a problem manifest in an established subject, namely general education. The problem has been pointed out well by Daniel Bell in *The Reforming of General Education*: there seems to be little way to put into practice what is learned in the survey of our civilization. There is however, a far simpler solution to this difficulty than that which Professor Bell proposed. We need to change

not the program of study, but our conception of practice. To put our knowledge to work, we do not always need to turn to the world outside the university. Certain principles become practical as we use them as a guide directing our attention to other principles. If we encourage students to put general education into practice in this manner, we will have, in effect, made room for the study of pedagogy in the contemporary curriculum, and we will have further encouraged the particular form of student power the exercise of which is essential to the future of our educational institutions.

Consequently, let us reform general education by making it the study of pedagogy, the formative theory of man. Such a reform would be the fundamental step towards the revitalization of the university, for with it, students would have a better opportunity to become once again an independent, countervailing power to their teachers. To institute this reform we do not primarily need new programs; we need rather a new type of practice, one suitable to the student *qua* student.

ROBERT OLIVER

The Higher Learning in America: A Reassessment

Paul Woodring. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1968.

Acknowledging the titles of Thorstein Veblen and Robert Maynard Hutchins, Paul Woodring has written, fifty years after the first and thirty-two after the second, *The Higher Learning in America: A Reassessment*, a book which is indebted to Veblen mostly for the title and more significantly to Hutchins for a vision of a liberal education and the specter of specialization. Woodring, who has written extensively on educational matters and is perhaps best known as the founder of the *Saturday Review's* monthly educational supplement, has drawn heavily on his several decades of close observation of the American academic scene and has presented his conclusions here.

One of the virtues of Woodring's education supplement at the *Saturday Review* is that it presents contemporary developments in education to the general reader and the educator alike. In this volume, however, the audience will probably be limited to the general reader who is not particularly knowledgeable about higher education. Given Woodring's penchant for the generalist, the literate non-educator public is undoubtedly the group of readers he seeks. The person whose activities bring him in contact with colleges and universities probably will not find much new in this book; he might do better to read Christopher Jencks' and David Riesman's *The Academic Revolution*, which illustrates how a quite different and valuable book could be written on the same topic as Woodring's.

Much of Woodring's book is taken up with explaining how American higher education is organized, how professors get promoted, how diverse colleges are, and how difficult some of the students are. All this seems quite sound; he writes on the whole very sensibly, but not profoundly. Frequently he quotes reports, ones which are generally well known to persons interested in education, such as the Wesleyan study of the academic origin of American scholars or the ACE report on the quality of American graduate schools.

But Woodring is not content to recount simply what is. He also has some criticisms of the status quo and some recommendations for the future. His principal contention is that colleges today give too great attention to specialization and too little to liberal education. To remedy this he suggests a three-year undergraduate program emphasizing the liberal arts, or those studies that "liberate." This course could then be followed by a two-year master's degree in which the student would study one subject intensively. There is a great deal to be said for Woodring's point of view; perhaps he is indeed correct in addressing himself to the general public for support since educators have not on the whole been quick to see the merit of his views. His critique is certainly not novel, but possibly he will be

more effective with this approach than others who have directed their remarks primarily within the academic community.

One of the exceedingly difficult problems about writing this kind of book is to write of contemporary issues and have the book remain abreast of developments. This problem is particularly apparent in his comments on students, in which he occasionally sounds like a well-meaning liberal who cannot understand why the younger generation is not more appreciative of all that he and his friends fought for in the thirties, forties, and fifties. He does not commit the sin of writing with complacency but rather, more typically for the adult liberal today, with a sense of reality or possibly resignation of one whose generation has been unable to bring about the considerable changes they once sought. He sounds very much like a parent of one of the *Young Radicals* whom Kenneth Keniston describes, well-meaning but essentially out of touch with radical students today. One wonders what, if anything, he would have changed had he had the opportunity to revise his manuscript after the outpouring of students for Eugene McCarthy or after the difficulties at Columbia and other university campuses in 1968.

There are many nice touches in the book, one being his candid observations about how he attempts to identify the professions of conventioners he sees in New York hotels (he finds that professors come in a greater variety than physicians or businessmen but admits to genuine difficulty in classifying groups of college presidents). The book is written clearly and generally with good sense.

Patricia Albjerg Graham
Barnard College, Columbia University

Education and Ecstasy

George B. Leonard. New York: Delacorte Press, 1968, 239 pp. \$5.95.

Our language usage has become so confounded that I am not at all surprised to find *Education and Ecstasy* causing a quite different effect upon me than the author apparently intended. Perhaps my reading comprehension skills are prematurely deteriorating or some stray defense mechanism has produced a perceptual distortion. For whatever misunderstanding may exist on my part, I have added another volume to a growing bibliography of book-length advertisements, financed by a readership of potential consumers of the products featured. The Madavenue copy offers a variety of giant gadget-systems and brainwashing services, which no self-respecting school district can afford not to buy. A kind of psychedelic style might be expected to turn on both the Old PTA, who may not recognize the happening, and the New Left, who may not recognize the happening, either.

By this time, too, I have grown a bit weary of social-psychologized logical fallacies. Enlightened sales resistance, in which different groups have a very real common interest, is thereby manipulated into an inter-group pseudo-conflict, which can be resolved only by purchasing the technological indulgence. The three-step process of a social-psychologized fallacy has become a familiar routine in the smooth society: (1) for each target group, an area of social sensitivity to the charge of negativism is identified; (2) a positive attitude toward the given promotion shows just how wrong the negative label in that sensitive area really is; (3) positive action upon the positive attitude will prove good faith to the other groups and will promote a common interest in something very good—such as, “the welfare of the child.”

It would seem obvious that parents, teachers, and administrators are all for the welfare of the child. But the social-psychologized fallacy requires that the concern be demonstrated in singularly specific performances. The test question involves a choice between one stipulated right action and one sensitized wrong attitude. Thus, parents who might not exert the appropriate influence upon schoolmen would demonstrate their pecuniary reluctance to support quality education, while sacrificing the futures of their own offspring. Administrators who might fail to seek the salesman and to facilitate the purchase order would reveal their obstructive intent toward equal educational opportunity for all the children of all the people. Teachers who might fail freely to give their time and talent to mixing the brain-wash, would confirm their stereotypical inflexibility, incompetence, and neglect of the whole child. If, then, good will is for sale, does it really matter what is in the package that symbolizes it? After all, the grown-up groups could live in harmony on the welfare-of-the-child-issue; and if, perchance, any little ones should raise their voices on a discordant note, they might well be told the tale of Dr. Spock.

Considered in terms of its own genre, however, *Education and Ecstasy* is worth a trip to the public library. It is much more entertaining than, for example, the Sears, Roebuck catalog.

Joan C. Fricker
University of Wisconsin

Linguistics and Language Teaching

John P. Hughes. New York: Random House, 1968. \$1.95.

This is a bad book. One would have hoped after the debacle of Professor Hughes' *The Science of Language* (1962), surely the most error-ridden linguistics text of the past thirty years, that Random House would have checked this effort more carefully. They do not seem to have done so.

Linguistics and Language is split into two parts: *Linguistic Science* (seven chapters, pp. 11-64) and *Linguistics in the Classroom* (seven chapters, pp. 67-130). The second of these, though weak, is much better than

the first; but as we have W. G. Moulton's MLA monograph, *A Linguistic Guide to Language Learning*, it is both surpassed and superfluous.

The chapters devoted to *Linguistic Science* do a great disservice to the field of linguistics. No one can deny that Professor Hughes writes in a readable way, but why does he misrepresent and distort to the extent that he does?

On p. 15, for example, a sentence from Chomsky's *Syntactic Structures* (1957; p. 106) is quoted out of context: "Grammar is best formulated as a self-contained study independent of semantics." Without considering the question of whether one of Chomsky's more recent books would have been more representative, we might note that two pages on in *Syntactic Structures* the author notes that "description of meaning can profitably refer to this underlying syntactic framework." As Professor Hughes is here saying that Chomsky has "gone too far in countering mentalism," we might quote from *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax* (1965, p. 4) to the effect that "in the technical sense, linguistic theory is mentalistic, since it is concerned with discovering a mental reality underlying actual behavior." Surely this is not "countering mentalism."

Professor Hughes' presentation of tagmemics, a vastly different school of linguistics from Chomsky's transformational-generative grammar, is also shoddy. On the basis of the information provided, 'Twas brillig in "Jabberwocky" would parallel other English sentences like this

'Twas brillig and the slithy toves
'Twas evening and the happy children
'Twas late and the tired people
'Twas sunny and the hot aardvarks

putting *brillig*, *evening*, *late* and *sunny* into the same word class. Surely every English speaker realizes that this is invalid.

One could enumerate such absurdities at length, but it would not be worthwhile, for beyond such linguistic blunders, the book is poorly proof-read (Noam S. Chomsky on pp. 15 and 50; 1951 for 1955 on p. 50; Troubetzkoy for Trubetzkoy throughout), and is chock-full of such sentences as "Chomsky considers language to be a finite or infinite set of sentences, each finite in length, and each constructed from a finite set of elements" (p. 51). Besides being untrue (every language is an infinite set of sentences), the "finite or infinite" makes Professor Hughes' statement sheer nonsense.

Caveat emptor!

Peter H. Salus
University of Massachusetts

Grace Notes in American History

Lester S. Levy. Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press. \$12.50.

Before the advent of television and radio, the happenings in American life would often be upon the lips of our countrymen in the form of songs. If the recent events at Columbia University took place in the 1800's, several songs might have been published to commemorate the occasion. A song entitled "Why I Came to College" might have as a cover a lithograph depicting students hanging out of the windows of Hamilton Hall. The verse might begin, "I didn't come to college to learn a lot of knowledge, I came resolved to get involved." Another song might show a cover of a policeman dragging a student out of a building with the title, "Wait, Officer!" with words, "We want a better world, not a better gym." However, today, with no relevant melodies to hum and no appropriate verses to articulate, most people turn on the TV and passively sit on the sidelines attempting to digest the great globs of words and pictures on the subject.

It was not so in the nineteenth century, as Lester Levy points out in his book *Grace Notes in American History*. He states that "the song after the event has been almost a reflex action" and "the development of the United States as a nation can be traced ... through the popular music which has served as an accompaniment to its history." Songs following newsworthy or historical occurrences, says Mr. Levy, can be traced from the time of the Israelites' departure from Egypt over three thousand years ago, when the parting of the waters of the Red Sea saved them from annihilation, after which they sang a paean of joy describing the details of their deliverance.

"Grace Notes" presents ninety pieces of sheet music, most of them songs, the balance being instrumental, telling of events of interest to the country, or of an individual or activity so well known to the people that they enjoyed singing about the subject. Many such topics, while of common knowledge in their particular period of the country's growth, have little bearing on its historical development; hence Mr. Levy compares them to grace notes, which are not an intrinsic part of the melody of a musical composition, but only serve to embellish it and add to its flavor.

His book is divided into two general categories, "mores" and "history." He subdivides each into eight or nine sections. In "mores," for example, he includes the subjects of "hero worship," "ridicule," "Minstrels," "fun and games," "costume," and "nostrums." In "history" he includes chapters on the presidency, the cabinets, Indians, the Civil War and disasters.

Heroes of the day include names of individuals who save for the music about them, would long have been forgotten. So would some of the old modes of dress, and some of the highly respected medicines and cures of a hundred years ago.

Likewise, some of the incidents illustrated in the chapters on the presidents, the cabinet members, the fires and shipwrecks, and even the comic

touches about Civil War episodes would stir but faint memories in the minds of all but the most informed historians.

Each piece represented has a most entertaining title page. The art of lithography flourished in its most attractive form in the eighteen forties, fifties and sixties, and the majority of the sheets shown come from this period. These sheet music covers are often picturesque or incisive and form an intrinsic part of the book.

"Grace Notes" offers many examples of humor which appealed to the musical palates of nineteenth century Americans. For example, the overly righteous verses in a song about abstaining from drinking liquor goes,

Let others praise the ruby bright
In the red wine's sparkling glow.
Dearer to me is the diamond light
Of the fountain's clearest flow.
The feet of earthly men have trod
The juice from the bleeding vine;
But the streams come pure from the hand of God
To fill this cup of mine.
Then give me a cup of cold water,
The clear, sweet cup of cold water,
For his arm is strong, though his toil is long
Who drinks but the clear, cold water.

There is a *double entendre* in a song about the brave public servants, the firemen.

Dear Ladies I'll sing you a song
And I'm certain I'm in the right of it
A flaming affair not too long.
The firemen here may think light of it.
One fire they like without doubt,
Which is lit by the loves and the graces,
'Tis the brilliancy here breaking out,
From the windows of beautiful faces.

The history of chewing gum in America is brought to light in "Grace Notes" with several songs depicting the national sport of the 1880's. A song which could be a best seller today goes:

She chews her gum
She chews it straight
She chews it early
She chews it late
There is nothing but gum, gum all day
She chews it like a cow chewing hay.

Darwin was taken "over the coals" in a number of songs. One satirical number which suggests many possible antecedents of the human race is partially quoted here.

He tells us, years and years ago
That we were only Fleas!
That ev'ry fellow had to grow
From wretched bugs like these.
When we were Ostriches and Rats
And this old world was new,
And Elephants and Thomas-cats
Likewise a Kangaroo!
It certainly is most absurd
The fact can never be!
My great grand daddy never was
A monkey up a tree!

There are many other examples of American sentiment reflected in the songs pertaining to causes, issues, sports, wars, personalities and disasters. It seems that Americans poked fun at themselves, that they could be what we would call "sickly sentimental," or that they could be brutally honest about their feelings. An example of their honesty can be found in a song about the end of the Civil War from a rebel's point of view.

Three hundred thousand Yankees
Is stiff in Southern dust
We got three hundred thousand
Before they conquered us;
They died of Southern fever
And Southern steel and shot,
I wish they was three million
Instead of what we got.

I can't take up my musket
And fight 'em now no more,
But I aint a going to love 'em
Now that is sarten sure;
And I don't want no pardon
For what I was and am,
I won't be reconstructed
And I don't care a dam.

Ruth Gottesman
Scarsdale, New York

The RECORD

The Teachers College Record,
Columbia University
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The Struggle for Power in the Public Schools

National Committee for Support of Public Schools

(Because of ongoing conflicts over control of the schools, decentralization, community involvement, and the teacher's right to strike, we have found the Proceedings of the March 1968 Conference of the NCSPS to be peculiarly relevant.* With the permission of that Committee, we are presenting our own selections from some of the discussions which took place at the Conference. Involved were Agnes E. Meyer, Chairman of the Committee's Executive Committee; Mayor Walter E. Washington of Washington, D.C.; Former Education Commissioner Harold Howe II; Charles R. De Carlo, IBM's Director of Automation and Research; David Spencer, Chairman of the Governing Board of New York City's I.S. 201 Complex; David Selden of the American Federation of Teachers; Elliott Shapiro, Assistant Superintendent, District 3, New York City; Professor Norman Johnson of the University of Pittsburgh, and various members of a Black Caucus; diverse students, statesmen, and schoolmen. MG)

Agnes Meyer: We who feel responsible for the power for good—for social order, stability, and progress—must try to harmonize all the conflicting forces that now seek to dominate the public schools. It can be done if we begin by persuading the boards of education, the school administrators, including the school principals that their inclination to become petty tyrants must cease. The governors and other state officials must see the need for ever-increasing school budgets. Above all the American people must be made to realize that, costly as a truly modern education for all Americans may be, it is worth any price. For it is the greatest single source of strength that exists or ever will exist in our magnificent republic.

Mayor Washington: Here are four propositions for discussion: 1. Educational systems should enable all persons affected by the educational process to be heard and to have their ideas considered. 2. The systems should be focused on results as well as opportunity. 3. The educational system should be coordinated with other institutions and with the rest of society—which scientists might describe as an ecological approach. 4. The educational system should be sensitive to the changing needs of society and have a fast reaction capability. I believe in this—the matter of fast reaction. There is nothing in the city, there

* Patricia Wagner, Editor, *The Struggle for Power in the Public Schools*, Proceedings of the 6th Annual Conference.

is nothing in the educational field or any other field from the broad spectrum of our city life that will be meaningful, unless we can develop a fast reaction capability. You just cannot plan any longer and tell people about grandiose schemes. And we can't continue to study and study and then develop a task force and then develop a concept team. As soon as you do that, you have to have another staff, and then you start all over again. . . . No single group can do the job alone. We know that there must be responsibility-sharing. We know that the authority and concern must be shared. And it is becoming increasingly apparent to us today that segments of society previously unheard from have a right and an obligation to share in educational policy making. As community groups focus upon the central and all important task of educating our children, the answers to our specific questions will become clear, and the faith that makes changes acceptable will be developed. . . .

Commissioner Howe: If there is one great truth that is coming through to education now as a result of such reports as that of the Civil Disorders Commission, the Equal Educational Opportunities Survey, the study by Professor Harry Passow of the schools in Washington, and many, many others, it is this: The people of the ghetto—the poor and the powerless—are demanding and must have involvement in our schools. And a second important truth is that parent, community, teacher, and student involvement cannot be achieved without some transfer of power, some award of discretion about how the funds for public education shall be put to use. It is no longer enough just to tell parents about plans for their children and their neighborhoods. It is no longer enough to set up a student council to act as a transmission belt for administration policies. It no longer works simply to hand the teacher the books and a lesson plan and say, "Go teach." . . . I would take issue with those who argue that decentralization of schools is a trap to shift responsibility for the conduct of education onto the shoulders of people who lack power, know-how, and money. It is, instead, an effort to give them a chance to learn the responsible use of power and to build an access for them to the power exercised for the whole city by the city board of education. You cannot have it both ways: those who demand improvement must be willing to participate in its achievement. There is a role for criticism, but that role must exist within the framework of responsibility and accountability. The alternative is anarchy. Decentralization of control of education in our large cities does not mean handing over money and personnel selection to groups of self-appointed saviors of education who seek their own aggrandizement more directly than they seek new opportunities for young people. Instead it means making democracy work in an orderly fashion among those who have never had the chance for participation in the affairs of the schools which serve their children.

Charles De Carlo: Science, technology and quantity are morally neutral; their power derives from treating man as a thing, from ignoring his non-rational, affective, and moral nature. Those who seek and plan the future must be deeply aware of this and maintain constant vigilance to prevent mechanical models from becoming self-fulfilling prophecy, a kind of benign Procrustean bed which the meek might inherit as their earth. For in some ways the fruits of technology, in removing wants, have a tendency to mute the demand for true individual freedom, to make us acceptant of anything the collective acts of technique will yield. If we accept the notion of society as an organic system, growing and operating under the conservative forces of technology and rationality, we must be willing to accept the idea of differentiation, as well as integration, within various parts of the system. For example, though we may ultimately resolve the major inequities in wealth distribution, the fact remains that the poor will always be with us, at least the poor in a relative sense. For any system made of many diverse parts and committed to relatively high levels of individualism must always have differentiation in its makeup. But if we examine the plight of the cities and the associated condition of the black community, it becomes immediately evident that some major differentiation dominates the system and threatens the healthy operation of the total society. This differentiation has produced a tension within the system which demands a revolutionary change across all the system if the society is to survive. It is my contention that while poverty, pollution, lack of jobs, inferior education are important components of dysfunction, these elements could be absorbed and solved by the inherent energy and principles of the American vision and ethos. But there is one dysfunction, one level of differentiation which has the whole system in a death grip, and which only commitment to revolutionary change can resolve. This is the question of race and the unfulfilled revolution of the people who yesterday were called Negro and who today call themselves black.

David Spencer: Everyone says, leave it to the professionals, you know. We have been sitting back, also, and saying, leave it to the professionals; but the professionals have done the wrong damn things. What we are talking about is not parents coming in and becoming teachers and principals. We still feel the professionals must be there, but let them be the professionals of *our* choice, the professionals that have ideas along the lines of what we in our communities think is best for our children. We are particularly tired of people coming in and plunking down what they think is best for us. They say the parents won't get involved. Why? Because they have been depending on you. Parents have been taking it for granted that you knew what you were doing, and now

we find that you don't know what you are doing. So we are not telling you to get out and you can't do it—but we are saying that we want you to be in there to see that you do the job of educating our children. This is what we want. This is what we are asking for. I can't talk for your communities. But I am sure going to try like the devil to get the message to you about my community. . . . No need trying to fool me, and say we are all together, and I like your family and if your kid gets sick and my kid gets sick, I will run and get the doctor for you first. That is a lie. You will run and get the doctor for your own and then, if you are all right with me, you will tell the doctor, "Go over and see Spencer's kid, because he is ill too." I can respect you for that and I can understand that. But I can't understand you telling me that you are going to send him to my kid first and later to yours. I know something is wrong with you or you think I am a damn fool. . . . These are the kinds of things that people have been telling people. We are tired, tired of people stepping on our toes. And we are rising up and telling everybody to listen to people. Common courtesy. Listen and they will tell you some of the things that need to be done. We are insensitive to each other. People go along and don't care what happens. People are dying all around and we are just going along every day. We read in the papers somebody has a million-dollar house. And then we turn around and say, millions of people are starving in our country. It scares the hell out of me, and it should scare the hell out of you to know what is going on in our educational system. It's killing children, robbing them of their minds. . . . So what is so hard about teaching kids? I don't want to hear the excuse about how they come from bad homes. If you are a professional, it is your job to handle that. . . . And if everybody was really doing their job, we wouldn't have to worry about kids being hungry, because their parents would be in a position to feed them. These things didn't happen yesterday. It took years to build to this. . . . So I am going to leave you on that, because like I said, it is a time to listen, and, baby, it is a time to act.

David Selden: Teachers have known that there was something wrong with the American school system for many, many years. The American Federation of Teachers—and I believe the NEA too—called for federal aid to education 30 years before we got any at all, except for aid to vocational education. We have known that we need more teachers. We have known that we need more classrooms. We have known that we need more books, libraries, and other facilities. We have known this and we haven't been silent about it. . . . I don't know whether we are winning the battles now or not, because all about us we see increasing signs of deterioration. Perhaps those signs in our school system merely reflect the general deterioration in the society in which we live. Yet a

school system should be more than merely a reflection of society. A school system should project the future of society and the people who operate the school system should understand and see it this way. . . . You can't say that decentralization will do the trick. We have seen decentralization in almost every suburban area in the nation, and educational systems in those areas are very spotty. In the areas where the kids really don't need schools they seem to have pretty good ones, and where the kids would learn anyway in spite of the school system, they seem to learn. Where the kids are not academically oriented, and probably would not learn in an academic sense outside of school, the school systems are rather poor. . . . It is the fact that pupils are *not* achieving that is the problem, and every proposal that is made for change in the present system ought to be evaluated in these terms: Will it help pupils achieve better in terms of the values our society demands? I think our teachers will go along with this. Teachers resent being scapegoats. They want to achieve and they want their pupils to achieve. Teachers resent particularly the racial and personal attacks, often made anonymously without a chance for rebuttal. They are bewildered and hurt by this kind of attack, because teachers do want to be successful.

Elliott Shapiro: We may talk about grouping. We may talk about certain kinds of curricular materials, the ITA and so forth. . . . But we don't talk about the basic realities; and the basic realities have to do with where the teachers teach, whom the teachers teach, the relationship of the teachers to the community, and the relationships of the teachers to the children. . . . Why is it that we never really contacted reality? Let us think about it. What is a reality? Someone points out the reality of the rat bites. A reality is the fact that the house is without heat. A reality is the fact that the plaster is falling off the walls, that the water is coming in from the ceiling. It is a reality that children across the street from P.S. 119 are living in a house that was built for eight families, but had 45 families sharing eight toilets and four kitchens. . . . We are following Dewey's precepts of dealing with the whole child, and yet we forget all this reality. . . . Why didn't we feel we should deal with it in the past? Why didn't we deal with it? Because we could have gotten fired, that is why we didn't. And if we weren't fired, we wouldn't be promoted. And as we didn't deal with it, and perhaps because we are good people, we allowed this to recede ever deeper into our consciousness, so that we shouldn't have a twinge of conscience, and pretty soon these were all tacit assumptions that we didn't any longer explore. Pretty soon, too, we were dealing with "ir-realities," to use somebody else's word. We were dealing with this kind of "irreality" when our building was falling down on our heads, and the District

Superintendent came in and indicated on the bulletin board that papers ought to be attached with four thumb tacks, one on each corner of the sheet of paper, while we were being flooded by rainstorms, while we were being chased by rats. . . . Now, if we wish to mediate, may I suggest that the teachers of (a school where children are not learning) join with the youngsters and with the parents, and march down on the Board of Education to negotiate for a single-session school; for buying up additional buildings, if necessary; for smaller classes, so that the teachers can be more immediately involved in the pupils' welfare; for better curriculum materials, so the children, mostly black children, would come alive with courses in African history before the coming of the white man. . . . We must expose our deficiencies, indicate how badly we are doing, so that the communities truly can become educated about the entire educational process and so that the community of the poor will learn what the truth is. With support coming from the teachers, the poor will no longer be alone. Together we can make education come alive. . . .

Norman Johnson (for the Black Caucus): The hard bitter truth that we as black people have been forced to recognize is that we have never, as a people or as individuals—regardless of personal success—been in the mainstream of American life. No matter how high the achieved position, we are never fully accepted. True, there have been legislative changes, but there have not been commensurate behavioral or attitudinal changes—two processes which can operate independently of each other and of the legislative process. . . . We've been told that our new commitment to control our separate institutions is unhealthy. Yet, psychiatrists tell us that one sign of mental illness is the inability to face reality, the tendency to live in a world of fantasy. Who is living in a fantasy world—the white who still talks of integration as if it were an immediately viable alternative in most of our urban centers or the black pragmatist who faces up to the reality that racism exists, and it will not be wished away? Therefore, any planning for the immediate future must be done within the framework of that racist reality! We cannot any longer afford to worry about even those whites who have been our allies, because that alliance has not proven strong enough to endure bigotry that has defeated us. There is a role, however, that our white friends can still play. They can work within their own communities to support our efforts, and for the needs that will develop from our efforts—additional budgetary support, understanding of our goals, etc. This is a difficult task, indeed, but the burden is still lighter than the one we have had to carry for so long, which included not only upgrading the black community (without tools) but also educating the white liberal community (without tools), while at the same time taking care not to arouse

the ire of the white bigot against us all. We feel our responsibility now is to our community alone. . . . Now we have determined that we will take over the direction and control of our children's schools. We may make some mistakes. However, these mistakes can hardly be more serious than the ones being made at present. They certainly will not be as long-standing. Because we, holding the welfare of the children as our only criterion, will effect change as soon as we or they deem it to be necessary.

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A Note on the Relation of Reading Failure To Peer-Group Status in Urban Ghettos

William Labov and Clarence Robins
Columbia University

For the past several years, we have been studying certain conflicts between the vernacular of the urban ghettos and schoolroom English, especially in relation to reading failure.¹ We work primarily with peer-groups of Negro boys within the culture of the street, since we believe that the major controls upon language are exerted by these groups rather than the school or the home. Our research has recently revealed a sharp and striking relationship between participation in this street culture and reading failure. The pattern is so clear and plainly so important in understanding the educational problems of ghetto areas, that we are sending this brief note to all those who have shown interest in our progress reports.

The Populations Concerned In the summer of 1965, we interviewed a sample of 75 Negro boys, age 10 to 12 years, in a geographically random sample of "Vacation Day Camps" in Harlem. Boys had to be enrolled by their parents in these recreational programs, held in schoolyards and playgrounds, so that there was a bias of selection for children from intact families with support for educational goals. Nevertheless, we found that the majority of these 10-12 year-olds had serious difficulty in reading aloud such second- and third-grade sentences as

Now I read and write better than Alfred does.
When I passed by, I read the sign.

In August of 1965, we turned to the study of groups of boys in their natural

The report presented here sheds a great deal of light on a situation seldom studied: the social groups of boys in urban ghettos. The researchers here not only uncover some startling facts about correlation between reading failure and membership in such groups; they make some proposals for para-professional classroom help which are original and obviously significant. The importance of this article transcends its local concern. We recommend it to all readers with an interest in the children of the poor.

- 1 Data in this research note is the product of Cooperative Research Project 3288, "A Study of the Non-standard English of Negro and Puerto Rican Speakers in New York City," under OE-6-10-059. Preliminary linguistic findings of this research are published in "Some Sources of Reading Problems for Negro Speakers of Non-Standard English," in A. Frazier (Ed.), *New Directions in Elementary English* (Champaign, Ill.: N.C.T.E., 1967), pp. 140-167, and available in "Some Suggestions for Teaching Standard English to Speakers of Non-Standard Urban Dialects," submitted to the Bureau of Curriculum Research of the Board of Education of the City of New York.

associations on the streets of South Central Harlem. Our normal method of work was to interview a few individuals, locate their peer group and become acquainted with it; we then studied the language of the peer group in spontaneous interaction, and recorded the remaining individuals in face-to-face interviews. We used this approach first in studying two pre-adolescent groups in a low-income project, the "Thunderbirds" and the "Aces," against the general population of the project. We then began the study of the major adolescent groups that dominated the tenement areas from 110th Street to 118th Street between Sixth and Eighth Avenues. One of our staff members, Mr. John Lewis, acted as a participant-observer in the area. With his help, we followed two major adolescent groups, each composed of many subgroups, for two years. These groups were known as the "Cobras" and the "Jets."²

Our knowledge of the social structure, history, activities, and value systems of these groups is an essential aspect of the finding to be presented in this note. We traced the history of group relations and explored the value systems through individual face-to-face interviews, meetings with small groups of two or three close friends, and group sessions with six to twelve boys. In all these sessions, involving the most excited physical and verbal interaction, each person's statements and ideas were recorded on a separate track from a microphone several inches away from his mouth. We also studied group behavior in various field trips with the boys, and recorded their interaction en route. Most importantly, our participant-observer saw the boys every day on the streets, and met with them in their hang-outs and our "club-house." He was present at several moments of crisis when fighting was about to break out between the two major groups.

We also interviewed a number of isolated individuals in the same tenement areas, who were definitely not members of these groups, but who often knew about them. We are able then to assert that we reached all the major "named" groups in the area, although we did not have a representative sample of all adolescent boys. In the same areas we completed a stratified random sample of 100 adults, but only in the low-income projects did we relate our groups quantitatively to the total population.³

The Street Groups The larger associations which bear the names "Jets" or "Cobras" are known to the boys as "clubs."

2 The names "Cobras" and "Jets" are here used as cover symbols for a complex of formal groups which changes over time. The "Cobras," in particular, was originally a group formed by mergers of several groups which in turn underwent mergers with other groups under successive changes in nationalist orientation.

3 See below for relative sizes of street groups and isolated population in one project.

They are not to be confused with the groups which are organized within recreation centers by adults, which are also called "clubs" and sometimes overlap in membership. The groups we studied are initiated by the boys themselves, and are disapproved of by the adults in the neighborhood.⁴

The structure and value systems of these groups are partly inherited from the period of gang violence of the 1940's and 1950's. The frequency of group fighting, however, is comparatively low. These are not "gangs" in the sense of groups which frequently fight as a unit. Nevertheless, a major source of prestige for the leaders is skill in fighting, and individual fights are very common. The inter-group conflicts which do occur are the most important sources of group cohesion; they become a fixed part of the mythology and ideology of the group, and the obligation to support one's fellow members in a group fight is strongly felt by many members.

The general value systems of these groups conform to the lower class value pattern which has been described by Walter B. Miller.⁵ The focal concerns of the groups are *toughness, smartness, trouble, excitement, autonomy, and fate*. Intelligence or smartness is used and valued as a means of manipulating others, rather than a means of obtaining information or solving abstract problems. The specific values of the Negro nationalist movement are reflected in some groups more than others. The members of the "Cobras," within the period that we worked with them, moved from a moderately nationalist position to deep involvement with the militant Muslim religion and its complex ideology.⁶ This ideology involved the members in a strong interest in learning and abstract knowledge; but the general value systems of all the groups were such that school learning was seen as hostile, distant, and essentially irrelevant.

The groups have a formal structure which may include four officers: president, vice-president, prime minister and war-lord. Junior organizations are often formed by the appointment of a younger brother of an officer to a leading position among the 10-to-13-year-olds. However, this formal structure can be misleading. The day-to-day activities of the boys⁷ are in smaller, informal hang-out groups, determined by geography and age; an individual's

4 The "Thunderbirds" are a partial exception here, since the club was formed in a recreation center (and was successively re-formed with different names); however, the identity of the group was not confined to the center, and it contained members who had been banned from the center.

5 "Lower Class Culture as a Generating Milieu of Juvenile Delinquency," *Journal of Social Issues*, 14, 1958, pp. 5-19.

6 As noted above, the "Cobras" underwent a number of organizational transformations, with new officers, and merged with other groups as nationalist orientation increased.

7 Major activities are flying pigeons, playing basketball, playing cards, petty theft, playing pool, smoking marijuana, hanging out ... although not all members participate in all of these activities. The groups as formal wholes have relatively few activities.

association with the larger group is often a matter of formal definition of his identity more than anything else.⁸ Yet the ultimate sanction of the larger group and its fighting role is often referred to.

Sources of prestige within the group are physical size, toughness, courage and skill in fighting; skill with language in ritual insults, verbal routines with girls, singing, jokes and story-telling; knowledge of nationalist lore; skill and boldness in stealing; experience in reform schools; and connections with family members or others which provide reputation, money, hang-outs, marijuana, or other material goods. Success in school is irrelevant to prestige within the group, and reading is rarely if ever used outside of school.⁹

Group Membership Full participation in the group consists of *endorsement* of this set of values, and *acceptance* of a set of personal obligations to others within the same environment and value system. The criterion of formal membership ("you are a Jet" or "you are not a Jet") is often disputed. A few individuals want to be members and are rejected; others could easily be members but do not care to. Full membership, as we define it, means that the individual is thoroughly involved with the values and activities of the group, and is defined as a member both by himself and by others. If some but not all of these criteria are fulfilled, we term the individual a "marginal member." The clearest evidence for full membership as against marginal status is provided by the symmetrical and asymmetrical relations in a sociometric diagram.¹⁰ If an individual on the outskirts of the group wants to be a member, yet is prevented by the influence of other environments (family, school) and other value systems, he is classed with other non-members. In each area there are "social groups" which are strongly influenced by adult organizations: we do not include membership in such groups in the category of membership which we are studying.

It has been shown in many similar situations that group membership is a function of age.¹¹ Boys 8-to-9 years old are definitely outsiders for the groups

- 8 The problem of group identity, and the obligations which accompany membership, is not fully solved.
- 9 As one indication of the importance of reading in the group, we may consider one pair of boys who were best friends and saw each other every day. One read extremely well, the other not at all: the other's performance was a total surprise to each.
- 10 The most important data is derived from the question, "Who are the guys [cats] you hang out with?", supplemented with other questions on group leaders, best friends, and all other mentions of individuals in relevant roles.
- 11 Cf. Peter Wilmott, *Adolescent Boys in East London*. London: 1966, p. 35. In answer to a question on main companions in spare time, 57 per cent of those 14-15 years old indicated a group of other males; 44 per cent of those 16-18 years old; and only 32 per cent of those 19-20 years old.

we are studying, and they have only a vague knowledge of group activities. Membership is strongest in the 13-to-15-year-old range, and falls off rapidly in the later teens. A few 18-or-19-year-old boys act as seniors, especially if younger brothers are serving as officers, but as a rule older boys drift off into different activities.

It is difficult to estimate the percentage of boys who are full participants in the street culture. However, in the one 13-story low income project which we studied intensively,¹² there were 22 boys 10-to-12 years old. Their relationships to the major peer group, the "Thunderbirds," were as follows:

members	marginal members	non-members
12	3	7

Our general experience would indicate that 50 to 60 per cent of the boys in the age range 10-to-16 are full participants in the street culture we are studying here.

Reading Records In all of our individual interviews, we used a number of special reading tests developed to yield specific information on the vernacular phonology and grammar.¹³ However, the most direct evidence for reading performance in schools is obtained from the Metropolitan Achievement Test given every year in the New York City schools. With the help of the New York City Board of Education, we were able to study recently the academic records of 75 pre-adolescent and adolescent boys with whom we had worked in the years 1965 to 1967. The substance of this report is the correlation between the Metropolitan Achievement Reading Test and group membership.

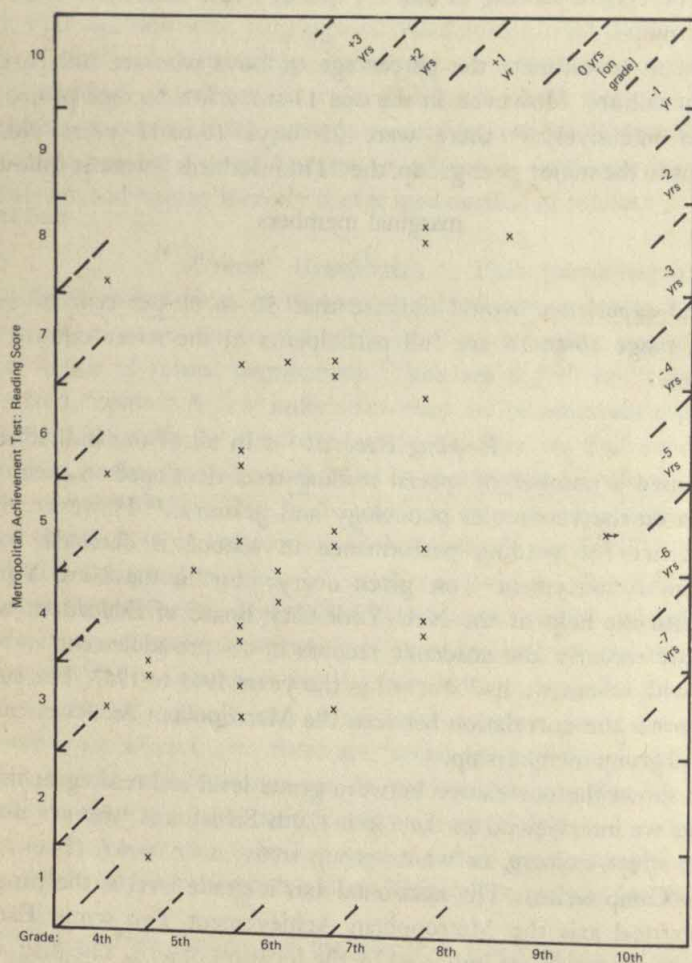
Figure 1 shows the correlation between grade level and reading achievement for 32 boys we interviewed in the 110th-120th Street area who are not members of the street, culture, or whose group status is unknown (from the Vacation Day Camp series). The horizontal axis is grade level at the time of the test; the vertical axis the Metropolitan Achievement Test score. Each individual's score and grade are indicated by the location of an *x*. The diagonal lines group together those who are reading on grade level [0], one to three years above grade level [+3—+1], or one to six years behind grade level [—1——6]. As one would expect, there are a good many boys who are two years behind grade, which is average in New York City, but there are also quite a few on grade and some ahead of grade level. Eleven of the 32 boys are on grade or

12 The building studied here is 1390 Fifth Avenue.

13 Gray's Oral Reading Test was also given to a section of the population for further calibration on school approaches to reading.

FIGURE 1.

Grade and reading achievement for 32 non-members of street groups in South Central Harlem



above. The general direction of the pattern is upward, indicating that learning is taking place.

Figure 2 shows the same relationships for 43 boys who are members or marginal members of street groups in South Central Harlem. Each individual is represented by a letter symbolizing the group of which he is a member or to which he is most closely related. Upper case letters are full members, and lower case marginal members. The over-all pattern is entirely different from

Figure 1: no one is reading above grade, only one boy reading on grade, and the great majority are three or more years behind. Moreover, there are *no*

FIGURE 2.

Grade and reading achievement for 43 members of street groups in South Central Harlem

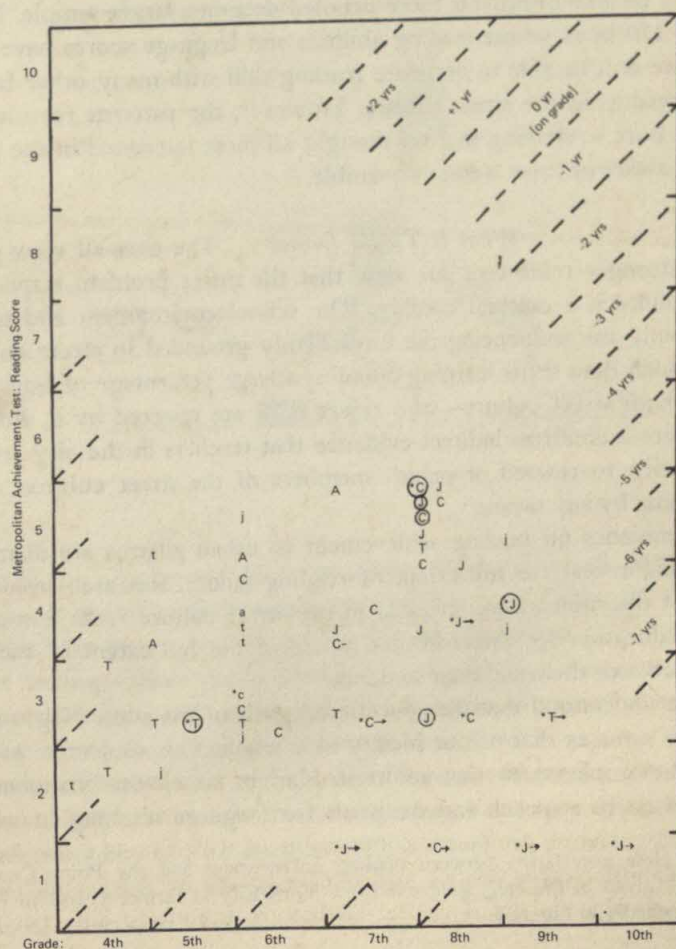
T,t = "Thunderbirds"

A,a = "Aces"

C,c = "Cobras"

J,j = "Jets"

other symbols: see text



boys who are reading above the fifth grade level, no matter what grade they are in. At each grade, the reading achievement for these boys forms a lower, more compact group than for the same grade in Figure 1. The close concentration of boys in the eighth grade below the fifth grade level shows a limitation on achievement which is quite striking. On the whole, Figure 2 shows very little learning as compared to Figure 1.¹⁴

The lower achievement of group members does not indicate over-all deficiency in verbal skills. Many of these boys are proficient at a wide range of verbal skills appropriate for group activity: the verbal leaders are indicated by circles in Figure 2. While several are clustered near the highest point of achievement, there are other verbal leaders near the bottom of the diagram.

These findings are merely preliminary to our main body of correlations; we will shortly be able to provide more detailed data on a larger sample. There are a total of 170 boys whose reading abilities and language scores have been studied, and we will be able to correlate reading skill with many other factors besides membership in the street culture. However, the patterns revealed by Figures 1 and 2 are so striking that we thought all those interested in the problem should be aware of them as soon as possible.

What Is To Be Done? The over-all view given by Figure 2 strongly reinforces our view that the major problem responsible for reading failure is a cultural conflict. The school environment and school values are plainly not influencing the boys firmly grounded in street culture. The group which does show learning contains a large percentage of boys who do not fit in with street culture—who reject it or are rejected by it. For the majority, Figure 2 confirms indirect evidence that teachers in the city schools have little ability to reward or punish members of the street culture, or to motivate learning by any means.

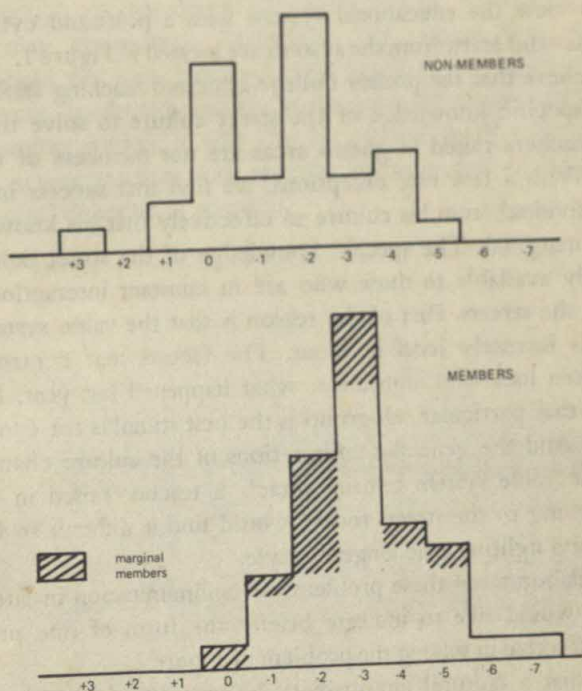
The usual statistics on reading achievement in urban ghettos are alarming, but they do not reveal the full extent of reading failure. Research inside the schools cannot discriminate membership in the street culture from non-membership, and educators are therefore not aware of the full extent of the cultural barrier between them and their students.

It should be understood that the educational goals of the adult Negro community are the same as that of our society as a whole. Our subjective evaluation tests, for example, show that adults in Harlem are almost unanimous in their norms of correct speech and the goals for language teaching in school.

14 There is a close correlation between reading achievement and the Pinter-Cunningham IQ test (given in the early grades in New York City in former years) in Figure 1, and less markedly in Figure 2.

FIGURE 3.

Distribution of non-members, marginal members and members of street culture by years behind grade



Many of the members of the street culture gradually break away and acquire these adult norms in their twenties. However, these norms are of little value for those who do not have the skills to put them into effect.

The reading failure that we have documented here is typical of other performance on the academic records. The pattern of failure is so widespread, in many urban areas, that one cannot hold responsible any one system, school or teacher. The majority of these boys have not learned to read well enough to use reading as a tool for further learning. For many of them, there is no realistic possibility of graduating from high school and acquiring the skills needed for the job market. In this particular note we are dealing only with the formal aspect of educational failure. In later publications, we will attempt to docu-

ment the pessimism and despair with which these adolescents view their immediate future.

The absolute ceiling of Figure 2 is of course an artifact of the limited sample. We know from our own tests that there are group members who read very well, whose school records are not presently available. But even these rare individuals view the educational system with a profound cynicism. The majority of those who learn from the system are located in Figure 1.

We do not believe that the present college-educated teaching staff, Negro or white, has the specific knowledge of the street culture to solve this problem alone. Negro teachers raised in ghetto areas are not members of the *current* street culture. With a few rare exceptions, we find that success in education removes the individual from his culture so effectively that his knowledge of it becomes quite marginal. The specific knowledge of the street culture which is needed is only available to those who are in constant interaction with the peer groups on the streets. Part of the reason is that the value system, though quite general, is intensely *local* in focus. The factors that control language behavior are often local and immediate: what happened last year, last month, or yesterday to that particular sub-group is the best stimulus for evoking spontaneous speech. And the general configurations of the culture change rapidly even though the value system remains intact: a teacher raised in Harlem in the 1950's, returning to the streets today, would find it difficult to understand how and why gang fighting is no longer in style.

We hope to elaborate on these problems of communication in later publications. Here we would like to indicate briefly the form of one proposal we believe will be effective in solving the problem of Figure 2.

We propose that a cultural intermediary be introduced into the classroom in the person of a young Negro man,¹⁵ 16 to 25 years old, with high school level reading skills, but not a college graduate. We propose the creation of a special license to allow this young man to carry out the following functions:

1. to acquaint the teacher with the specific interests of members of the class and help design reading materials centering on these interests.
2. to provide effective rewards and punishments that will motivate members of street culture for whom normal school sanctions are irrelevant.
3. to lead group discussion on topics of immediate concern to members of the class.
4. to lead boys in sports and other recreational activities in school time.

15 We specifically designate a male for this role, in contrast to a number of proposals for "para-professionals" in the schools which utilize women from the community or from college training courses. We cannot elaborate on the importance of sex differentiation here, except to indicate that we believe it is a matter of prime importance.

5. to maintain contact with boys outside of school, on the streets, and help organize extra-curricular activities.

We are well aware of the difficulties that any school system will have in absorbing such outside elements. The situation in most ghetto schools is plainly desperate enough so that many educators will be willing to endorse a proposal that may create such difficulties. We suggest that summer training schools be held for such special license teachers, in which regular teachers will participate, to develop jointly techniques for cross-cultural cooperation. At such training schools, it will also be possible to provide regular teachers and special license teachers with specific linguistic data of the type generated by our principal direction of research.

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Is Teaching Phoney?

B. Paul Komisar
Temple University

To a less than happy degree, a distinct tone of carping has characterized one region of discussion in education. The region I refer to is the debate accompanying the introduction and limited encroachment of machinery and new forms of organization into the classroom, traditionally the precinct of the single, human-type teacher.

It is easy to be displeased by this, but more disheartening yet is the futile way the debate is joined. Controversy seems to have arisen in answer to such a question as "Is programmed instruction better than lecturing?", a question which puts the onus of proof on the innovation. Then demonstrations of greater or, what is more likely, equal effectiveness in the new techniques are countered with claims of further sacrosanct, often indiscernable features in the traditional ways. And so it goes on, jejunely.

In what follows, I want to do two things: (1) suggest what is wrong with the debate as presently conducted; and (2) even more suggestively do an analysis of teaching which might recast our conception of it. The "it" in the preceding sentence is ambiguous by intent. For it is the hope here that the analysis will contribute something to the rationality of the debate as well as give us a glimpse of the terror that is in teaching, debate or no debate.

The new forms of "teaching" alluded to above include teaching machines, computer-based instruction, and other offsprings of technology, as well as any conception of the teacher as a guide, stage-manager, or resource rather than a director of learning. So the first suggestion is that those in education who advocate these forms are radicals and not merely revisionists. They are radicals because teaching machines *et al.* are *not* new methods of teaching; rather they represent a different kind of social encounter to replace the kind we call *teaching*. The case for claiming radical innovation is as follows:

1. *Offerings*. In all human encounters it can be said a person makes something available to another: our paths intersect, we perceive one another and offer our discourse, demeanor and movements. When the elements are com-

Professor Komisar teaches philosophy of education and is the author of numerous articles concerned with clarifying the language of education. Here he uses his analytic tools on the controversy evoked by the introduction of teaching machines into the classroom. These machines, he says, are not new methods of teaching; they represent new kinds of social encounter intended to replace the one called teaching. Teaching is, in any case, an inauthentic encounter because it comes disguised as a gift freely given, when it is really a contrivance which should be offered as a simple service—and never is.

bined in intelligible ways, we get the minimum to be expected in any social encounter, what I will call an offering. An offering, on the view adopted here, is a social object adequately describable on its *own* terms, supplemented perhaps by reference to the offerer. So I may whine, wail, bleat, or blubber in your presence, but that *that* is what I do can be correctly reported *without reference to you*. My act, so to speak, though done in your presence is describable as done by me (of course I may have annoyed *you*, but that is another matter, or act). Indeed I can be said to have done that act in your company without your having noted it or noted it as such, and certainly it is not necessary that you acknowledge it. The point to be made in calling this an *offering* is that the act is made available to you; you *might* be of a mind to notice or even make something of it. But you need not; as an act it remains what it is whether or not it has this effect.

2. *Gifts and Services*. When what we make available to another requires for its completeness participation by the second party (perhaps some *change* in the other), then we have not offerings but gifts and services. Gifts and services, then, are offerings marked by being obtrusive. They have a "built-in" effect and require a recipient in order to achieve their alleged being. Hence an adequate description of either will mention a recipient. We give friendship, sympathy, and advice *to someone*; we don't just do them of ourselves. So these are gifts or services, not offerings; and we cannot describe what they are without mention of the other to which they are directed.

But what in turn sets off gifts from services is whether solicitation is a precondition for esteem. If I am a therapist and you invite my ministrations, then what I give is (genuine) therapy. But foisted "therapy" is not that at all but rather meddling or impertinence: it gives offense not aid. The same applies to training; to direct it at me without my leave is to be arrogant not helpful, obtuse not obliging. I am not sure, but the same may be true of comedy. If your antics are not invited or, at minimum, welcome, then you are being more vexing than entertaining. Ergo these are all *services*, by which is meant that without solicitation or acceptance they lose the right to be called (simply) by their initial names.

Gifts are the antithesis. My failure to request or accede to your act does not make it lose face or strip it of being; it remains what it is. Like services, gifts essentially intrude on the other, but it is an intrusion lacking power to modify the nature of the act. Thus we *give* friendship, love, joy, loyalty, and, not to side with the angels, subservience, enmity, and hurt. These need not be wanted to be honorably what they allege to be. Whether it sits easily or not with the recipient, friendship given remains friendship. (Indeed to

woo or welcome the pain that is given transmutes the gift. It becomes significantly something else.)

On the whole, services are more mundane than gifts, though one can give services to the state, I suppose, or sing for kings. Yet services restrict the other's freedom less than gifts (and offerings seem to restrict it not at all). There isn't much one can do to choose or control a gift except to avoid the likely circumstances or make oneself an unlikely receiver. To lose a little love may be to gain a little freedom. But if you are given loyalty, then you are one who commands loyalty (that much anyway), and not much is to be done about it *post eventum*. The gift has obliterated the freedom to choose. Not surprisingly this lack of choice tends to characterize the giver too. Gifts tend to be spontaneous; it detracts from the gift, often, to plot the giving. A *contrived* insult is a mark of respect, and that much easier to bear.

Teaching as Intrusion

To return to our topic. Teaching, I would contend, is obtrusive in two ways. What we call effective teaching is an activity which makes substantial changes in the students' non-substantial self, his mind-stuff. (Effective whining can be just whining that makes the whiner less wrought.) More than this, the many expressions we use to label sundry phases of teaching all seem to imply a piercing of the student's perceptual line of defense. Thus we say we reassure the student, give him praise, clear up his muddled ideas, and so on. All this suggests a necessary intrusion of teacher on student.

So the obvious is true, to teach and to leave the learner unaffected is not to have been teaching at all. To reassure or prove something to a student is *to do something to him*. And one cannot prove the thing so the student can decide whether he wants it proved to him!

But for those who would view reassurance and reports, proofs and praise as trivial intrusions, not to be taken weightily, another point is waiting. If it is not teaching itself which is essentially intrusive (though I would argue that it is), then no one can dispute that the way we conduct it makes it significantly so. A good part of our institution of education is hedged about with rule and law the upshot of which, it must appear to student and observer alike, is to make the teacher's intrusion on the student massive and mandatory.

The above remarks are all in aid of showing that teaching either by its conception or circumstances is *not* an offering simpliciter. And, consequently, my contention that the advocates of the new methods and machines, in which teachers are supposed not to intrude, are not urging new forms of teaching but urging a substitute for teaching or a radical change in its institutional

conditions. But to make teaching an offering by such radical surgery is just one more case of a cure that kills.

It might be objected, however, that the original choice abides; should we or should we not adopt these new forms? To label the innovators radicals would seem to merely reword but not resolve the issue. But I suggest that a smidgin of strictness is just the ticket here. New phraseology inspires new focus. Posed as a radical dichotomy between teaching and some total replacement, we are encouraged to ask: "Is teaching itself obsolete?" And "Is teaching obsolete?" asks not for repeated matching of features in the new with ever more arcane qualities in the old, rather it directs us to seek for some quality in teaching which debilitates it absolutely. I suggest that there is such a quality.

A Root Phoniness Due to its nature or circumstances, teaching is an inauthentic human encounter. In terms of a distinction made earlier, teaching is service masquerading as gift. Though we present it as a gift, it lacks gift features: teaching has not the immediate and intrinsic worth possessed by joy or splendor (though we try to so ornament it); nor does the activity arise spontaneously, on impulse, without forethought, things which render the meanest gifts as at least honest. No, teaching is a contrivance in two ways: its value is the value of invention and appliance, and its performance arises by craft and emerges in plot. The very model of rational action urged on teachers in conventional educational wisdom is the model of adapting means to ends, the model for planned intervention.

Yet despite these deviations from gift traits, teaching does not wait upon client demand or acquiescence; it is thrust upon minds not fit out to welcome, avoid, or even appraise it. Imagine, as was noted above, trying to make a mind aware so it can choose whether to become so; or imagine a school denied the privilege of instructing unless conducted under the auspices of a contract made with students.

So there is a root phoniness in teaching. It ought to be a simple service like radio repair but we treat it as a gratuity. And this explains much that was heretofore inexplicable. It accounts for our odd fascination with recurrent proposals to conduct teaching by indirection (Education According to Nature; the Project Method), and it explains the dream of teacher as Itinerant Pedagogue. These myths of *Teaching as Offering* are just that, yet the more sensitive among us cleave to them even as the more creative are propounding new instances. Still, worse forms of expiation have been tried.

Atonement for what? Why, for the destruction which comes from viewing teaching as a boon. There is space for but one example. Teaching requires mutual confidence between student and teacher; for the activity to get any-

where, each must have trust in the general credibility and veracity of the other. I suppose each teacher has had moments of terror when this trust dies or even fails to appear. (Some teachers live with this terror.) In any honest service, both parties have an obvious and immediate recourse—termination. We need not brook the tasteless bard or baker. Since teaching cannot prosper without respect, then let it not be tried at all. But in what presently passes for education, we are denied this obliging expedient. The logistics of institutional education seem not to abide the simple graces, and corruption of teaching is seen as a price worth paying.

Furthermore, we have, not unnaturally, fostered a rhetoric that undercuts this essential trust. For the ideology of education holds that teacher authority should not be the main source of student belief; rather the source should be some "objective," impersonal authority. The idea that students can learn only or even mainly from actual experiments, original sources, and hard data is wild doctrine, but one we *need* if we are to pretend that teaching lives after trust in the teacher dies.

Finally, and not the least trivially, it is not now a mystery why there is more strain and fatigue in teaching than any time and motion study would lead one to predict. It is exquisite agony to make condescension a practice, but to make it the practice of a profession is unbearable.

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The Effect of Copyright Practices on Educational Innovation

M. William Krasilovsky
Counselor-at-Law, New York City

The privilege of exclusive ownership and control over literary, musical and other creative expression that is called copyright is granted pursuant to a Constitutional policy intended "... To promote the progress of science and the useful arts. ..." This goal is fulfilled when the financial incentive resultant from copyright brings forth publication, distribution and exploitation of the artistic expression. However, with every right there is a corollary responsibility, and in copyright this is the social responsibility of keeping the publication available to the public. Traditionally, this has meant keeping books in print and in sufficient inventory and, in many countries, has also included the responsibility of permitting translations into the local language. In today's world, the social responsibility of the copyright proprietor includes granting permissions under reasonable conditions for translation not only into other languages but into other media.

In commenting upon the program envisioned by the UNESCO sponsored audio-visual institute, Howard Taubman of the *New York Times* said:

The medium is something more than the message. Thus the technical mediums such as radio, television, film, phonograph and tape recorder, which have become so dominant a part of our daily lives, are generating fresh interactions and new permutations. They are obliging the practitioners of creative and interpretative skills to rethink their own relationships and to ponder new ones.

The question may well be asked as to how copyright owners are rethinking their relationships to users and whether they are acting to further or to stymie innovation, especially in the field of education.

Examples of Accommodation Licenses Technological changes in such forms as Xerox, tape recorders, slides and transparencies, motion pictures, television film, and information retrieval systems

Mr. Krasilovsky, New York attorney and expert in copyright law, here charts a course for educators through a normally complicated terrain. Interested in technological innovation and the possibilities of teachers' maintaining the initiative when using new devices, he calls for the development of a reasonable and informed approach to the problem of arranging for the use of copyrighted materials. William Krasilovsky is, of course, concerned about protecting the rights of copyright owners; but he is taking a broad view of the "rights" situation with the "school as a center of inquiry" in mind.

have had a remarkable democratizing effect on the fields of publishing, recording and film making. Not only does the teacher in a face-to-face classroom situation have access to such media but independent businessmen can, with limited investment, become suppliers of new products for such media. Some examples are:

A choral arrangement is made of Irving Berlin's *God Bless America* for imprinting on transparencies for use in school instruction.

A poetry anthology is prepared with a view towards showing contemporary poetry with an extract from Allen Ginsberg.

Cornell University prepares an information retrieval use of the entire works of William Butler Yeats for line by line single selection retrieval upon a complete individual word index.

A Braille edition of Kennedy's *Profiles In Courage* is issued.

A special film for the deaf is prepared wherein captions must be inserted into a prior existing film originally issued for sound.

Simplified music or stories are prepared for teaching the mentally retarded.

The Yale Glee Club arranges to tape record and then custom press a limited edition of an annual concert.

A Community Theatre arranges to tape record and then custom press a limited edition of their own "cast album" of *My Fair Lady*.

An historical presentation of the *Sounds of World War II* is prepared in recorded form wherein the actual speeches of Churchill and Hitler are utilized together with extracts of popular entertainment of the era.

A high school band copies 100 special arrangements of *I Love a Parade* to match the unusual instrumentation of their own band because available printed copies are insufficient.

Similar examples could be multiplied endlessly. It should be noted that most of these examples *can* affect the potential market for prior existing editions and thus might be viewed with concern by the copyright owner. Also, these uses, aimed as they are for an educational market which consumes some 50 billion dollars a year in our economy, should not always be free and might even result in substantial profits.

The Basic Economics of Accommodation Licenses

The millionaire who invests his fortune in a single municipal bond of each city in the country can go broke by taking a taxi to the bank each time he clips a coupon. The diverse and limited volume of the many individual accommodation licenses in the copyright field also results in frequent situations

of overhead exceeding returns. Some ten thousand licenses are issued annually for limited pressing educational and community or religious recordings such as of a glee club, orchestra or musical play. The compulsory license rate of 2¢ per song per pressing results in something less than \$100,000 wherein authors and composers get half of such receipts and available funds left for overhead are less than the cost of licensing and collection. Some justification of this expense can be found in considering such licenses a small non-profit portion of a larger whole in the area of more commercial recording licenses which result in many millions of dollars or in recognition that no song would be sought by educational users if it didn't have a widespread use in broadcasts which bring in millions of dollars through ASCAP, BMI and SESAC. But, the copyright proprietor may well ask: why should profits be compelled to be used to support even the most worthy purpose wherein the copyright proprietor had no voice in selecting such donee as against others equally deserving?

The Rockefeller Panel Report on The Performing Arts noted:

Some educational associations are seeking to gain a very broad exemption in the revision of the copyright law on the use of artistic creation, extending even to an exemption for mimeographed material used by a teacher in a classroom. But their efforts are focused on gaining freedom from royalties and control by the author of material used by educational television. Although educational television, in its initial stages, clearly deserves *concessions and intelligent cooperation* in its development by artists, there seems no reason why it should receive blanket exemption from the payment of reasonable fees. Were it to receive this exemption—indeed, if any educational institution were to receive it—*artists would once more be in a position of being forced to provide a partial subsidy for the general cultural and intellectual development of the nation.*

A simple solution to the problem of accommodation permissions has been found by the various publishers in the University Press group. They have decided upon reciprocal free licensing for the use of limited extracts from each other's books. This alleviates overhead while achieving rough equality in financial reward through the opportunity to avoid fees which might, over the years, equal the amount lost in collections. The fault with this system is that the confidence shown among University Press publishers cannot be equally offered to all potential users, especially since appropriate imprinting of original copyright notice is a requisite of all licenses to print. Moreover, are the authors deprived of their share of fees that might otherwise be collected?

Many major commercial publishers have large Permissions Departments with expert staffs. Some would rather issue gratis licenses than go below an arbitrary minimum of \$25 per use, and accordingly offer such gratis licenses most often to non-profit organizations while charging this minimum fee in most other instances. One major publisher, however, has decided that the better alternative is to charge even the most deserving non-profit user a fee of so many cents or fractions of a cent per page printed.

Royalties of either 10 percent of amounts received or of 10% of retail selling price are common in the reprinting of entire works, such as in other languages, enlarged print or cheaper editions such as paperback. When the work is incorporated with other works, a pro rata apportionment of this rate can be effected on the basis of percentage of the entire edition in which it appears or number of copyrighted works utilized.

One disturbing economic factor in educational uses of copyrighted materials has moral overtones. It is that the expense of administering accommodation licenses among the hundreds of thousands of schools of the country, and the difficulty of policing such uses, leads to a certain number of implied or even express invitations to infringe. Under the copyright law, infringement willfully done is a misdemeanor with criminal penalties, and yet many are the publishers who knowingly ignore infringements rather than face the problem of licensing or policing. In a statement to Congress, an *ad hoc* committee of educational institutions and organizations said:

Teachers do not want to be "bootleggers." They want to be law-abiding citizens and still follow the best teaching methods possible to bring experiences to boys and girls.

These comments should be considered in the light of the fact that unauthorized mimeographed copies of music are handed out in many school programs including adult programs where some tuition fees are charged. One teacher who regularly infringes popular songs in a piano course for adults justified the practice because early in her career she innocently wrote to the copyright owner named on the sheet music from which she copied and received no reply whatsoever. She assumed that the nuisance of her request was such that further inquiry was unnecessary. Many publishers agree—preferring to have infringers in their midst rather than lawful licensees. Another teacher called long distance to a publisher who was unwilling to negotiate a license unless an advance of \$5000 or a minimum publication of 100,000 copies was guaranteed for the modest commercial project that involved the innovation of choral selection on transparencies. The teacher, envisioning a sale of perhaps a few hundred copies, was forced to make other selections.

The Game of Hide and Seek Many experienced publishers and copyright attorneys consider the problem of locating copyright owners to be a stimulating challenge. They know the reference works, the index services, the companies and even the individuals in charge of permissions. This, however, is not the case of the small new publisher of an anthology in Seattle, Washington or of the private music teacher in Tampa, Florida. The stimulating challenge of copyright becomes a hopeless maze to the uninitiated. They have neither the experience nor access, much less personal contact, so necessary in locating and communicating with copyright owners.

The head of Doubleday's Permissions Department cites an example of one potential user who couldn't understand the failure to answer by this major publisher. The letter requesting permission was sent to the Garden City address of the printing plant rather than the editorial offices and was addressed not to the Permissions Department but to "General Editor." Recognizing this problem, a Doubleday field salesman suggested that all catalogues should give instructions on how to address permission requests.

A more substantial problem is in finding the identity of a copyright owner which has been sold, merged, dissolved or otherwise changed in corporate identity and address. Experienced searchers know that R. R. Bowker publishes a "bible" for permissions departments in *The Literary Market Place*, listing past and present names as well as such identities of periodicals and agents. In the field of music, the National Music Publishers Association and Music Publishers Association have also listed such identifications of old and new publishers and their addresses. This appears in the free booklet "Clearance of Rights in Musical Compositions."

Experienced users of music, especially in the New York area, know of the valuable free index service offered by the performance right organizations. A telephone call to ASCAP (Mu 8-8800) or to BMI (Pl 9-1500) will result in their respective index departments reporting on copyright owner, author and composer and date of copyright of most active musical works. Each of such organizations, and the third such organization, SESAC, also prints extensive catalogs giving name of publisher and writers of available songs and, in the case of ASCAP, a notation by asterisk to denote when a song is protected only in the arrangement or other new version while the basic work is in the public domain. Most copyright search by music users in the area of public performance for profit is reduced by the simple device of obtaining blanket annual licenses to all three licensing organizations' catalogues as a whole. A limited number of "per program" licenses for the entire catalog are also issued by ASCAP and BMI but individual song clearances are issued, in the rare instances when used, by the publisher or other owner directly to user.

Mechanical and synchronization licenses (and transcription licenses as well) are available for a major part of the music industry through the New York office of Harry Fox, agent for many music publishers. When a motion picture synchronization license is issued, this office also issues a performance license for theatres in the United States because antitrust decrees require that the two licenses be available at the same time. Otherwise, all performance licenses are handled by the performance right organization and by their numerous affiliates in many foreign countries.

The College and University license for live performances offered by ASCAP is an example of accomodation licenses issued at a modest fee as a public service. For a mere \$25 a year for a school of under 1000 enrollment, and for varying fees up to a maximum of \$200 for a school of 10,000 or more enrollment, a general license is available to cover works as diverse as Aaron Copland and Virgil Thomson works on one hand and Duke Ellington and Bob Dylan in the more popular field. Some 175 such institutions have availed themselves of this license which, in an area where most live concert ticket sales occur on campus or under campus auspices, is indeed a bargain compared with artist payments of many millions for the same concerts.

In the field of drama, well established play agencies offer extensive copyright services. Tams-Witmark Music Library, Inc. and Samuel French, Inc. specialize respectively in the fields of musical comedy and straight drama. Each issues extensive catalogs describing the plays and their availability. An indication of the extent of this activity is shown by the fact that Tams-Witmark sends out some 150,000 catalogs and newspaper supplements annually, receiving as many as 40,000 inquiries a year which results in several thousand actual licenses at rates from \$150 to \$1500 depending on size of theatre, number of performances and price of tickets.

All copyright search is more reliably based upon the official Register of Copyright records. This can be done privately through such offices as New York's *Johnson and Tannenbaum* and Washington D.C.'s Office of *Fulton Brylawski*. Search is also available through the official government Search service at the Register of Copyrights, Library of Congress for the rate of \$5.00 per hour, resulting in a full written report. The incentive to use private offices is in the faster service available. Some major users, rather than risk any judgment involving substantial investment on only one such report, none of which serve as full insurance, rely upon two or more reports requested simultaneously. Most accomodation licensees make no use of any of these services because of cost of private reports and delay for government reports.

The tendency to infringe rather than to delay a worthy use is best illustrated by the sister libraries to the home of official copyright records, the

Library of Congress. The National Library of Medicine and the National Agricultural Libraries both make unauthorized copies of copyrighted works regularly. One will copy anything in their collection for the limited use of other libraries throughout the country and the other will reproduce in photographic or microfilm form for any interested party. One justification offered is that the Federal policy of Freedom of Information is supreme as to materials owned by a Federal agency and another justification sometimes offered is that the Constitutional policy of promoting the progress of science and the useful arts is better served in this manner. Neither justification avoids the fact that a technical copyright infringement occurs.

Sound Recordings Some permissions are available for reproduction in whole or in part of previously recorded works. The major companies have custom record pressing services which will service indiscriminately any potential record producer. When the record producer wants to use a work from the previously recorded repertoire of such company, some opportunity to deal may be available on a piece by piece basis. Columbia has a Special Products Division which is charged with the responsibility of finding new sales outlets for previous recorded materials. Thus, a musical instruction recording can be pieced together with the assistance of this division utilizing segments of earlier recordings by great orchestras or soloists. However, when application is made to other companies, some arbitrary decisions based upon the simple question of whether there is or is not any direct or indirect profit motive will occur. Some worthy educational projects have been rejected because the extracts sought would be used on a recording having a possible commercial benefit and no area of license fee negotiation is permitted. This is particularly odd in the light of these same major record companies' participating in the extensive lobbying in Congress for extending copyright to recordings. The House Judiciary Committee, in recommending limited copyright for sound recordings, stated:

... with respect to sound recordings published before the effective date, the bill leaves unresolved the difficult question of whether protection now exists at common law or whether they are all in public domain.

Apparently, record companies that refuse to enter into negotiation for licenses to re-use past recordings claim some existing right but refuse to recognize any responsibility to license. Apparently, Congress intends to leave the question of existing rights in phonograph records to the Courts through some future litigation. This will be even more required if attempt is made by any record company to enforce rights through State-enacted statutes such as the

1966 New York law. Recent United States Supreme Court rulings provide that the Federal right of enacting copyright legislation is exclusive and that even when *not* included within the Federal copyright law, the gap in such protection cannot be filled by State law except in instances of fraud such as counterfeiting. Where a record producer uses an extract from a prior issued recording for an anthology or historical presentation, and makes no attempt to pass off the extract as being produced and marketed by the original source, the legal issues (in addition to the issue of "fair use" which is to be discussed hereafter) will include whether the previous recording was in public domain or under common law copyright and whether any State-passed law against such use was invalid because Federal authority under the Constitution pre-empts the field.

Photography is a particularly difficult area of accommodation license. One major educational television official estimated that some 100 infringements of copyright in photography occur daily just in educational television. Where a copyright proprietor is located, such as a major book publisher with copyright on a photograph included within earlier book publication, permission to commercial users is frequently given at \$100 a use. However, much photography is handled in a manner which is not as simple as this. It is produced by an independent photographer who markets it through agents such as Black Star or Magnum for limited rights to the actual publisher. Thus, a *Life* magazine photograph of a flood disaster in 1946 might have been obtained on a "first serial" right of publication only. Thus, *Life*, when contacted for permission, can only refer the request on to the agency involved. But the agency, if located, may very well have changed its relationship to the photographer over the years and more often than not has no means of finding, much less representing, the original photographer. Moreover, a photographer active in 1946 might have changed occupations in the interim and have no current agent or facilities to use for issuing licenses. The end result is that infringements are frequent.

The major national corporation of the Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing Corp. has embarked on a library service program resulting from successful bidding for the role. The New York Public Library has extensive collections of periodicals that are not otherwise available to many other libraries throughout the country. The 3M company is prepared to microfilm these collections, such as back issues of *Variety* or the *Journal of Commerce*, together with preparation of the index to accompany the set. Many are the publications which are pleased to license such a worthy project merely in return for getting a reference copy and index for its own use. However, early in the undertaking, the 3M company found that an immediate number of over 6000 ac-

commodation licenses are required. This is due to the fact that sub-licensing of permissions is barred in most instances. A cartoon or photograph included in a past issue of one of these periodicals might have been printed under a limited permission in the first place, and thus a complete search of all such limited publication rights must be made before the microfilm copying can proceed without technical infringements occurring. Apparently, after reasonable effort to locate owners is made, some decision of reasonable business risk of proceeding or of deleting will be required.

The Museum of Modern Art has a major collection of great motion picture films of the past. In connection therewith, they also have publicity stills from each film which they use not only for their own purposes but also for sale at \$15 each to the public. A publisher of books on film history or criticism might very well welcome the central repository of these pictures. Caution, however, is advised, because even though the \$15 price, when compared with the under \$2 price available for the very same pictures from collectors' shops, implies permission, the Museum has no authority to authorize publication. Each such publicity still has its own copyright notice in the name of an owner which has most often assigned all rights to a succession of other parties. Thus, the Museum has nothing to deliver for its inflated price other than an opportunity to support a worthy institution while obtaining a physical copy of the desired picture, and even the original motion picture producer frequently has no further rights to authorize publication.

Inadequacy of Fair Use Doctrine A license is not required in all instances of publication of copyrighted material. The Courts have established a doctrine of "fair use" which allows reasonable use without consent in such instances as news reporting, criticism, scholarship and research. Such right exists not only for non-profit uses but also for commercial undertakings. An example is the use of the lyrics of a popular song in a *New Yorker* magazine article about a famous personality wherein "The Perils of Pauline" was appropriate background material.

The doctrine is now suggested for statutory adoption in the proposed copyright revision bill which will make its application more convenient because it will be a nation-wide doctrine set forth in Federal statute rather than one requiring fifty different State interpretations under common law. Nevertheless, even when available in Federal statutory form, it will continue to be insufficient to assure most prospective accommodation licensees of immunity. This is because the doctrine is qualitative in its very nature, requiring a matter of judgment of whether a wide grey area has been passed or not. The criteria

involved include:

1. Purpose and character of the form in which it is to be used.
2. Nature of the copyrighted work used.
3. Substantiality of the portion used as compared to whole original work.
4. Effect of the use on potential market for copyrighted work.

The last of these items alone, that of potential competitive effect, would bar application to any area where printed copies of a copyrighted work might suffer loss in sale by film or transparency use, and where a "potential" market for the blind, mentally retarded or deaf is reduced by fulfilling social demands not met by the original publisher.

A basic defect to use of fair use doctrine is the aspect of being your own insurance company while faced with minimum statutory damages and threat of injunction if your judgment was wrong. This is recognized in the proposed copyright revision bill by reducing minimum damages from \$250 to \$100, where the user can show a good faith, although erroneous, reliance on the fair use doctrine. In actual practice, however, users find that a request for permission is the best procedure rather than reliance on the fair use doctrine. The result is that magazines such as *Time* and *Harpers* will imprint the copyright notice of the owner together with the phrase "Used by Permission" even on uses for news and comment which might be adequately covered by the fair use doctrine.

Threat of Compulsory Licensing

When negotiations at a bargaining table are ineffective and when parties cannot even be brought to the bargaining table for possible license, recourse to other procedure may become necessary. One such procedure that now exists in the field of copyright is the compulsory license under statute for a mechanical reproduction on phonograph records at the rate of 2¢ per song. Another such provision is now recommended for juke box performance licenses at \$5 a year per box. In making this recommendation, the House Judiciary Committee noted their conclusion that the users are:

... unjustifiably weak with respect to bargaining and unnecessarily perilous with respect to liability.

This comment could be even more appropriately offered as to the educational materials producer who is barred from innovation because of inability to locate copyright owners, who is refused even an answer by an owner who sees no financial incentive to offer a limited edition license at low fee, or who simply prefers to force teachers to continue to buy printed copies for school use rather than to have other media available.

Compulsory licensing is available in several countries in instances where a work is not available for cultural needs. Thus, Canada will even grant an involuntary *exclusive* five year license upon showing that the original owner has failed to make a local edition available. Mexico, Argentina and Brazil grant non-exclusive licenses on compulsory basis when seven years elapse without a translation into national language. This is recognized as an appropriate national prerogative in the Universal Copyright Convention (of which the United States is a signatory) in Article V which permits compulsory licenses when a work is not available in translated form in the country involved within seven years. The Stockholm revision of the Berne Copyright Convention makes an even more far-reaching form of compulsory license available in certain countries. "Developing countries," such as India and numerous African countries are permitted under this 1967 revision to provide for compulsory licenses for translations without any waiting period and also to extend compulsory license privileges to broadcasting, reproduction and other educational and scholarly purposes without time limit or other formalities. In commenting upon this revision, the United States Register of Copyrights, Abraham Kaminstein, speaking for the United States Delegation, pointed out that United States history regarding copyright also showed some fear of unlimited recognition of foreign origin copyrights. He said that we gave no protection to foreign authors until 1891 and:

Compulsory licenses are certainly better than no protection at all, and can be very useful in solving certain problems. But a compulsory license ultimately implies some sort of central collecting agency to collect and pay out money. The author no longer negotiates with the user, but must deal with a bureaucracy to obtain remuneration for uses of his works, and as the fabric becomes more complex the bureaucracy becomes larger and more powerful. I hardly need to add that, if an author must go to a large central bureaucracy to obtain money on which to live, there are likely to be consequences in loss of independence and artistic integrity that have chilling implications.

Copyright as it now exists combines two elements: control and remuneration. Take away the first and you no longer have copyright; you have patronage. Within the next few generations I feel sure that there will be strenuous efforts in every country, developed as well as developing, to take the author's control over his work away from his copyright, or to restrict it sharply, leaving him with rights of remuneration on which limits are placed

In other portions of his remarks, Mr. Kaminstein pointed out that a country's most precious and valuable national resource is in its books, art and music and that this cultural contribution can be handicapped by short-sighted restrictions on copyright. This is because copyright is a normal incentive to a country's authors, composers and artists, and when copyright is restricted the incentive for new production is diminished. In our own history, when copyright was available to native authors but not to foreign authors, an unfair economic factor of free works from overseas also restricted the market for American works. The United States Delegation also called the international group's attention to the fact that all countries, developed as well as developing, are all in a state of social revolution having enormous effects on all copyrighted works. The computer age was recognized as having the potential of greater and more far reaching changes on individual authorship and independent expression than ever since the Renaissance.

A variation on compulsory licensing is the use of judicial or administrative arbiters in the setting of reasonable fees for copyright uses. In Canada, there is a Copyright Appeal Board, presided over by a judge, which hears objections to proposed tariffs of collecting societies. No law suit may be commenced in the face of objections to proposed fees unless the Appeal Board approves and publishes the fees. In England, The Performing Right Tribunal is an administrative court with a Chairman appointed by the Lord Chancellor and from two to four other members who adjudicate cases involving copyright performing rights of all sorts.

Some Constructive Voluntary Practices The appeal of compulsory licenses and of restrictions on copyright can be best defeated by an attitude of availability and willingness to negotiate in good faith on the part of owners. Some constructive practice of copyright owners and their agents have been previously noted in this article. Examples include ASCAP's license for Colleges and Universities which alleviates much of the vexatious job of clearing individual musical compositions while involving fixed annual costs of modest fees. Other examples are the availability of mechanical licences for phonograph record production through central agents such as Harry Fox and SESAC which result in almost as much overhead cost as the net receipts paid. Similarly, the Permissions Departments of major publishers are frequently a vital force in helping users to find a lawful means of utilizing copyright.

An ambitious new project designed to help achieve an accommodation between owner and user is to be found in Project ERIC's Copyright Clearing House. This test project is being financed by the United States Office of

Education in cooperation with the American Book Publishers Council and the American Textbook Publishers Institute. Eighteen regional offices will be utilized to channel applications on previously approved forms listing all essential data for efficient handling. This information as to extent and type of use desired will then be sent to a central New York City office which will speed the request to the appropriate Permissions Department of the publisher involved, thereby alleviating the game of hide and seek and incomplete communication between prospective user and owner. All of this will be aided by a transmittal of catalogues and other listings of publications by the cooperating book publishers and the use of information retrieval systems for master indexing.

When a permission is acted upon, it will be either granted for the use requested together with a further right to make microfiche reproduction for Project ERIC's future reference needs, or will be rejected with a notation of available editions and price involved, again with or without the further permission of making microfiche copies for reference purposes. It is felt that even a history of what is *restricted* from accommodation licenses will assist potential users in at least warning them of unavailability at the outset rather than making them wait for completion of extended correspondence. Some provision is being made for a further grant of standard permission by the publisher involved, if so determined by the publisher, to allow use of the microfiche copy for further printings and permissions but caution is being exercised to preserve discretion in the publisher wherever desired. In furtherance of this assurance to the publisher involved, the right to demand destruction of all reference copies is given to all participants to be effective one year after the June 1968 termination of the test project.

After the test period is over, the history of the project will be analyzed for report to industry, Congress and the public.

A more modest industry venture in cooperating with accommodation licensees is the preparation of a standard form of Band Arrangements by various music industry trade associations. Where a school represents that published arrangements are not suitable to their band director's needs and instrumentation, the right to prepare special arrangements and to make necessary copies for that school's purposes is given under this standard form. Adequate provision is made for the necessary imprinting of copyright notices and for limiting the rights given to the school and its employees. This simple device of avoiding the need to have a lawyer prepare a new license for each such use, and the standard manner of availability, is sufficient in itself to defeat the powerful forces of inertia that would otherwise encourage infringements.

Diversification or Homogenization of Culture through Copyright? A favorite topic of extra-curricular study by educators is the corporate invasion of the classroom. What the Register of Copyrights saw as a beginning of a social revolution through computers is viewed as a "Xerox Revolution" by Dean Robert J. Schaefer of Teachers College. He saw a negative aspect of corporate activity in the teaching field in loss of individual purpose and direction of teachers. He said:

How can youngsters be convinced of the vitality of inquiry and of discovery if the adults with whom they directly work are mere automatons who shuffle papers, workbooks and filmstrips according to externally arranged schedules?

Dean Schaefer further noted:

But the corporate wisdom of the education industry notwithstanding, to conceive of contemporary education primarily in terms of guaranteeing standardized minimum levels is to employ a partial and inadequate frame of reference. Education is, after all, an interaction process in which many variables are involved—the pupils, the teacher, the educational goals, the particulars of the situation, as well as the learning materials all interact with one another. Provisions for flexibility must somehow be maintained so that instructional materials may be varied according to the demands of the particular situation.

The teacher's spark of individuality and constructive reaction to the needs of specific times, areas and students can be preserved by access to, rather than submission under, the force of technology. Electronic means of visual and aural reproduction is not a monopoly of corporate giants. Although Dean Schaefer notes the invasion of the classroom by IBM through Science Research Associates, RCA through Random House, Xerox through Wesleyan University Press and General Electric and Time, Inc. through General Learning Corporation, individual teachers do have access to Xerox machines, 3M's transparency copier, and tape recording and custom record pressing services. These are not limited to modest individual classroom supplements but are also available to teachers as moon-lighting entrepreneurs or for sabbatical assignments. All, however, is contingent either upon use of original or public domain materials unless copyright accommodation licenses are available to individuals as well as to corporate giants. If low cost copyright licensing can be achieved, schools need not become dispensaries of prepackaged information and can achieve Dean Schaefer's goal of being centers of intellectual and scholarly inquiry assisted by a positive use of technology. In an age when 25 million

people can witness an initial television performance of a new play and numerous new songs each year can achieve an initial sale of a million records, is it unreasonable to expect that both the public and copyright proprietors will benefit by encouraging new interpretations and permutations? Of course the European concept of the "moral right" of the author to control revisions of his work, and even to withdraw works from circulation is also to be considered, but when the author is not even consulted before a new use is rejected, or when rejection occurs because of failure to locate an owner or failure of a publisher to respond, the issue of moral right is not even raised.

Educational Goals The limited monopoly inherent in copyright is distorted when it results in a hindrance to the progress of science and the useful arts. On the other hand, it is inequitable to call upon copyright owners to subsidize cultural innovation by bearing inordinate administration expenses in addition to issuing licenses at modest or gratis rates.

The public benefit to be obtained by innovation and experiment in cultural and educational uses of copyrighted works warrants public support of some of the expense of bringing the interested parties together and encouraging reasonable fees and terms. The risk to the public of not encouraging such an adjustment of private rights and obligations is to have a mass culture and homogenized form of national education and expression. The choir director of Tuskegee Institute should not be compelled because of economics and copyright law to use the same arrangements as that of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The art classes of Saint Paul high school should not be required to use the same instruction materials as those designed for the schools of Los Angeles. Many are the states which bar adoption of school texts that are not regularly updated, and yet the process of updating a text often includes incorporation in earlier texts of more recent cultural examples.

In keeping with the spirit of this article which stresses the value of new permutations of previous forms of expression, a fit conclusion is a revision and copying of the published goals of an earlier writer. The Educational Products Information Exchange goals can, with slight adjustment, be a fitting conclusion herein. They are:

Improve the Educators' Ability to Select.

Increase the Exchange of Information of User and Supplier.

Encourage Educational Innovation.

Make Copyright Compatible with Growth in Technology in Education.

**Scott Foresman
College Division**

Applying Theory To Practice

CHILDREN, PSYCHOLOGY, AND THE SCHOOLS

Current Issues and Research

Edited by BRYANT FEATHER, Chicago State College
WALTER OLSON

Timely and pertinent psychological and educational issues, many of which are controversial, are explored in depth by outstanding authorities from various academic disciplines and professions in this collection of readings on the psychological growth and development of children. The readings utilize the most current research and theory available and focus special attention on the adolescent, detection and prevention of delinquency, new approaches to learning, and work with the mentally handicapped, the socially maladjusted, and the drop-out. Material of particular interest to teachers includes articles dealing with psychological testing, parent-teacher conferences, and the personal and emotional adjustment of teachers. The text is designed for use in educational psychology, child psychology, and child development courses. A Teacher's Manual and a Workbook will be available. *Ready Spring 1969, approx. 352 pages, illus., softbound, prob. \$3.95*

THE YOUNG ADULT

Identity and Awareness

Edited by GERALD D. WINTER, St. John's University, New York
EUGENE M. NUSS, University of Bridgeport

The primary purpose of this collection of readings is to help the student explore the nature of adolescence in a psychological perspective. The 34 essay-type articles have all been written since 1960 and were chosen from both scholarly and popular sources with the students' interests in mind. Many of the problems studied in the articles are of special interest to the contemporary adolescent: the new morality, drugs, drop-outs, identity, and the youth of other countries. Both chapter and individual article introductions are included and discussion questions follow each chapter. In addition, the text contains a glossary of over 200 statistical terms defined in language easily understood by the student with no background in statistics or experimental design. *Ready Spring 1969, approx. 304 pages, illus., softbound, prob. \$3.95*

PSYCHOLOGY AND TEACHING

Third Edition

By WILLIAM C. MORSE, University of Michigan
G. MAX WINGO, University of Michigan

This thoroughly revised study is a basic text for an educational psychology course, a useful guide for teachers, and an excellent supplementary reference for courses in teaching. The overall organization of the text consists of discussion on the role of the teacher, the nature of children, and the nature of learning. The general approach of the discussion stems from the application of psychological data to the operation of a secondary or elementary classroom and the combination of psychological principles with the consideration of actual teaching situations. The plan is emphasized by directing special attention to the group aspects of educational psychology, classroom discipline, procedures, and the problems of disadvantaged children. This edition contains twelve completely new readings, a rewritten reference manual on general psychology, use of new references and suggestions for further reading. *Ready Spring 1969, approx. 768 pages, prob. \$9.75*

SCOTT, FORESMAN AND COMPANY College Division

Glenview, Illinois

Atlanta

Dallas

Palo Alto

Oakland, N. J.

Huckleberry Finn: A Threat and a Challenge

Nick Aaron Ford
Morgan State College

One of the many Negro stereotypes that appear in popular American fiction is the *picturesque primitive*. This is the image of a person so simple-minded and so unaffected by the civilizing influences of his culture that he appears to be both ridiculous and pathetic. Although the stereotype originated much earlier, it received its most popular literary treatment in Mark Twain's *Huckleberry Finn*, today the most widely read novel in American public schools.

The story deals with frontier life in the Mississippi Valley during the Civil War period. One of the major characters is Nigger Jim, a slave whose actions are determined by the most primitive superstitions. But, despite his ignorance and simplicity, he is a lovable and dignified character with laudable motives. Unlike Harriet Beecher Stowe's Uncle Tom, he seeks his freedom by running away, in the knowledge that his actions will cause hardships for himself and for others. The author uses the word "nigger" hundreds of times and describes the thoughts and actions of the slaves so humorously that they excite continuous laughter. But at the heart of the plot is the loyal friendship between Jim, the runaway slave, and the other major character, a poor teen-age white boy who has also run away from home, a fugitive from the incredible meanness and inhumanity of a drunken father.

Of all the controversial novels that have excited the wrath of organized protesters and led to demands that they be banned from school reading lists, I think this one offers the most genuine threat and the greatest challenge. I have organized my discussion around four major questions: (1) What are the most significant racial attitudes expressed in the book? (2) What implications do these attitudes have for the current racial situation? (3) How do these implications affect individual students? (4) What is the alternative to censorship for novels that present unfavorable images of minorities?

In recalling with me the plot of the book, you will remember that early in the story, when Huck decided to run away from his father, he killed a hog on the floor of the shack occupied by him and his father, soaked his discarded

Professor Ford is Chairman of Morgan State's Department of English and Speech. This discussion of THE ADVENTURES OF HUCKLEBERRY FINN is based upon a paper presented at the NCTE's 1967 Annual Convention. In it, Nick Aaron Ford deals with the perceived "threat" in the stereotyping of the image of the slave in Mark Twain's novel and proposes ways of transmuting the threat into a challenge by means of effective teaching. Finally, he reports upon a variety of presumed and actual effects upon racial images, opening up an inquiry bound to be of continuing interest.

jacket in the blood, dragged the carcass to the water's edge and dumped it in, attempting to make it appear that he had been murdered, in the hope that his father would not try to find him. Then he went in his canoe to Jackson Island where he discovered Jim, Miss Watson's slave, who had run away to escape being sold to a New Orleans slave dealer. When he ventured from the Island into St. Petersburg on the Illinois shore seeking food, disguised as a girl, the kind old lady who befriended him told him of the rumor circulating through the town concerning his supposed murder. She said that at first almost everybody thought Mr. Finn, Huck's father, had killed him in order to get his son's money which was held in trust by Judge Thatcher. But when the news spread that the Negro slave Jim had run away the night of the murder, most people decided that Jim had done it. Although Jim had no known motive for the murder, and although there was no evidence to connect him with the crime, the fact that he was a slave and sought freedom was sufficient reason to suspect him. Even after Huck's father, who was given money by Judge Thatcher to hunt for the killer, got drunk, and went off with "a couple of mighty hard-looking strangers," many people still expressed the belief that the Negro had killed the boy. When Huck asked his benefactress why the people were still out to get Jim, she hinted that the three hundred dollars offered as reward might be the reason. In other words, the Negro's innocence was not important when so much money was at stake.

The value of a Negro's life during this period is reflected in Huck's own comment. When asked if the explosion of a steamboat boiler, which he had witnessed, had hurt anyone, he replied, "No'm, killed a nigger." Proof that he was expressing the ideas and values of the period is found in the adult response to his information: "Well, it's lucky because sometimes people do get hurt."

The Problem of Superstition The Negro has often been portrayed in literature as such a firm believer in superstition that reason and common sense have little place in his life. In *Huckleberry Finn* this belief in superstition is played upon whenever Negroes appear. Jim had a "hair-ball as big as your fist, which had been took out of the fourth stomach of an ox, and he used to do magic with it. He said there was a spirit inside of it, and it knowed everything." When some birds came along "flying a yard or two at a time and lighting, Jim said it was a sign it was going to rain." Jim believed that to count the things you are going to have for dinner will bring bad luck. Once, when Jim and Huck discovered an old house floating down the river with a dead man in it, Jim inspected the corpse but advised Huck not to

look at the face because it was "too ghastly." The next morning, when Huck wanted to talk about the dead man and speculate how he might have come to such an end, Jim discouraged the discussion by saying that to talk of dead people "would fetch bad luck." Besides, he suggested, the dead man's spirit "might come and ha'nt us." He warned Huck that a man that "warn't buried was more likely to go a-ha'nting around" than one that was. At the end of the story, Jim disclosed to Huck that the dead man he refused to talk about was Huck's father, and his professed superstition about dead people had been intended to shield Huck from this knowledge.

Another indication of racial attitudes is revealed by the failure of the good people to see any relation between their religious and moral beliefs and their treatment of Negroes. The slaveholders would not dare go to bed at night without first having a prayer session with their slaves. Miss Watson was a devoted Bible reader and did her best to teach Huck Christian principles, but she saw no inconsistency between Christianity and slavery. The failure of the religious leaders of the slaveholding states to interpret the Biblical teaching of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man as anti-slavery doctrine and their refusal to consider slavery as morally wrong led to the division of the major denominational conventions along geographical lines.

The Moral Core After emancipation the denominational schisms continued, with the emphasis shifting from slavery to segregation as the major moral contention. Thus, young Huck was defying the dominant cultural patterns of Southern society when he chose to help Jim to escape from slavery. Although he was only thirteen years old, he recognized the moral problem involved in his decision, struggled with it for a while, and finally decided to accept the consequences. The most stirring section of the book is that which describes Huck's inner struggle with his conscience:

... Jim said it made him all over trembly and feverish to be so close to freedom. Well, I can tell you it made me all over trembly and feverish, too, to hear him, because I began to get it through my head that he *was* most free—and who was to blame for it? Why, *me*. I couldn't get that out of my conscience, no how nor no way. It got to troubling me so I couldn't rest; I couldn't stay still in one place. It hadn't ever come to me before, what this thing was that I was doing. But now it did; and it stayed with me, and scorched me more and more. I tried to make out to myself that I warn't to blame, because I didn't run Jim off from his rightful owner; but it warn't no use, conscience up and says, every time, "But you knowed he was running for his freedom, and you could 'a' paddled ashore and told somebody."

But Huck never betrayed Jim. In fact, when they reached Cairo, Illinois, which was free territory, he paddled off toward the shore leaving Jim on the raft. When two men on a skiff approached him and asked whether or not anyone was on the raft he had just left, he said there was only one. When they informed him that they were looking for five runaway slaves and asked whether or not the man on his raft was white or black, he replied that the man was white. To deter the slavehunters from going over to see for themselves, Huck declared the man was his father who had a case of smallpox. The men were frightened by Huck's lie and decided to continue their search in another direction, at the same time assuring Huck that he could make some money by helping them to capture the run-away slaves.

After the men had gone leaving Jim unharmed, Huck continued the struggle with his conscience.

They went off and I got aboard the raft, feeling bad and low, because I knowed very well I had done wrong, and I seen it warn't no use for me to try to learn to do right; a body that don't get started right when he's little ain't got no show—when the pinch comes there ain't nothing to back him up and keep him to his work, and so he gets beat. Then I thought a minute, and says to myself, hold on; s'pose you'd 'a' done right and give Jim up, would you felt better than what you do now? No, says I, I'd feel bad—I'd feel just the same way I do now. Well, then, says I, what's the use you learning to do right when it's troublesome to do right and ain't no trouble to do wrong, and the wages is just the same?

Huck's dilemma is not a result of his muddled thinking; it is the result of the twisted values of adult society. This teen-ager, who never hesitates to lie and steal when such conduct suits his purposes, is not sure that adult values are always desirable. He knows that, according to the morals he has been taught, it is wrong to help a black human being to attain freedom; but he feels in his heart that freedom is of greater value than truthfulness or honesty. In his conversation with Tom Sawyer in Chapter 33, he explains his dilemma:

"All right; but wait a minute. There's one more thing—a thing that *nobody* don't know but me. And that is, there's a nigger here that I'm trying to steal out of slavery, and his name is *Jim*—old Miss Watson's *Jim*."

He says:

"What! Why, *Jim* is—"

He stopped and went to studying. I says:

"I know what you'll say. You'll say it's dirty, low-down business; but what if it is? I'm low-down; and I'm a-going to steal him, and I want you to keep mum and not let on. Will you?"

Jim as Hero But what about Jim as a reflection of the Negro attitude and mentality of the period? At least, he was not satisfied to remain in slavery.

When he thought that he and Huck had reached Cairo, Illinois, where he could go ashore and be free, he shouted:

Pooty soon I'll be a-shouting for joy, en I'll say, it's all on account Huck; I's a free man, en I couldn't ever been free ef it hadn't been for Huck; Huck done it. Jim won't ever forgit you.

Jim also possessed intelligence, tact, and the deep sense of indignation which overwhelmed Huck when he thought he had succeeded in fooling Jim about their separation during the night of the blinding fog. When Jim expressed great joy at Huck's return the next morning, Huck insisted that he had been there on the raft with him all night and that Jim must have dreamed of this separation. Finally, after permitting Huck to build his case against something Jim knew was real and not a dream, the Negro said:

"... When I got all wore out wid work, en wid de callin' for you, en went to sleep, my heart wuz mos' broke bekase you wuz los', en I didn't k'yer no' mo' what became er me en de raf'. En when I wake up and find you back a'gin, all safe en soun', de tears come, en I could 'a' got down on my knees en kiss yo' foot, I's so thankful.

"En all you wuz think'n 'bout wuz how you could make a fool ur ole Jim wid a lie. Dat truck dah is *trash*; en trash is what people is dat puts dirt on de head er dey fren's en makes 'em ashamed."

Then he got up slow and walked into the wigwam, and went in there without saying anything but that. But that was enough. It made me feel so mean I could almost kissed *his* foot to get him to take it back.

Jim starts out as a stereotype but, for the discerning reader, ends up as an heroic figure with admirable human qualities. The reader can sense this most strongly because he can see Huck's prejudice being broken down by the power of Jim's acts, and when he sees Huck's re-evaluation of the world in which he lives. In fact, the thoughtful reader will find a very sympathetic interpretation of the Negro through the characterization of Jim and the portrayal of his relationship with Huck. The image of the Negro turns out to be an image of a "carrier" of human values, like any other human being; but, on certain occasions, the Negro seems more discerning than a member of the so-called "superior" group. Jim possesses loyalty, resourcefulness, friendliness, and imagination. An English teacher recently remarked that he is the only gentleman in the book.

Efforts to Censor In spite of these positive qualities, those Negro parents in New York City and other communities who demanded and won the banning of the book from the required reading lists make the following charges against it: (1) It uses the insulting epithet "nigger" hundreds of times in referring to any and all members of the race, a practice which is followed today by the most prejudiced racial bigots. (2) Jim's inconsistent, exaggerated, comic dialect emphasizes the Negro's inability even to come close to mastering the language patterns of the dominant culture. (3) It reinforces the "superstitious" stereotype which has been used again and again in fiction to indicate the adult Negro's child-like mentality for the amusement of the white reader. (4) By making Jim the butt of a cruel joke perpetrated by Huck and Tom Sawyer in the culminating scenes where he is forced to sleep in the cave with snakes, rats, and spiders, it solicits the pity of whites for his being exploited for the fun of his two young white friends rather than respect and admiration for his wisdom in detecting and his courage in resisting such exploitation. In other words, these protesters see in the characterization of Jim a subtle instrument to reinforce the concept of white superiority and the racist doctrine that the Negro is incapable of assimilating the true spirit of American culture. This indeed is the threat inherent in the study of *Huckleberry Finn*. With an inexperienced teacher, or one not committed to the belief in human equality, this threat could become a reality.

Creative Teaching But under the guidance of an experienced, committed teacher, the study of this novel could very well become a challenge rather than a threat. The teacher could use many devices to make the experience a meaningful approach to interracial understanding. For instance, a consideration of the word "nigger," which occurs so often in the text, could be a springboard for a positive lesson in courtesy and good manners. Pupils could be taught the proper respect for the different races and ethnic groups that constitute the American nation. The teacher could describe some of the significant contributions Negroes have made to American culture, and go on to condemn the unfair practice of including all members of a race in one insulting name-calling stereotype.

As to Jim's ignorant and comical use of language, the teacher could encourage his students to do various types of research on the repressive measures to prevent the slaves from learning how to read and write and to deny them the opportunity to acquire any skills in verbal expression.

The unfavorable effects of Jim's superstitions could be brought into proper perspective by a historical study of civilized man's attitudes toward superstition down through the centuries. How many Americans in this enlightened

age hesitate to walk under a ladder or sit at a table with thirteen or to break a mirror? Although Jim knew nothing of Greek history or literature, his suggestion that the unburied dead are doomed to wander through the earth "a-ha'nting" the living was a basic religious belief of the ancient Greeks. In *Antigone*, the famous Greek tragedy by Sophocles, Antigone defies the decree of King Creon and buries her brother Polynices to prevent his spirit from wandering through the earth forever. In Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, there are several instances of the superstitious beliefs of the Roman nobility.

To dispel the impression that Jim is a representative example of Negroes during the period between 1830 and 1865, the teacher could bring to the attention of the students the forty or fifty slaves, ex-slaves, and freedmen whose heroic deeds are recounted by most enlightened historians. Among them are such illustrious names as Harriet Tubman,¹ often referred to as the "Moses of her people," who, after escaping from her Maryland master, embarked upon an incredible career of forays into the South to lead fugitives to freedom; Sojourner Truth, who, after being emancipated in New York (1897), became a half-legendary figure, preaching abolitionism, women's rights, and other reforms, though remaining illiterate; and Frederick Douglass, a runaway slave, who became one of the leading anti-slavery journalists and orators of the period and, after emancipation, an adviser to Presidents.

Even in the realm of fiction the teacher could recommend for additional reading Howard Fast's *Freedom Road*, whose hero is an illiterate slave who, after emancipation, through hard work, courage, and vision, rises to the leadership of an integrated southern community which achieved a remarkable degree of political and social success and whose black and white participants fought to the last man to maintain their community when attacked by the Ku Klux Klan.

In addition, he could focus attention on Huck's moral struggle to decide whether to obey the unjust fugitive slave laws and surrender Jim or to break those laws in favor of higher laws of conscience and morality. He could point out the parallel which every Southerner faces today with respect to state and municipal laws sanctioning the separation of the races and prescribing heavy penalties for those who seek peacefully to protest those laws. He could point out the high courage of the youthful Huck who, despite his limited southern background and training, gave his allegiance to the cause of freedom. Through the unselfish actions of Huck he could lead his students to understand and

1 Richard Bardolph. *The Negro Vanguard*. New York: Rinehart, 1959.

appreciate such sentiments as those of Edna St. Vincent Millay:

The World stands out on either side
 No wider than the heart is wide:
 Above the world is stretched the sky—
 No higher than the soul is high.
 The heart can push the sea and land
 Further away on either hand.

Effects on Individuals But do these implica-

tions affect individual students? We can unhesitatingly characterize their effect on the average Negro student in an integrated class by two adjectives: *embarrassing* and *humiliating*. It is embarrassing for Negro children to see a member of their race, fictional or real, become an object of fun and condescending laughter to members of the white majority, as is the case with Jim. In such a situation the Negro child identifies with Jim and thus suffers a painful loss of dignity and self-respect. In some cases such an experience can be so distasteful and distressing that the child will resolve to avoid the possibility of similar encounters by habitually cutting English classes. Negro high school graduates have expressed such attitudes to me when questioned about their reactions to the study of such books as *Huckleberry Finn*, Eugene O'Neill's *The Emperor Jones*, and Marc Connelly's *The Green Pastures*.

What about the effect on white students? Many people assume that children and adults can be influenced to think more or less favorably of the Negro as a race because of the way Negro characters are presented in the books they read. But how valid is this assumption? Graham Greene, distinguished English novelist and author of *The Lost Childhood* (1951), says:

Perhaps it is only in childhood that books have any deep influence on our lives. In later life we admire, we are entertained, we may modify some views we already hold, but we are more likely to find in books merely a confirmation of what is in our minds already: As in a love affair it is our own features that we see reflected back.

In order to sample enlightened opinion about the possible effects of a book of fiction on the reader's thinking about a racial minority, I prepared a questionnaire three years ago and mailed it to 1,000 outstanding white Americans of various professions and occupations, whose names appear in *Who's Who in America*. The questionnaire included a list of fifty-four popular books portraying Negro life and character during the past hundred years. I asked each respondent to check all of the books on the list that he had read. Among the questions I asked was:

Has any of the books you have checked affected your thinking about or

attitude towards Negroes as a race during any period of your life?

Seventy-five per cent of the persons who answered said that fictional books about Negroes had not affected their attitudes toward the race. A typical answer was given by a 56-year-old college professor who said:

Most of us had our attitudes about race fixed before we read books. It was the social environment in which we grew up that fixed our attitudes. Changes may have come through later association but not through books.

A 39-year-old college professor made this comment:

I grew up in South Carolina and, as a result, had all the usual Southern attitudes about Negroes. My views about Negroes have now changed completely, but the change was not due primarily to my reading. Altogether, I would say, my current "liberal" views about race are almost entirely the result of the personal contacts I have made and the experience I have had with people, not the reading I have done.

In a letter to me, dated March 14, 1962, a Dean of the Graduate Faculties of a large university and one of the most distinguished literary scholars and writers in America, made this comment:

I do not think the literary presentation of Negro characters has had much to do with my views on race, class, or other social issues. I find it relatively easy to make up my mind about individuals as such, and the literary conventions or, alternatively, the masterpieces of characterization of the past century do not (as far as I can tell) obscure or enhance the effect which the living person makes upon me.

A well-known English professor in a midwestern university, in a letter to me dated November 19, 1962, said:

Although my image of the Negro was certainly affected by, perhaps made up of, accounts of Negroes which I came across in books, during years before I knew any Negroes, I don't believe my ideas of Negroes have changed significantly since my middle twenties, and therefore the various images of the Negro which I have encountered in books during my mature years have interested me only as indications of what other people think, not as modifications of what I think. . . . [However] I should like to mention one book not included in your list which I read in early childhood and which I think gave me an early and persistent sympathetic image of the Negro—*Cudjo's Cave*, which I read and reread with fascinated admiration for the character of the hero.

But the strongest argument to support the proposition that books do have a powerful influence in the creation of attitudes favorable and unfavorable to the Negro is made in an article published several years ago in the *Saturday Review*

by Dr. Harry A. Overstreet, a distinguished philosopher, teacher, and writer of New York City College. Dr. Overstreet says:

The time is more than ripe for fiction writers to examine the whole program of image-making. . . . By the turn of a phrase, or by a simple description of a Negro character, they can sharpen the racial conflict or lessen it. They have in large measure been responsible for many of the false and misleading images of the Negro that persist in the white man's mind. For the most part, they have used him either as material for the white man's entertainment or as evidence to prove the white man's superiority.

Attitudes and Responses But what specific effect is this book likely to have on youthful and adult readers? Of 27 respondents to my questionnaire who made extended comments about their impressions of *Huckleberry Finn* and its effect on their attitudes toward the race question, nine said it caused them to have a more favorable attitude toward the race; sixteen said it did not change their attitudes at all; one said it caused him to think less "favorably" about Negroes; and one said he could not answer in terms of "favorable" or "unfavorable," but the book helped him understand the Negro's position and his own more clearly. Of the nine whose attitudes were influenced in a favorable manner, four read the book both as children and adults, four only as children, and one only as an adult. Seven are college professors ranging in age from 35 to 66, and two are high school teachers.

Of the eighteen whose attitudes were not changed by the experience, seven read it only as children, four only as adults, and seven both as children and adults. Sixteen are college professors, one is a high school teacher, and one is a librarian.

Typical comments about Jim were as follows:

A high school teacher (age 54): "As a child I didn't notice Nigger Jim except as a part of the plot. As an adult I have agreed with the people who call him the only gentleman in the book."

English professor (age 55): "I wished I had a friend like Jim."

College professor (age 64): "I considered Jim a fine human being with many fundamental virtues who needed our sympathy, care, and help, but by no means our condescension."

English professor (age 41): "I was so impressed by Jim's dignity and suffering that I loathed Tom Sawyer for his silly treatment of him in the end."

University professor (age 49): "Twain, I believe, provides a very sympathetic interpretation of the Negro through the characterization of Jim and through the portrayal of the relationship between Jim and Huck. This book is also a strong attack against slavery; indeed, it is a forceful indictment against anything that degrades man, whatever that man's color."

Now for the final question: What is the alternative to censorship for novels that present unfavorable images of the Negro?

Let me say as emphatically as I can *what must NOT be done*. There must be no censorship. There must be no effort on the part of Negroes and their friends to ban a book from library circulation or from a reading list of a school system simply because it presents Negro characters in a bad light. Remember now I am talking about a book of literature and not of history. If a history book lies about what Negroes did or did not do, certainly Negroes and all other lovers of truth and fair play must rise up and oppose its use as a text in all schools, for a history book's only purpose is to present facts as they happened. But the main purpose of a book of literature is to give pleasure and entertainment; it does not pretend to give factual information about people and incidents. The author who wrote the entertaining story about the "Wedding of the Rabbits" never pretended that he was presenting facts, yet the members of the White Citizens Council of a southern state demanded that this delightful book be taken from the shelves of every school library in that state because the male rabbit was pictured as brown and the female as white. The author who wrote the enjoyable story of the "Three Little Pigs," which Walt Disney has made famous in movie cartoons, never pretended that he was presenting facts, yet a legislator of another southern state stood up on the floor of the State Legislature and demanded that this book be banned from all libraries subsidized by the State because the wisest of the three little pigs, the one who built his house of stones, was brown while the two foolish ones who built their houses of straw were white. Only persons who do not understand the nature of literature, or who do not trust the ability of the human mind, by instinct as well as reason, to evaluate the truth of literature, would demand such intolerance.

Those who fight intolerance with more intolerance are doomed to ignoble defeat. A minority cannot afford such tactics. The only mature, democratic alternative to the censorship of biased books of literature is to insist that they be supplemented by a variety of additional books with other points of view. Thus the outmoded *Uncle Tom's Cabin* might be supplemented by Richard Wright's *Uncle Tom's Children*, the sacrilegious burlesque, *The Green Pastures*, by James Weldon Johnson's *God's Trombones*, and the picturesque

primitive image of Jim in *Huckleberry Finn*, by the aggressive, ambitious portrait of Gideon in Howard Fast's *Freedom Road*. Only by such means will a full, complete image of the Negro, representing him as neither angel nor devil, neither wise man nor fool, be implanted in the consciousness of intelligent Americans.

The Strut

The strut has been
An ever fascinating
Structural support,
A pillar which
Can ever up-prop
And down-falling
Prevent.
But the strut
Has bowed before
An ever exponential
Technological event,
And has been
Relegated rapidly
To an unassuming rut,
Unseen.
Clean, cantilevered beams
Suspend unobstructed and retracted
Dreams. Integrated, impacted,
With open nothing
Interfering with nothing's
View of standing all alone
In this great big what-is-it,
That seems to float
Aimlessly,
Without a bone.

Bernard Kahn

Loneliness of cobblestones late at night,
emptiness of winter air
are my companions for the walk home.
They keep silent like good friends
expecting mention of my mind's inner workings,
yet I keep silent too,
leaving cobblestones to talk
among themselves. I listen
as they mention the sharp heels
and heavy steps of indifference
suffered every day.
And I am glad I always walk barefoot upon them.
Lonely as I, they ask the air
to speak, but it just blows away
silently. And they shed tears
until the street's so slick
I almost fall, yet I make my way
because I'm used to this,
the slickness of cobblestones' tears.
I wonder why I never cry
with them, they who only talk with me,
their friend who brushes tears away
with naked toes. When I'm gone
they surely talk of me
and wonder why a man with kind feet
can't cry, a man
of stone more hard than they.

Jack Hettinger

The Purple Shore

Magenta seas ever come to waiting shores, lapping
timelessly
like questions with no answers. Waters
curl around the pilgrim's feet
as he walks this hallowed ground. Waves and evening
force thoughts of some forgotten darkness, a shell
that sheltered fragile things.
The pilgrim has no explanation
of the why and how of memory's oblivion.
These are books in unknown script to him,
exotic narratives written in strange
enchanted tongues that frustrate
for their words lie black as arcane marks.
Someday, he senses, his eye will have facility
to probe these mysteries, will dare there
effortlessly
as feet now stride the flood
that purples shore with rich imaginings.

Jack Hettinger

They Know What They Like

William J. Swanson

Southwestern State College, Oklahoma

During the winter quarter of 1967 the writer taught a course in the twentieth-century British and Continental novel at West Georgia College, a four-year unit of the University System of Georgia located in a largely rural area of northwest Georgia. The students taking the course were juniors and seniors who were either majoring or minoring in English. By midterm, the novels which had been considered were D. H. Lawrence's *Sons and Lovers*, James Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, Virginia Woolf's *To the Lighthouse*, Mikhail Sholokhov's *And Quiet Flows the Don*, Camilo José Cela's *The Family of Pascual Duarte*, and Albert Camus' *The Stranger*. At that point the writer decided to give a subjective test over the material covered: each student was asked to choose the "best" novel of the six read, and then to write an essay justifying his individual choice.

Not one of the nineteen students taking the test chose *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* or *To the Lighthouse*. Of the remaining four novels, *The Family of Pascual Duarte* was chosen "best" by eight students, *The Stranger* received the approbation of five students, *Sons and Lovers* was given top honors by four stu-

dents; *And Quiet Flows the Don* found favor with the remaining two students.

Perhaps it would be well to consider briefly the two novels that were "shut out" in the popularity poll. Informal conversations with individual students brought the writer to the following conclusions: 1) The primary obstacle presented by the Joyce book seemed to be one of identification—West Georgia College students simply could not relate to (or even believe in) Stephen Dedalus, an adolescent capable of quoting Thomas Aquinas in the original Latin in conversation with a school chum; 2) there was not enough "movement" in Mrs. Woolf's novel, and the frequently ambiguous symbolism contained in the work served chiefly to irritate and bore student readers.

Perhaps much of *The Family of Pascual Duarte*'s popularity can be attributed to the *tremendista* philosophy underlying it. Many of the students, living in a society in which sociological justifications for senseless violence abound, found *tremendismo*'s espousal of environmental determinism altogether plausible. Too, the frequent sheddings of blood described in the story seem to have struck a responsive chord in a generation nurtured on sanguinary television drama. Surprisingly, there was also an element of intense personal identifica-

tion with the protagonist of Cela's novel. Wrote one student from a rural area of the state celebrated for its moonshining activities:

Another reason why I can understand Pascual's actions came from my knowing and actually living with a similar person. He is a man, my uncle, who has eight children and a wife and loves them all. I have seen him cry more times than once. On the other hand, he is bad to drink and will not work. Only last week end he was in a fight with another like person and his head was held into a wood heater until his hair was burned off and his ears melted.

Clearly, the student here quoted has been uniquely fitted by personal background and experience to identify with the unfortunate Pascual Duarte. A "Saint Grottlesex" graduate attending an exclusive eastern university might, on the other hand, find the characters and events described in Cela's novel completely unbelievable.

Identification was also an important factor influencing those students who chose *The Stranger*. During the background lecture given on Camus' book there had been a pronounced student reaction to the existential concept of "absurdity"; as a matter of fact, this concept seemed to represent something that many of the students had vaguely felt but had been unable to articulate. The following extract from a student paper indicates how one student identified with the novel's main character:

When Meursault is confronted with a series of absurd questions, he answers with silence. Some questions should be left unanswered, because in order to answer a foolish question you must lower yourself

to the level of the fool that asked the question.

Another point in favor of *The Stranger* advanced by two of the more candid students who had chosen it was its relative brevity.

Because college students are much aware of the compelling nature of sexual love and its sometimes disastrous consequences, it is not surprising that students who chose the Lawrence novel were attracted by this element in it. Wrote one such student, "I think *Sons and Lovers* is best because of the insight it gives on love and the strife in it [love]." Other qualities of the Lawrence novel on which students commented were its clarity of language and dramatic use of "blood" symbolism.

The two students who chose *And Quiet Flows the Don* were chiefly impressed by its verisimilitude. One student wrote, "Each of its characters is a real, living person who thinks, experiences feelings and emotions—which makes them completely believable." The other student less ponderously observed, "... seems to reach out and invite you to saddle up and join the Cossacks."

The three qualities then, which these students seemed to appreciate most in their fiction reading were identifiability, verisimilitude, and plot movement. Mood, tone and symbolism (save for the dramatic "blood" symbolism in *Sons and Lovers* and *The Family of Pascual Duarte*) were largely ignored by these students in making their judgments. One might conclude that they have achieved that *summum bonum* to which professional educators have for years paid lip service: the identification of academic studies with the "real" life that exists outside of Academe.

"And turn them to a different cause . . ."

In the midst of controversies over who should exert power in our communities and who should control the public schools, we are interested—as always—in the plight of the individual. How is he to define himself as teacher with respect to the crisis in the public sphere? What personal choices can he make that count—while the conflicts go on between blocs of people and power groups?

The old beliefs about individualism and the public good no longer offer guideposts. Ronald V. Sampson¹ is one of many who are pointing out that our age is unique for the degree of breakdown in established beliefs. He has "Progress, Democracy, and Socialism" in mind, each of which has been perverted "by the will to power and the disposition to submit. . . ." He suggests that we can give meaning to these commitments again only by turning to the private individual, rather than to new parties or new power elites:

True progress consists not in learning to be more acquisitive or faster moving but of learning to renounce powerfully felt desires. True democracy consists not of joining a party or a caucus, and manipulating a mass public of passive voters, but of trying to learn the genuine needs of one's immediate neighbor and attempting to

meet them on an egalitarian basis. True socialism consists not of an externally imposed collectivism but of cooperation with one's fellow workers to produce for use, not profit.

There are, of course, differences of opinion respecting the uses and the significance of "power"; and it is only recently that the question has become crucial for educators—particularly in the cities among the outraged poor. At the present moment, there is an erosion of commitment among teachers because of some people's "will to power" and other people's "disposition to submit." It may be that the only way they can reconstitute their faith is by deliberately turning their attention to their students as "private individuals" once again, by trying harder than ever before to discern their "genuine needs."

Perhaps ironically, there is—outside the school systems and outside the teaching profession—an impressive resurgence of faith in education. It may be an absurd faith or an innocent one, but it is stirring, and it reveals something about our culture that we sometimes overlook. We were reminded of this twice in the same day not long ago. In the morning, we attended the opening of an Urban League Street Academy sponsored by McGraw-Hill, the publishing company. In the afternoon, we received an announcement of the

1 "The Bramble of Power," *The Nation*, December 16, 1968.

Appalachian Education Program being initiated by the Highlander Research and Education Center in Knoxville, Tennessee. Both are efforts carried on outside the established system. Both are unashamedly focused on individuals who are too frequently ignored. Both (different as they are) are concerned with cognitive development, not simply self-expression or the nurture of self-image. And this seems to us to be significant. In an essay on "Social Class and Verbal Learning,"² Arthur R. Jensen says:

The development of learning ability is indeed intimately related to personal interaction. But many persons who are predisposed either by temperament or as a result of some personal experience to feeling especially concerned about the problems of culturally deprived children are overly drawn to the emotional and interpersonal aspects of the problem, almost to the complete exclusion of understanding the cognitive processes actually necessary for learning.

As we look around us and see the many "alternative" educational programs taking shape around the country, we find an emphasis on the cognitive, on "knowing how," on performing intelligently. It may be that discouraged teachers, attending to this phenomenon in a country long notorious for "anti-intellectualism"³

may be moved to choose themselves again as liberators and stimulators, people committed explicitly and rebelliously to the life of the mind.

The Urban League Street Academy program was initiated several years ago, first in a number of abandoned storefronts in Harlem.⁴ Credit for the idea is given to a youth worker (once a member of the Christian Young Life movement) named Harv Oostdyk, who had been working with young gang leaders on the lower East Side and who wanted to find some way of providing school drop-outs with an option other than unskilled jobs, gang-fighting, or jail. In 1964, with the help of Dr. Eugene Callender, he succeeded in establishing a tutorial center for high school drop-outs in the basement of Harlem's Church of the Master. Since then, more than thirty storefronts have been opened all over the city. Some are concerned with job-training; some, with controlling narcotics addiction; some, with equipping young men for entrance into the Street Academies which prepare for two college-preparatory schools, Newark Prep and Harlem Prep.

Each Street Academy employs three teachers with college degrees and three streetworkers who live in the immediate neighborhood and may be graduates of one of the academies. Each project director sets up a curriculum particularly for his own storefront school. Chris Tree writes that they may prosper as they do "because the creation of each new

² In Martin Deutsch, Irwin Katz, and Arthur R. Jensen, Eds., *Social Class, Race, and Psychological Development*. Holt, Rinehart and Winston Inc., 1968.

³ See, e.g., Richard Hofstadter, *Anti-Intellectualism in American Life*. Alfred A. Knopf, 1963.

⁴ See Chris Tree, "Storefront Schools," *The Urban Review*, February, 1968, and Joseph Featherstone, "Storefront Schools in Harlem," *The New Republic*, September 7, 1968.

one depends on testing the old, because, rather than being centrally prefabricated, they will continue to be built on the resources and skills of individual staff members in meeting the needs of individual students." Most of the curricula are rigorous and concentrate on reading skills and basic mathematics; but each academy has its own uniqueness. There are courses in Swahili in some, in Arabic in others. African history may be taught; Malcolm X is usually read, as is Langston Hughes. There are pictures on the walls: the students' own paintings and photographs; cut-outs from *Playboy* mixed with pictures of Dr. Martin Luther King, Malcolm X, Eldridge Cleaver, and (recently) Rhody McCoy of Brownsville-Ocean Hill. The intent, throughout the academies, is to equip students to enter college; but there are other objectives as well. Featherstone writes:

Some of the former Young Lifers and some of the black streetworkers share what sometimes seems a mystique of streetwork: "These kids are looking for answers, and we have them." Others describe their role more modestly. Some see themselves as teachers, or in some cases as accomplices of the kids against the system, giving them practical skills by which they can survive and fight back. Some say their main contribution is simply to demonstrate by their existence alternatives to dope, hustling or deadend jobs. One white streetworker worried about his own lack of training: kids with smashed lives, real victims of Harlem, often needed professional help.... A black worker who mistrusted words like "charisma" and "moti-

vation" described what he does this way: "I'm available, the kids know I'm like them. Some can take a lesson. Any kid who's been able to keep from getting all strung up, who's able to move on up, is *strong* to begin with...."

Of course there are problems, tensions, ambiguities; and there are no guarantees of success, even for those who "make it" (as many have) and go on to college. The emphasis is hauntingly traditional: the individual is made focal; he is the one held responsible. He is told that if he sticks with it, if he exerts himself, he will succeed. Underlying all of what is said and done is an unswerving faith in the power of a school—a faith rarely found in public schools today. One is struck by the fact that the drop-outs who attend the academies know very well that they would have had a minimal chance of securing an academic diploma if they had stayed in their regular high schools. (And they are right. Three quarters of the young people in the city high schools do not pursue college-preparatory courses and do not receive academic diplomas. Yet, if the students in the academies are at all representative, only academic courses win respect.) For more and more, writes Featherstone, "it is either an academic course or nothing." If one is offered them, the students feel *they* are being granted respect. Moreover, the academic course, they are convinced, is the only one that offers what a person needs for survival in this society. Watching them in the storefronts with their algebra books and their poetry anthologies, one sees how much rigor they can tolerate, how the demand for hard work seems to

reinforce their self-respect. By now most of our readers are familiar with the work done by Robert Rosenthal on "self-fulfilling prophecies";⁵ the responses to the teaching done at the academies may help confirm what he says. ("When teachers expected that certain children would show greater intellectual development, those children did show greater intellectual development." More work remains to be done, but the implications seem clear.)

The Appalachian Education Program has been devised for quite a different constituency, but it too has a distinctly cognitive aim. The Highlander Center has spent months testing adult education programs in back-country mountain communities; and residential workshops are now being established to train volunteer community leaders in communication skills and small group discussion techniques. The participants are expected to return to their own communities to organize workshops in churches, homes, stores, or community centers. Each will be small, enrolling individuals interested in discussing and clarifying community problems and devoting attention to plans for reform. There will also be cultural workshops, emphasizing music and folksinging, to develop "among Appalachian poor a sense of pride in their distinctive culture and actively involving them in the use of local and regional art forms." The presumption is (and this is the important thing in the present context)

that the poor in the southern mountains are unemployed and poverty-stricken because the schools they attended did not equip them with the conceptual skills necessary for coping with a technological society or for governing themselves. In consequence, they have little confidence and almost no hope. Those planning the workshops want to give the mountain people, they say, "the tools to do for themselves," and they mean conceptual tools.

Again, belief in formal learning is being reconstituted outside existing institutions and by acts of individual choice. It is never easy to combat the sense of helplessness, the passivity and despair characteristic of the "hard-core" poor. Nor is it easy to bridge the gaps between those who have suffered deprivation and those who can only try to understand. But we are finding, as we look around, a burgeoning of ideas and a willingness to take the risks of action, even without assurances of success. There are more people than anyone ever suspected who cannot and will not accept failure on the part of dropouts or "leftouts."⁶ Even in this corporate society, there remain open channels through which autonomous persons can move; and this is something teachers must—once again—hold in mind. It is, in the last analysis, up to them as autonomous beings to refuse to accept the stereotypes, to reject the idea of predetermined failure. They are the ones with the gravest responsibility. They are the ones who can make, if they choose, learning their personal cause.

We think of the New York City program called the Real Great So-

⁵ Robert Rosenthal and Lenore Jacobson, "Self-Fulfilling Prophecies in the Classroom: Teachers' Expectations as Unintended Determinants of Pupils' Intellectual Competence," in Deutsch, Katz, Jensen, *op. cit.*

⁶ See Sonia A. Warden, *The Leftouts*. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968.

ciety and the University of the Streets the RGS founded in a storefront in the East Village. The founders were five former gang leaders (some of them ex-inmates of various prisons). One, Chino Garcia, explained what they were doing this way:⁷ "This program is not to make goody-goodies but to teach them not to destroy other people—to find self-motivation instead. When people are living close like this, unless they have things, they blow up. When I grew up, we were all responsible for ourselves and there were plenty of us in trouble with the law. We tell the kids, 'Look, man, besides what you're into, there's another world, and that is what we are hustling for.' You have to see us in action to believe it; to take a group of drop-outs and turn them to a different cause...." We do not know whether there have been measurable results where learning is concerned; but we do find in what Mr. Garcia says a point of view closely related to that of many innovative inquirers into education who are now insisting that teachers must pay closer heed to the nature of the learning process itself if those who have been deprived are to be expected to learn.

Deborah Elkins, for instance, writing in A. Harry Passow's recent *Developing Programs for the Educationally Disadvantaged*,⁸ discusses the ways in which the school unwittingly contributes "to the dismal picture of failure, of devastated self-concept, of alienation" as increasing numbers of students "fail to learn through the curriculum and meth-

ods currently in use in urban schools." She goes on to point out that teachers must be helped to understand the meaning of intelligence "as the capacity for coping with the environment or for problem-solving," and the relationship between an interest in "seeing and hearing" and motivation to learn. The teacher, she writes, can be a mediator when it comes to the expansion of young people's experiences, their talking about them, their interpreting them. But the teacher's fundamental objective, in whatever activities he chooses to encourage, must be to build competence in performing cognitive processes. This, it seems to us, is the proper way for the teacher to turn "to the private individual" today; and cognition is the "power"—it also seems to us—the spokesmen for the disadvantaged are clearly beginning to demand.

We are moved and impressed by the proliferation of painting classes and film-making enterprises throughout the cities. We are moved by the children's murals on project walls. We have been much interested in such projects as the photography project begun at P.S. 36 in Brooklyn by Teachers College's Horace Mann-Lincoln Institute,⁹ and by the comment made by the teacher involved when interviewed by the *Times*: "These are boys who had never done things at all—zero. Now they've done something. They've taken pictures, some of them very good. It's given them at least one success under their belts, and after a life of so much failure that can mean everything." We have found the films made at Mobilization for Youth in New York

7 Phyllis Franck, "An East Side Story," *Vista*, 1967.

8 Deborah Elkins, "Teaching and Learning Strategies."

9 See "Saying It," *THE RECORD*, May 1968.

to be enlightening and important; and we were recently much stirred by the film called "The Jungle" made by members of the 12th and Oxford Street Gang of North Philadelphia.¹⁰ David Williams and Jimmy Robinson, co-directors, recently talked about what they were doing when the film was presented at an arts conference:

"I had difficulty in understanding the *language*," one woman complained. ("You all don't understand because you live in different worlds from us. You all can't dig. There's no communication.") "I think we just have to get used to the sound of each other's accents," offered another woman. "I was born in Illinois and have difficulty understanding people from California." (A silent look, a shrug, a laugh.) "When they beat a man up, are they robbing him or testing his manhood?" somebody asked. ("Because they were in our territory and they didn't belong there.") "Why did you make the film?" ("To help our neighborhood, to try to make some kind of communication.")

This suggests to us one of the prime values of such activities as film-making: to help in the cause of mediation, to the end of cognitive growth.

Quite obviously, creative endeavors are valuable in many ways. For one thing, it is usually self-justifying to make something that is art. For another, the effort to "tell it like it is" is an effort to form experiences which are inherently inchoate, to make sense of them, to shed light.

¹⁰ Judy Stone, "The Best Thing We Knew Was Gang War," *The New York Times*, October 13, 1968.

Also, there is the possibility that a creative achievement will overcome the feeling of cumulative failure which does so much to undermine hope. It seems to us, however, that too many educators are rejoicing prematurely at the sight of so much creative activity; too often they take self-expression to signify more than it actually does. There are some teachers who treat the films and the murals and the photographs as a new sort of spectacle, to be enjoyed by those who are really "in." They feel justified in keeping their distance from the works, even as they proudly affirm that they "dig." Or, if they become more intimately engaged, they treat what they discover as a mode of self-expression for themselves—a catharsis their own inhibitions normally make impossible, something new that permits them happily to "groove." Responding in this fashion, they forget their obligation to each private individual and to the difficult cause of his learning, his individual conceptual growth.

What is overlooked, we believe, is the desperate determination on the part of persons in the slums to take responsibility for their children's learning and their own, and to demand the best the culture can give. This is what David Spencer is saying in this issue of *THE RECORD*; it is what Elliott Shapiro is saying, and Walter Washington, and many, many others. The Street Academies and the University of the Streets (where 2000 people once filled out cards requesting specific types of courses) offer evidence of a thirst for learning parching many throats. Too many teachers have believed that the "care" demanded is best expressed by humane concern for per-

sonal interaction and for free articulation (too often undisciplined articulation) of "the way it is" by each student. Too many have thought that they were giving respect by refusing to make demands. It seems to us that the voices from the streets are merging with the voices of the learning theorists and the psychologists; they are crying out against the romanticism which has made so many believe that the way to demonstrate concern is by allowing each person "to do his thing."

The talk of "involvement" and "community service" comes most frequently from those who are themselves restive in the system, impatient with rigor and formalism and

too much disciplinary control. We are going to find, if we listen to what is being said, that what is wanted is the kind of involvement which culminates in disciplinary mastery, in the ability to think, in the resulting capacity to "cope." The art projects, the film projects offer modes of mediation; they are, as the directors of "The Jungle" say, modes of communication. The teacher eager to choose himself again, the teacher eager for a meaningful cause, may well pay heed. Strangely enough, innocently enough, the powerless among us are asking for the right to learn. The obligation of the teacher is to attend. The people themselves are announcing their own "genuine needs."

MG

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The Cadet Honor Code Incident Implications for Higher Education

Edith W. King, *University of Denver*

Stewart Bachtelle, *United States Air Force Academy*

All moral judgment is experimental and subject to revision.—John Dewey

The scene opens upon a group of educators intently listening to the members of a panel. Professors and students are discussing the role of the teacher in the social sciences. The site for this conference, the annual meeting of the Rocky Mountain Social Science Association, is the Officers' Club at the U. S. Air Force Academy. It is a beautiful morning in April, 1967. The discussion turns to a presentation by a colonel on the faculty at the Academy, who notes that the Academy's job is to produce career officers for the Air Force. However, the Academy must wrestle with the problem that about one fifth of its faculty changes each year. In the light of this continual turnover, developing effective teaching techniques appropriate to the Academy, while still holding to high standards of professional competency within the discipline, is not an easy task.

Someone asks, "Was any particular department affected by the 1967 cheating scandal?" The colonel replies "No!" He continues, "Most instructors pass out their exams and leave the room, then the honor code system takes over." Now a cadet, one of the students on the panel, speaks up to say that it is the responsibility

of the Cadet Wing to monitor the cadets during an exam and not the teaching staff's job. A University of Colorado student asks, "But what about that clause in the Honor Code that requires a cadet to inform on someone else he sees cheating or knows has been cheating on an examination?" And the thorny controversy over the Air Force Academy Honor Code scandal of February, 1967 is opened again.

Implications for the Value Structure

The Cadet Honor Code is a simple statement: "We will not lie, steal, or cheat nor tolerate among us anyone who does."¹ But the ramifications of its implementations upon the value structure in American society seem anything but simple. Among the numerous editorials in newspapers across the nation that commented on "honor at the Academy" in the wake of the second occurrence of extensive cheating at that institution were the *Charleston Evening Post* and the *Fort Collins Coloradoan*.

The *Charleston Post* wrote that critics of the Academy seem to have in mind abandonment or at least a relaxation of cadet's Honor Code, the assumption being that something is seriously wrong with the system.

1 U.S. Air Force Academy, *The Cadet Honor Code*, Pamphlet, 1967.

The editorial goes on to criticize contemporary American society as a society that worships youth to such a degree that today on American university campuses we tend to foster self-indulgence, deceit, indolence, and craftiness by attempts to abolish grades and the attitude that any form of grading is discriminatory. Noting that abolishing grades is one solution to student cheating, the editorial concludes:

It would appear to be no more than another milepost on the road to a wholly permissive society, where anything goes and no man is either rewarded or punished for shabby conduct. Amid all the evidence that this is precisely our direction, it is some comfort to know that the Air Force Academy is headed in the opposite direction.²

Commenting on another aspect of contemporary morality, the *Fort Collins Coloradoan* wrote, following the news release announcing the conclusion of the Academy incident:

This is an indictment of society that the cream of its young men must readjust their thinking when they enter a school which observes the honor code. A society like this is in trouble. It isn't the criminal in the street who most tears down a society. It is the trusted, well-rewarded members of the community who feel no obligations along with their privileges, who will cheat and lie to get along in the world or maintain their position.³

Faulty Reasoning

But is there a misapplication, or are

there some false generalizations inherent in these attacks on American value structure? Are there several codes of honor or sets of values that have realistic application depending on the organization and the situation, or is there one and only one Code of Honor?

We live in a highly specialized society. It is expected that at the university level of his training, the individual has made quite definite decisions as to where his training will prepare him to fit along the broad spectrum of possibilities among the jobs and positions being offered by American technology. Certainly, his decision has been quite specific if he has chosen a military academy in preference to a public or private university. The individual enters such an institution of higher learning with a "cultural set" to accept the value structure and philosophical perspectives of that particular institution. Before a student is accepted at the Air Force Academy he, as well as his parents, are carefully briefed on the varied aspects of Academy life, the Honor Code included, and the obligations inherent in his commitment to a career in the military as an officer—in peace time or in war. This is a specialized profession with an essential and necessary type of discipline, just as a career in medicine, law or atomic physics is a specialization. And the members of a faculty in a university or college certainly should be committed to *their* discipline, whether it be in physics, mathematics, sociology or the training of military leaders. It becomes more obvious that disciplines are really interdisciplinary in a complex society. But the commitment, the dedication to a stance, is still inherent in the func-

2 *Charleston Evening Post*, Charleston, S. Carolina, Feb. 28, 1967.

3 *Fort Collins Coloradoan*, Fort Collins, Colo., March 13, 1967.

tioning of specialized institutions of higher learning.

A Case In Point

The Air Force Academy, like other military institutions of higher learning, is dedicated to training future officers and military leaders. To give a recent example of the catastrophic outcomes of poorly trained military leaders, the fiasco of the Egyptian army in the Arab-Israeli war during June, 1967, can be cited. A press release from Bir Gafgafa, in the Sinai Peninsula, describes the capture of an Egyptian general. He had left behind 24 tanks in perfect working order. Asked why he did not destroy the tanks, the Egyptian general replied, "My orders did not say to *destroy* the tanks." At Mitla he lost all order in his retreating troops. "Everyone wanted to flee for his own skin." He did not even attempt to keep any men under his command. He was picked up in the desert where he was found wandering after three days without food or water. He had failed to take even these essentials with him when he started walking in retreat to the Egyptian border.⁴ What a sad commentary on the effectiveness of officers' military training and educational programs in Egyptian society!

But should not all institutions of higher learning operate on the premise that honor is essential in any profession or higher calling? Is the military academy's honor code appropriate for student life in civilian institutions? Some would argue that honor and integrity are virtues all citizens of a democratic society should strive to maintain; that certain pat-

terns of behavior are valid, ethical, necessary and right, no matter what the social or professional setting. Yet in the complex, multi-faceted system of human organizations represented by American higher education, can we make absolute, rigid, black-or-white statements—even on what constitutes honor or integrity, and what constitutes cheating or informing on a cheater?

Whose Opinion Is the "Right One"?

In order to form a value judgment we must know the background "facts" involved in the incident to be evaluated. To demonstrate how difficult it is to be so absolute about one's evaluation of a complex situation in a large dynamic, multi-dimensional organization, let us examine the characterization of the academic atmosphere at the Air Force Academy by one former officer, Arthur J. Heise. In an article for *The Nation*, May, 1967, Heise describes why the cadets cheat.⁵ He quotes several former faculty members as assessing the faculty-student rapport as one of indifference, "a production line in a factory, rather than an academic institution." "Our program resembles one of indoctrination." "Faculty members know little of what goes on in their classes although there are only about 16 students to a class." Heise thinks it is a public relations gimmick of the Academy to stress the small size of the classes as conducive to highly personalized teaching and compare itself with the diploma mills of civilian universities. He goes on to point out that in "actuality"—as his informants see the situation—there is really a wide gap in the interchange between stu-

4 *Denver Post*, "Surrender With Calling Card Typifies Egypt Defeat," June 20, 1967.

5 Arthur J. Heise, "Why the Cadets Cheat," *The Nation*, May 15, 1967.

dents and teachers due to continual re-sectioning of cadets in the same course, and the exclusive use of the lecture-test method of teaching. Further, he writes of the standardization of prescribed courses set forth in syllabi, "neatly bound in Air Force blue and lining an archival section of the Academy library." Hence, the picture that Mr. Heise paints of academic life at the Air Force Academy is one of sterility, non-involvement and indifference on the part of teachers: student alienation, he says, has reached a point at which a cheating ring could be formed just to beat the system. It should be understood that Mr. Heise was not on the faculty of the Air Force Academy. He was an administration officer in the library.

Let us take another view of the same institution's academic atmosphere. There seem to be warm rapport and solidarity among cadets and faculty in general when the overall social milieu is assessed. The discussion described at the beginning of this article supports this view. The cadet was genuine and sincere in his efforts to back up his professor's remarks.

One cannot visit the Air Force Academy, talk with cadets and faculty members and not come away with the feeling that, in this complex organization, a pride and in-group feeling of worth and belongingness exists. In fact, the school culture of the Academy could stand as an example for other universities as to the value of creating an in-group feeling of belonging. Special names for locations, patterns of behavior, clothing, songs, the customs and traditions of an institution, a close-knit community have been created to wrap the cadet and faculty member alike in the unique

culture of the Academy, making them feel the sense of belonging and pride in their organization that is so often lacking in big state universities. In this light, it seems rather inaccurate to characterize instructors at the Academy as cold and indifferent to their students' needs and their abilities. At the Academy there is more the atmosphere of a small town, where everyone knows everyone else, than the production line of a factory coldly turning out products.

As for the comment on the volumes of standardized course materials lining the shelves of the Academy's library, doesn't every public school system, as well as department and college in universities, have courses of study and curricula set forth as guidelines for those teaching in the program? This is a requirement in an institution where there is periodic but systematic planned faculty change.

Two views of the academic atmosphere here have been presented—in order to show how differently two observers can characterize the climate, the social milieu, or the prevailing spirit of a complex community of people. Hence the setting for a value judgment takes on different meanings. And who is *right*? Who is precisely accurate in his assessment? Who really *knows*? Does the reporter report the facts—as they exist—or does he twist the truth to gain readership?

Some Closing Comments

We have used the 1967 cheating incident at the Air Force Academy as a vehicle for the consideration of certain values and ethical judgments in American higher education. What we would ask is: are there immutable, absolute values, rules, codes of honor commonly shared in all cultures,

societies, or forms of human groups through time and space? Or has human organization become so complex, specialized, multi-faceted that we must look to a relativistic view of what constitutes honor, integrity and human decency, dependent upon the culture, the society, the ongoing situation?

Frederick L. Hovde, president of Purdue University, wrote recently, "In my judgment the strict and uncompromising administration of the honor code enforced at all service academies by the students themselves has produced for this nation an officer corps possessing qualities of personal and professional integrity not equalled anywhere else in the world." In a "Symposium on Morality" reported in the *American Scholar*, Summer, 1965, Dr. Henry Murray describes morals as evolving. He points out that if we went about the world from society to society asking individuals "what is your immediate

moral reaction when you witness an evil act?" we would never get general agreement. He feels there would be marked variations among societies and variations among the members of each society. So how can we speak in a meaningful sense of an absolute morality?⁶

We conclude with a remark by Professor Ernest Bayles: "Research on ethical-moral values focuses upon where they lead rather than whence they come, upon consequences rather than precedences. An object or an idea does not derive its value from approval by God or the Cosmos, but from the way it appears to function in promoting or demoting the affairs of mankind."⁷

6 *American Scholar*, "Symposium on Morality," Vol. 34, No. 3, Summer, 1965, p. 354.

7 Ernest B. Bayles, "On Morals and Values: The Axiology of John Dewey," *Teachers College Record*, Vol. LXVIII, No. 8, May, 1967, p. 658.

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Pedagogical Praxis

Inevitably, some will find these reflections to be a retreat from reality. So be it; let them err. Their error will be in not adding time to space in conceiving of reality. Men must deal not only with the problems around them; they must deal with a succession of problems as these stretch over time. Life is a matter of endurance; this fact does not let us off the hook of a single immediate issue, but it does add another dimension to our efforts to cope with the world. In an historical sweep, a temporal specter rises before the practical life—the specter of ignorance. A people can surmount great issues one after another as it rises to heights in a series of extraordinary efforts to perform the tasks at hand, and then this people can destroy itself by being unable to solve a minor matter, having previously expended its powers without cultivating adequate replacements. This deficiency of disciplined ability is ignorance, and its absurdities are the very stuff of history. The threat of ignorance should make us cautious of proposals to enlist educational institutions in all-out efforts to solve issues here and now. The educator, whether teacher or student, is responsible not only to the present, but to the future as well.

We have passed through the industrial and scientific revolutions, which have together been created by technical praxis, by the systematic

application of quantifiable knowledge about man and the world to the manipulation of the things around us. Technical praxis will preserve and probably expand its usefulness; but it has already attained an established place in our lives, and although it will continue to cause changes, it has ceased to initiate revolutionary transformations in human organization, automation notwithstanding. Those who look at technology as the shaping force of our future will be surprised by tomorrow's history. Despite contrary signs, another fundamental transformation of the West is underway; this educational revolution, which may prove as significant as the industrial, will be based on pedagogical praxis, on the autonomous use of qualitative judgments about our personal possibilities in order to cultivate the best man within each of us.

Pedagogical praxis is only incidentally the didactic disbursement of universal literacy and sophisticated skills. In a fuller sense, it is the systematic effort that each man can make to form his personal character, to cultivate his intellect and emotions, to choose personally and freely to stand for particular values in the course of a life mysteriously given to him. We are in the midst of an educational revolution in which the education traditionally open only to the gentleman is being demanded as the prerogative of all. To remind ourselves of precisely what this education is, let us turn to the words of

a great gentleman, Montaigne. "Bees pillage the flowers here and there, but they make honey of them which is all their own; it is no longer thyme and majoram; so the fragments borrowed from others the student will transform and blend together to make a work that shall be absolutely his own; that is to say, his judgment. His education, labor, and study aim only at forming that."

Efforts to encourage all men to transform the fragments they encounter into independent, personal patterns of judgment have merely begun. Most schooling entails only training, and popularization usually aims to preclude rather than provoke personal judgment. Be that as it may, contrary forces have been set in motion. Where skills are present, men will experiment with their uses out of exuberant curiosity. Information, literature, whole new forms of art are omnipresent, challenging us all to create and appreciate; and anyone with a keen ear and eye will be endlessly surprised at how frequently one encounters interesting, cultivated capacities dispersed through a seemingly banal populace. For better or for worse, men are seeking to live in the Athenian manner. In result, much of the extreme, the radical, the bizarre in youth stems from the general rush to live by one's own judgment, regardless of whether it is good judgment or poor. As long as the young take the lead in this way, their elders cannot help but take up the challenge and offer the young the closest to a gentleman's education they can. This response is simply a function of the truth in Jefferson's quip that a people who expect to be ignorant and free expect what never was and never will be. Thus, spontaneous initiatives have

committed us to trying to carry the development of popular education through to completion, whether to success or chaotic destruction or to muddled endurance we cannot know.

Such uncertainties often elicit exertion, however; and rather than here forecast the facade of the future, let us concentrate on understanding the processes at work, for each of us has the option, even the responsibility, to decide whether the processes are such that we should work to facilitate or impede their operation. Fichte best envisaged the educational revolution that is upon us. The idea of training the skills of the populace and indoctrinating the citizenry in patriotic virtue had recently taken hold in France, and the ideal of the on-going cultural development of an excellent person had been inherited from the upper classes of Europe. In his *Addresses to the German People*, Fichte combined these and proposed a national educational effort aimed not at spreading skills and patriotism, but at maturing the philosophic and literary independence of each person. As Fichte saw it, Germany's greatness would be cultural, not political; and in contrast to the French armies of conscripted citizens, the German schools and ethos would inspire the world by educating each person in the community to full cultural autonomy.

Fichte's thought had many foibles, for instance, Froebel; more seriously, his theory of language and the relation of a national ethos to personal development were at once difficult and dangerous when misunderstood. But in the goal that Fichte set, he was centuries ahead of his time. In the short-run, he erred. Might overpowered right; empirical science, not spec-

ulative philosophy, moved events and won the popular imagination; and the military state, which Fichte abhorred, nevertheless found strange, terrible uses for his fine hopes. Yet all the while, beneath these events that technical praxis made possible, various visionaries slowly strengthened the more speculative, human sciences, and they looked forward to the day when these might be the basis of an alternative praxis. Thus, in the exchanges between two men whose importance we have yet to appreciate, Count Paul Yorck exclaimed to Wilhelm Dilthey: "The reproach is entered against us that we do not make good use of natural science! To be sure, presently the sole justification of all science is certainly that it makes practice possible. But mathematical praxis is not the only one. From our standpoint, the practical aim is pedagogical in its widest and deepest sense. Pedagogical praxis is the soul of all real philosophy and the truth of Plato and Aristotle."

It is time for this alternative to flourish. When we learn to make full use of pedagogical praxis, our educational institutions and agencies will assume an unprecedented place in human experience and become perhaps the basis of a cosmopolitan life and culture.

Yet in the present chaos, how sanguine it seems to speak of the spread of culture and to dream of the day when schools and universities will be the institutional framework of a world community! Many doubt and a few deny that intellect should even maintain its present place in the world. Initiative seems to lie with those content to question and negate. The prestige of mind appears to be deflating as puffed-up reputations are

pierced by incompetent performances. On many campuses, quiet scholars find themselves the objects of vocal scorn. The will weighs reason down, and the urge to act possesses the humble thinker. The temper of the time shows itself as Goethe's dictum—"to act is easy, to think is hard"—appears frequently transposed in student essays—"to think is easy, to act is hard." Thus we instinctively denigrate fine intellection and rush, not to judgment, but to commitment, for we feel that the way to mastery lies in the triumph of the will.

As discontent dominates the campuses, one can see a glow of satisfaction spread through the hurried hordes, the sated consumers who find that happiness is to rely on common sense and to suspect subtlety. Having felt threatened by the critics' barbs, they find proof in the turmoil that when the chips are down the presumptuous professors cannot even run their own shop, let alone counsel the workaday world. And further, the sad fact simply is that the prosaic here have reason, as the French would say; the present situation is a serious portent for both the pretensions and the destiny of intellect. Force of mind seems unlikely to shape the future if one judges by present trends.

Real abuses exist. Academics are easily rebuked for fiddling on the Heights while Harlem burns; intellectuals expose themselves rushing to advertise opinions they have not yet formed; scientists progressively loose the power to direct the uses of their knowledge as the worldly-wise-man has realized that, verily, their knowledge is power. These and numerous other abuses cause righteous outrage in sensitive spirits; yet the house of intellect does not yield to instant re-

form. Hence, frustration has built up, and the tension may well tear the fabric of mind. In such circumstances, the cautious course would be to meditate on the gloom. But of this we can be sure: things will get worse unless we *make* them better; and to make things better we need to dwell not only on our problems, but on our possibilities as well. Rather than despair of improvement, let us balance Hegel's sad irony—"the owl of Minerva spreads its wings only with the falling of the dusk"—with a more hopeful one—"the satyres of Dionysus dance mainly at the coming of the dawn."

In anticipating the dawn, we accomplish little by noting the dark; it is all around us. In the same way, abuses are irrelevant; what matters are the uses of culture, for a new day will rise only as a significant number find these positive possibilities and develop them. In truth, then, we have but one mission: to find what should be done and to do it well. This mission brings us back to pedagogical praxis; the rest is self-gratifying indulgence.

What we should do seems clear enough: the function of educational institutions is teaching and learning. Our mission is to devote ourselves to pedagogical praxis. This task involves more than disseminating accumulated knowledge and taking in ready-made skills. Real teaching and learning involves the inner man; one must put one's self into the matter: to teach is to take a public stand exemplifying convictions, judgments, and values; to learn is to internalize and make part of one's self those convictions, judgments, and values that one meets and that stand up in the face of critical evaluation. In this sense, teaching

and learning cannot be isolated from each other, for to learn something is to recognize that it is worth trying to teach, and to teach something is to put what one has learned to public test. Consequently, professors and students are not divergent groups; as has been said elsewhere, they should stand against one another in a respectful, balanced tension. Both professors and students need simultaneously to teach and to learn; the capacity of the former to continue learning through the free pursuit of curiosity constitutes the growing edge of the cultural system, whereas the ability of the latter to teach by reinforcing among their peers certain lines of development and to discourage others is the subtle source of orientation that keeps the system pointed towards the light.

These remarks describing the educational mission are unlikely to be controversial. Each person has a rather clear, intuitive grasp of pedagogical praxis; after all, it is an integral part of our inner lives. The controversial point will be in taking this private, albeit general, phenomenon, and making an active, public mission of it. There is in the foregoing a claim that the effort to develop human character—our own and that of others—is a significant form of practical action, an important mode of *doing* something in the world.

Resistance to saying that what we should *do* is teach and learn stems mainly from the conviction that to do these things is to do something selfishly personal and not to do anything productive in the world. Beneath all the compromises and evasions there is among both professors and students a clear comprehension of their pedagogical mission; what

is lacking is the will to perform it, and this failure of will is supported and rendered tolerable by the rationalization that what we ought to do is not a real form of doing in the contemporary world. As long as we let this rationalization seem persuasive, pedagogical praxis will not come into its own and the incipient educational revolution will die aborning as the industrial revolution would have died if medieval ideas about usury had not changed.

From every quarter, one hears that ours is a time of crisis and that we must devote all our energies to solving our palpable difficulties *now* or else they will destroy us. This reasoning puts such a premium on perfecting technical praxis that concern for pedagogical praxis seems to be an improper luxury. Little hope can at first be found for solving immediate

issues with a set of indirect means for shaping the community through the aggregate of our individual efforts to form our own characters. Hence, our pedagogical mission seems frivolous, and we turn away from it to one of the many perils impinging on us. But the very diversity of these finalities should make us pause. Each different doomsdayer is driven to frenzy by a different problem, ranging from the conservationists' paradoxical outcries against the pollution of streams and the purification of swamps to the familiar standbys of race, war, population, and nuclear armageddon. Without forgetting for a moment the seriousness and merit of these causes, let us be equally sure not to forget the temporal specter: ignorance is always ready to ravage the exhausted victors.

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Edited by COLE S. BREMBECK *and* MARVIN GRANDSTAFF, *both of Michigan State University.*

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AMERICAN EDUCATION IN FOREIGN PERSPECTIVE

By STEWART E. FRASER, *George Peabody College for Teachers.*

1969 *In press*

EDUCATION AND URBAN RENAISSANCE

Edited by ROALD F. CAMPBELL *and* LUCY ANN MARX, *both of The University of Chicago; and* RAPHAEL O. NYSTRAND, *The Ohio State University.*

This book is based on papers presented at the National Conference on the Educational Dimension of the Model Cities Program, held at The University of Chicago Center for Continuing Education. The topic of consideration is "What are the characteristics of the ideal urban school?" 1969 148 pages \$5.95

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By DAVID STREET, *The University of Chicago.*

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Book Reviews

Teaching in a World of Change

Robert H. Anderson. New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, Inc., 1966.

Schools Don't Change

Richard W. Saxe. New York: Philosophical Library, 1967.

In reviewing a book one is always faced with the problem of deciding on the criteria to be used in evaluating it. Neither of these books are works of great scholarship, so the usual criteria of scholarly and scientific analysis seem to be ruled out. Both seem to be aimed at an audience of college students preparing to become elementary and secondary school teachers and are concerned with making "better teachers." In addition, *Schools Don't Change* seems to be aimed at a broader "popular" audience.

Thus, it would be reasonable to evaluate these books in terms of the soundness of the advice contained therein. But even in this task a reviewer brings to bear his own disciplinary biases. All of this introspection is by way of introducing my own biases and assumptions, which are those of the sociologist, and sensitizing the reader to the fact that I am looking at these books from a sociological perspective.

As a sociologist, I regard education as a social institution *affected by* other social institutions. I see education as reacting and adapting to changes in other segments of the society. Therefore, I would expect books with titles like those under review to be concerned with external forces affecting education. Both books are disappointing in this respect. They are concerned with internal change (or the lack of it).

Perhaps these comments will be more meaningful if I indicate more specifically what these books deal with.

Anderson's *Teaching in a World of Change* deals with four major topics: teaching as a profession, the nongraded school, team teaching, and the physical characteristics of schools. The final chapter of the book, written by Sara Jaffarian, deals with "The Library-centered School." While this chapter contains an interesting history of the school library "movement" and perhaps even some useful information, it has even less to do with change than the rest of the book and really seems quite out of place.

Anderson's discussion of the meaning of professionalism in education is rather simplistic. For example, pedagogy is identified as the basis of professional status, and the teacher's role is defined in terms of "(1) relationships to learners, (2) relationships to the content of the school program, and (3) depth in understanding of how learning takes place and of the art-science of instruction (pedagogy)" (p. 18). Chapter six deals with the relationship of teachers to colleagues, librarians, psychologists, principals, custodians, aides, parent volunteers, etc. Here the teacher is defined as a professional but the term professional is nowhere adequately defined. For the instructor who wants his students to grapple with the meaning of pro-

fessionalism in education on a sophisticated level, this book is no substitute for Lieberman's first-rate discussion of the topic.*

Anderson's discussion of the nongraded school and team teaching are, in my opinion, the most informative parts of the book, possibly because of his strong identification with these instructional innovations. The treatment of both topics is of an introductory nature and hardly constitutes a thorough discussion.

The author deals with these innovations and the problems attendant to their acceptance and rejection on a highly individualistic basis. On a conceptual level this bothers me because, as a sociologist, I am more inclined to look for institutional and organizational sources of resistance to and acceptance of innovation.

Sources of resistance may exist outside the school. For example, the necessity for articulation between different levels of the school system and between schools and accrediting agencies may make the adoption of innovations problematic regardless of their demonstrated quality, merit, effectiveness, and the like. Similarly, innovation may be resisted by community groups concerned with maintaining or promulgating special interests and viewpoints such as the sanctity of the neighborhood school (that is, maintaining segregated schools), property tax relief, and the immorality of the theory of evolution.

I do not mean to imply that all these kinds of resistance are necessarily applicable to the innovations of nongradedness and team teaching. Rather, I mention these as illustrations of the kinds of factors that prospective teachers might be made aware of as a way of cautioning them that innovation cannot be accomplished by teachers (and administrators) armed solely with good intentions, a strong will, and a pleasant countenance.

Another potential source of resistance to educational innovation is the school itself. Like the hospital, the factory, the governmental agency, etc., schools are bureaucratic organizations. As such, they place a premium on the routinization of activities and the development of orderly procedures for performing their tasks. Consequently, in all bureaucratic organizations innovation means potential disruption—disruption of both the everyday interaction of persons and the careers of individuals.

I am not condemning bureaucratic organizations nor am I condemning schools. I am simply suggesting that solving the innovation acceptance problem depends more on understanding the nature of bureaucratic organizations than on understanding the personalities of the participants involved. However, Anderson's discussion of nongraded schools and team teaching does little to make the reader aware of the organizational realities and constraints involved.

Saxe's book, *Schools Don't Change*, is concerned with the persistence of a variety of "bad practices" at the level of the classroom teacher. Most of these practices involve either disciplinary techniques, teaching techniques,

* Myron Lieberman. *Education as a Profession*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1956.

or "human relations" techniques vis-a-vis parents, colleagues, principals, custodians, etc.

Some twenty-five bad practices, presented as don'ts, are discussed. Examples of these are: Don't Misappropriate Pupil Property, Don't Use Pupil Siblings as Rat Finks, Don't be a Screamer, Don't Practice Medicine or Psychiatry or Wizardry Without a License, Don't be Infallible, Don't Cheat on Report Cards, Don't Devise Dilemmas, etc. Each "Don't" is illustrated by a "cartoon" apparently drawn by the author. Most of the cartoons are quite funny and a few are real gut-busters. The book is written in a straightforward, dejargonized manner that makes it very appealing.

Again, I couldn't resist interpreting the book from a sociological perspective. If I have understood Saxe correctly he is saying that despite professionally aggrandizing discussions about innovation, change, and progress at one level, there exists a "teaching culture" consisting of a distinctive set of values, norms, and practices, some of which are detrimental to the student, the teacher, and the school. In other words, change within the schools has been uneven. Despite technological innovation, curriculum reform, etc., a wide variety of undesirable practices persist.

I think this book is written in such a manner that its message may get through to people. What Saxe has to say is worth hearing. While the book is intended primarily for teachers (and also for parents and principals), it is most likely to come to the attention of prospective teachers. I wish there were some way to get it into the hands of experienced teachers who may have fallen into the evil ways discussed in the book.

Despite the merits of this book, I have many reservations about its ultimate utility in changing the behavior of teachers who may be engaging in these practices. Many of the practices represent simple solutions to complex tasks. Appeals to reason will not necessarily succeed in changing behavior.

In conclusion, potential adopters of these books should realize that I have treated *Teaching in a World of Change* harshly because it does not live up to its promises. It does not deal adequately with the broader implications of the few topics it is concerned with. On the other hand, *Schools Don't Change* makes less pretentious claims and does an admirable job of living up to them.

Ronald M. Pavalko
Florida State University

The Conspiracy Against Childhood

Eda J. LeShan. New York: Atheneum, 1967. 368 pp. \$6.50.

Book titles, like newspaper headlines, sometimes seem to be chosen for their shock value. Although the title of this book is shocking, it is quite descriptive of the author's view of certain prevalent attitudes toward children and childhood in contemporary American culture. Mrs. LeShan's prin-

central thesis is that there is, at present, a concerted effort to divert our children from the normal process of gradual intellectual and social growth by premature emphases on the development of intellectual skills and the acquisition of knowledge which may (or may not) have applications to adult life. We are not content, says the author, to let our children enjoy childhood; we feel compelled to move them with the greatest haste toward adulthood. The great paradox is that this trend is intensifying at a time when medical science is prolonging human life and, hence, assuring us of an even longer period of productive adulthood. Along with Mrs. LeShan, the reviewer must ask, "With such long lives ahead of our children, what's all the hurry about having them grow up?"

Mrs. LeShan's documentation of the anti-childhood forces is impressive. The book is studded with poignant vignettes from her years of experience as a nursery-school teacher and director, and a child-welfare and child-guidance worker. She tells of the mother who goes into her eleven-year-old son's room each evening to whisper in his ear, "I want to be a lawyer, I want to be a lawyer." She relates her dismay at meeting a father who carried his children's report cards in his pocket in place of the usual pictures. She describes a widely-sold book designed to help parents train their children to read 150 words a minute, do arithmetical operations and simple algebra, all before the age of five by making lessons a "rigid part of the child's daily schedule, starting at 30 months of age." She comments upon the nursery school which told an inquiring parent of a three-year-old that they considered only children with college potential, and another nursery school which gave letter grades to three-year-olds in such subjects as "sitting still," "attention span," and "singing in unison." She tells of a program to accelerate the development of first graders so as to be able to handle such homework assignments as three-page written themes, and the subsequent abandonment of the program when the six-year-olds developed insomnia, headaches, stomach-aches, etc. She tells of the principal who told a PTA meeting of ninth- and tenth-grade parents that "approximately four hours of homework should be handled each night." Mrs. LeShan has collected some fantastic examples of specific homework assignments with her "favorite" being, "Read *The Third Reich* over the weekend." The remarkable thing about the foregoing anecdotes is that the adults involved were reasonably typical, contemporary American parents and teachers who are agents, knowingly or not, in the "conspiracy against childhood."

Having laid out the general outline of her argument in an excellent introductory chapter, Mrs. LeShan then proceeds to consider the evidence for the "conspiracy" from infancy to young adulthood through a series of chapters with headings such as, "The Computerized Baby: Or How to Teach Two-Year-Olds to Fail," "Getting into the Nursery School of Your Choice," "The Healthy Aspects of Underachievement," "Are They Dropping Out or Are They Dropping In?" Mrs. LeShan's chapter entitled "This Montessori Madness" provides a finely focussed view of her basic contention. While granting that, for her day (the early 1900's), Dr. Montessori had some extremely foresighted and modern ideas about little children, the author says that:

The Montessori Method as it is being formulated today is simply another expression of our impatience with childhood, and our mechanistic concept of learning and growth.... There is a tendency to push children into standardized patterns of achievement. It is an approach that covers up the exuberance and energy of young children, it represses their vitality, their obstreperousness, it makes them nicely manageable. It makes them look like miniature grown-ups, so that we can comfortably forget that they are not. It narrows the range of what a child may do because the equipment is to be used in certain circumscribed ways. And while the advocates protest that they are opening up new vistas and teaching new skills, they are really encouraging conformity and the narrowing of experience.

After a day of observing the artificial quiet, order, and system of a Montessori school, the author describes her relief on returning to her own nursery school and being confronted by one of her teachers who said, "Gee, I'm glad you're here today—I've got to talk to you about what to do about Peter—he urinated on Betsy again today." Mrs. LeShan adds, "Here was the reality of children being children, letting their feelings and problems show, so that we could help them learn to handle them."

The author's own point of view regarding childhood is eloquently stated in her final chapter, entitled "Let Me Be How I Grow," in which she argues that we must allow children to develop their own intrinsic potentialities, in their own way, and at their own rate. "To the degree that we permit a child to unfold himself, he can have the kind of deep sense of personal fulfillment that I am describing; the degree to which we arbitrarily manipulate nature will be the degree to which our children become puppets—twisted out of shape, never again quite the selves they were meant by nature to be."

Parents and teachers who are themselves deeply involved in the new trends in child-rearing and education might be inclined to dismiss Mrs. LeShan's thesis as being based on a sentimentalized view of childhood which is out-of-place in our brave new world of space travel, computers, and "micro-boppers." Such skeptics owe it to themselves and to today's children to see if they can read the first chapter of this book and still keep the faith.

John E. Williams
Wake Forest University

The Technology of Teaching

B. F. Skinner. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1968. Paperback, 271 pp.

The name of B. F. Skinner is almost a household word in some circles in America, but Skinner is one of those men whose ideas most people have gotten vicariously, not from his works themselves. Now Appleton-Century-Crofts has made it possible to get many of his major ideas within the covers of a single paperback volume.

The book is actually a collection of essays, some previously published, the earliest in 1954, a few written especially for this volume. One's first reaction to a collection of this kind may be dismay at the publication of yet another "non-book." It turns out, however, in this case that there has been such continuity in the development of Mr. Skinner's ideas over the years that the separate essays go together much better than is often the case. There is, moreover, a considerable virtue in being able to read in one place the seminal ideas of a man who has had a profound impact on educational thinking. Certain themes that are only partially glimpsed in the separate essays stand more boldly forth when displayed in the differing contexts of several presentations. Those persons who may have encountered some of these papers when they were separately presented will benefit from reading them in the context of a full treatment of Skinner's ideas on teaching.

Most people who know Skinner only as a name associate him with teaching machines and are likely to have some vague impression that there is "something" inhumane and mechanical about his approach to teaching. Unfortunately the title of the present volume is likely to reenforce this conception, for in modern parlance "technology" has come to be associated almost exclusively with machines. Yet for Skinner it is not the teaching machine that makes for a technology of teaching, but the fact that there is a technology of teaching that makes it possible to have a teaching machine!

The technology of teaching is based on the assumption that underlies any technology: that there is an orderly relation of cause and effect and that if the cause of a particular effect can be discovered and reproduced the effect will occur. The central idea in Skinner's position is that learning is exactly that kind of process. The individual does not learn at random. He learns certain things because he has been exposed to experiences of a certain kind. If we can discover the nature of those experiences and reproduce them in a systematic way, we can expedite learning, and that, simply stated, is Skinner's definition of teaching (p. 5).

Skinner's major discovery was that the common characteristic of experiences that "cause" learning is that they reenforce, i.e., reward in some fashion, the behavior to be learned. When a teacher develops a specific sequence of reenforcing events to produce a specific change in a learner's behavior, the teacher has become a technologist. When he discovers what kind of reenforcement produces each change, he can then "program" that sequence of reenforcement so that he or another person or a machine can reproduce that same sequence when the same behavior is to be learned.

Whatever one may think of the deliberate manipulation of reenforcement, or what Skinner calls, the "contingencies of reenforcement," it is becoming increasingly evident that such contingencies do have a powerful influence on learning. The recent publication, *Pygmalion in the Classroom* by Rosenthal and Jacobsen* is but the latest evidence of this fact.

The major charge directed against Skinner's point of view seems to be,

* Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968.

not that Skinner is wrong about the fact of reinforcement, but that to use this knowledge in teaching is to dehumanize and mechanize it. Throughout the chapters in this volume Skinner attempts to answer these charges.

Speaking of the role of the teacher he says:

One might say that the main trouble with education in the lower grades today is that the child is obviously not competent and knows it and that the teacher is unable to do anything about it and knows that too. If the advances which have recently been made in our control of behavior can give the child a genuine competence in reading, writing, spelling, and arithmetic, then the teacher may begin to function, not in lieu of a cheap machine, but through intellectual, cultural, and emotional contacts of that distinctive sort which testify to her status as a human being. (27)

To the charge that a technology of teaching will regiment education he has an interesting response:

In principle nothing could be more regimented than education as it now stands. School and state authorities draw up syllabuses specifying what students are to learn year by year. Universities insist upon "requirements" which are presumably to be met by all students applying for admission. Examinations are "standard." Certificates, diplomas, and honors testify to the completion of specified work. We do not worry about all this because we know that students never learn what they are required to learn, but some other safeguard must be found when education is effective. (90-91)

To the charge that a technology of teaching will remove the student's initiative for learning Skinner answers:

We admire the student in inverse proportion to the extent to which he has obviously been taught. The man who has not been taught at all but who is nevertheless "well educated" is highly regarded, and so is the student who learns in spite of bad teaching. But the student who has been taught with maximal efficiency must share at least some of the credit for his achievement with his teacher. The better the teacher, the less we admire the student. (141)

But, "To make the student solve the problem of learning is to refuse to solve the problem of teaching." (143)

And, "The better the teacher, the more important it is that he free the student from the need for instructional help." (144)

The crux of the argument for Skinner is that a person is free, not when he acts without cause, or only to avoid unpleasant consequences or to receive extraneous rewards, but when he is controlled by his own knowledge of how he must behave in order to achieve the goals he sets for himself. Such self-control, Skinner argues, many have learned in spite of how they were taught; he thinks it is possible to design education so that most will learn it because of how they are taught.

If events are to prove Skinner right, that time is well in the future. We are still arguing over whether a technology of teaching is both possible and desirable. Whatever the eventual outcome, Skinner has set the issues in clear if not always felicitous terms. For a difficulty with Skinner's writing

is that he uses a technical jargon that creates an impression that his position is more technical and obtuse than it really is. The difficulty of his language is, however, a minor matter. The important point is that he has made the case for a technology of teaching which has and will influence all who try to shape our educational practice, whether or not they agree with Mr. Skinner.

Norman D. Kurland, *Director*
Center on Innovation
New York State Education Department

The Shape of Catholic Higher Education

Robert Hassenger, Ed., with a foreword by David Riesman. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967. 373 pp. \$8.95.

This most valuable book is really a collection of essays, descriptive and analytical to be sure, but still essays on Catholic collegiate education. The book is divided into five major areas: General Perspectives; Profiles of Catholic Colleges and Universities; Effects of Catholic Higher Education; Controversy on the Catholic Campus; and the Future of Catholic Higher Education. There are eleven independent essays, plus a fairly strong bibliography and a useful index.

The essays review, in part, the sociology of religion and education; they also explore the innovations and the ferment in the Catholic colleges. There is much in this book which will prove valuable to the observer of the Catholic educational scene. The chapters in this volume that attack vested obscurantism or the insensitivity in Catholic higher education such as Julian Foster's on Santa Clara, John Leo's on St. John's University on Long Island, and Francis Kearns' on Georgetown, set the tone of the volume. Here we find responsible criticism which sheds light on the trials and tribulations of the Catholic institutions of higher learning.

There is no doubt that the stimulating features of this book far outweigh the annoying ones. The reader may find that some of the essays are pointed toward the future such as R. Hassenger's "The Catholic University of Chicago," and he might be disturbed by the fanciful approach made by Hassenger. Indeed, even David Riesman in his Foreword states that: "It is doubtful, however, that any such plan as his will be realized." The reader, however, should enjoy this unique attempt to plan for the future whether it agrees with his logic or not.

Part of the problem when examining such a complex venture as Catholic collegiate education is to determine whether the difficulties are due to internal tensions or external tensions. In this regard one finds P. J. Reiss presenting a painstakingly honest portrayal of the Catholic College with some built-in tensions. Here one finds understandable explanations of a complex problem in a few words. Less cogent and acceptable than the essay by Reiss is the essay by Father John Whitney Evans titled "Catholic Higher

Education on the Secular Campus." This is a scholarly essay, well-written, and perhaps useful to the study of the Catholic college, but very highly specialized about an area which might be of some interest to Catholics only. When Evans discusses the attempt of the Church to strive "for the production of an indigenous Catholic culture on secular campus," he surely must recognize that the forces which impinge on the secular campus will, in some way, influence the Catholic ideas, and that few, if any at all, are free agents on the large secular campus. This essay could be a disappointment to an educator who might have been looking for some educational direction which was relevant to the general educational sphere of problems.

Hassenger's "Portrait of a Catholic Women's College" is a useful addition to this volume, and for the non-Catholic this essay provides a Catholic analysis of the "strata of excellence" and also of the concomitant problems encountered in the pursuit of this excellence.

The two sections on controversy on the Catholic campus are both well done, and serve to acquaint the educator with the realization so common today that educational problems have a frustrating sameness about them. On the whole though one cannot help but feel as he marches through this book that the willingness of Catholic writers and institutions to examine themselves with brutal honesty as they move out into the larger world is an indication of the ferment and excitement that is a part of the Catholic college today.

If one were to be exceptionally critical, then it would not be difficult to find fault with the overt optimism for change reflected in the essays since we know that "liberations turn out to be problematical;" however, changes bring challenges and uncertain risk, but they also bring about the opportunity for tentative solutions. The writers of these unique essays search for tentative solutions, and their willingness to try the darkness should be commended.

Nicholas C. Polos
Claremont, California

Teacher Education in a Social Context

Gordon J. Klopff and Garda W. Bowman, Eds. Bank Street College of Education: Mental Health Materials Center, Inc., 1966.

Teacher preparation in general is a basic and increasingly complex modern problem. Educating teachers for the specialized tasks involved in dealing with the poor and the disadvantaged makes additional demands. Here is a solid and revealing contribution to this important field.

This is a workbook of projects, but it is also a work of new educational philosophy. It is a detailed report of varied experiments, but it is also an inspiring and helpful message to all those who have or will have some role in this area of instruction.

Conducted for the Office of Economic Opportunity and staff of the Of-

fice of Education, this compilation of projects, programs, experiments, and case studies, along with many well-considered and well-aimed recommendations for improving programs, is a work which almost any educator will find stimulating and helpful to keep at hand.

A brief historical survey of the approach to the poor and the disadvantaged indicates enough to show that something more than some new techniques and classroom procedures is necessary. Wise learning procedures take into account the socio-economic background of the children and youth and the psychosocial factors bearing upon their total experience, their relationships, and their aspirations. Thus what first commands attention in this volume is its sound educational approach and its understanding of the human and the sociological problem involved. A second major feature is the collection of so many well-planned programs and projects—especially through the OEO and the NDEA institutes. The procedures are viewed from the standpoint of administrators, directors, and participants.

Even the casual but involved reader will glean much here that will stimulate him to go far beyond the limits of these reports in trying to help, not only the poor and disadvantaged, but also anyone else who wants and needs to learn.

Increase dialogue between parents and teachers, says the report. Provide exercises in role play, and observe children at play and at work. The report further urges an analysis of each child's social situation, to come to an understanding of the significant events, values, and forces in the child's experience. Move from the practical to the theoretical. The "General Recommendations" (pp. 8-10) condense into terse sentences suggestions which have obviously been backed by much thought and experimentation.

What shines out in these reports is the alertness to the new concept of education and the means by which people with special needs can learn a genuine, dynamic, and deep appreciation of human life. Here is no maudlin condescension to a subculture or a specialized group considered in some respects second-class.

The educational field does not need some more philosophizing and theorizing half so much as the detailed story of those who have worked out with professional skill some programs to meet specific needs. I find that this compilation of data and experiments has well achieved its announced objectives, which were as follows: (1) to describe selected programs to improve the knowledge, skills, and attitudes of school personnel for working with disadvantaged children and youth; (2) to identify unique and significant elements of such programs; (3) to develop basic concepts and guidelines for emerging programs of this type.

The major recommendations (as in Chapter 8, p. 260ff) will be worthy of the considered thought of even experienced educators, containing, as they do, such suggestions as these: express goals in clear, realistic, behavioral terms, not in global abstractions; have flexibility in plan, structure, and administration of programs; provide opportunity for experiential learnings in the instructional process; and encourage greater parental participation in all relationships involved.

With regard to the profuse and varied recommendations, it would seem that it would have helped most teachers more to have a few of these recommendations analyzed in detail, step by step, showing the teacher how to apply them.

Such a report as this makes it abundantly clear that working with the disadvantaged and any other specialized subculture or group requires a general knowledge of the learning and living processes of those who would not consider themselves disadvantaged. It also demonstrates that much work has yet to be done in the fields of the psychology, sociology, and techniques of learning. What is also becoming clear is that children and youth, like others, not only need to be stimulated to learn and to grow, but also to interrelate dynamically with one another so that they can and will form a community in which they can find fulfillment and happiness and through which they can find ever broader areas of interest and social concern.

The active educator may perhaps find here many points with which he will disagree, or he may feel that other procedures would have been better in some situations, but he will be singularly undiscerning if he cannot find in these pages something to stimulate and help him.

Richard K. Morton
Jacksonville University

Black Child in the Family of Man

William Jay Jacobs, *Hunter College*

Phoebe Lloyd Jacobs

Black is the color this year in the children's book field. New titles appear daily on topics like black heroes, black handicrafts, black history, Black Power. Most find eager if not too discriminating buyers. After years of neglect, teachers and librarians hasten to build at least passable collections in these areas. Not that such a new-found concern is undesirable: black children, like all children, need to feel secure in their own heritage, and the appearance of appropriate materials for them is long overdue.

There is an issue of literary quality at stake here, of course. But beyond that is another, perhaps more compelling question: that of objectives. To what end shall these books be used? Some would use black history, mythology, art, music for narrow, parochial ends. They would build "pride in blackness" as a step toward racial identification to be followed swiftly by a kind of American *apartheid*, the separation of black men from other men.

Yet racial isolation is by no means inevitable. In their early lives few children elect to confront the world (either the real world or the world of books) from the exclusive standpoint of their skin color. This is an

adult hang-up. While interested in "their crowd," young people often turn to reading as a means of escaping, transcending their own environment. Hence, their concern is less with black men or white men than with those whose life experience appears relevant.

Certainly the Negro child needs to feel pride and dignity in his people. But he will cease to be embarrassed by skin color (or, conversely, to use it as a crutch) only when he becomes aware of his part in something larger than himself. And what larger, more cosmic matrix can there be in which books can help the child to participate than the totality of the human journey, the experience of a world family of people? The written word offers the child an accessible, a relatively "safe" way to explore his special role in life.

Viewed in this larger perspective reading becomes a profoundly humanizing activity. It can strip bare the facade of racism (whether black or white), labelling it for what it is—an absurdity. It can expose the tyranny of man-made boundaries that separate one people from another and set them to bloody conflict. It can reveal the incalculable evil inherent in false pride in one's nation or caste or class.

To act from such a world-view would have far-reaching consequences for predominantly Negro schools. By learning about many lands, many peoples, children come to recognize the possibility of cultural "options." They are likely to grasp the notion of a multiplicity of acceptable lifestyles in the world, each different but neither inferior nor superior to the others.

Here, then, is the basis for an understanding of the shared destiny of man, the inescapable equality inherent in the human condition. If, indeed, we are "all in it together," then a measure of one's self-esteem or self-worth surely must originate in something more meaningful than skin pigmentation. Rather, the child is forced to identify with precisely those civilizing qualities that serve to distinguish mankind from the lower species—justice, mercy, humility, compassion. With little difficulty it can be shown that, of these, no one nation, no one race can hold a monopoly.

The probable lesson contained here for schools intent on modifying the self-image of Negro children is to "aim high"—to turn without self-consciousness to literature, music, art, the dance, drama, in a word—"the humanities," and through them to help black children to sense for themselves the beauty and harmony of the body, the delights of poetry, the ecstasy of artistic expression.

Schools have incorporated elements of such an approach into their regular curriculum before. The time may now be ripe, however, for a more thoroughgoing commitment. Just one of several recent illustrations should suffice—a federally funded project now being conducted at Plainfield, New Jersey, in grades K-4

of a largely Negro elementary school. Called "The Family of Man" in its first-grade debut, the focus of the program is a humanities core, designed eventually to include all five grades. While concerned with enhancing the black child's self-image, the frame of reference is global. Beginning with legends, myths, folklore, fables—first of Africa, then of many cultures—the child's environment is to be saturated with the form and substance of the human experience. He will encounter the *Iliad* and Genesis and tales of Ashanti warriors, but also modern dance and drama taught by professional performers, and a bombardment of visual stimuli.

Fortunately, more than ever before the means are at hand to implement such programs. A rich reservoir of materials has been accumulated, for example, about children in other lands. Some of it is didactic, much is beautiful. In massive doses its effect may be to persuade Negro children that being black-skinned is only one of many surface characteristics among the world's people. A clearinghouse has been established in the United States for disseminating these materials and demonstrating their use: the Information Center on Children's Cultures (a service of the United States Committee for UNICEF), 331 East 38th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016.

Teachers and professionals in the children's book field can do much to elevate the sights of Negro youngsters. Further, by respecting their creative abilities—expecting them to read and write and paint just like other children—they can encourage such young people to help themselves toward the full realization of their humanity.

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Charting Our Position on the Way To - - -

R. Freeman Butts

Teachers College, Columbia University

I find it both sobering and exhilarating to realize that my students who are now in their twenties will be about as old as I am now when the clocks strike midnight on December 31, 1999. I do not expect to be able to join them, whether sober or exhilarated, on that particular New Year's Eve which will usher in the year 2000, but my point is surely obvious. Today we are literally preparing our students to be teachers in the 21st century. And the children already born who will be *their* students will spend half or more of their lives in the third millenium A.D., or, if you please, they will spend their lives roughly in the sixth millenium since human civilization itself took form around 3000 B.C.

I have started this paper by looking to the future, and in four sentences I have brought in the remote past. I have done this deliberately, because (especially in our more sober moments) we must keep both the future and the past in mind if we wish to chart accurately our present position on the course of the human career. I call your attention to the way this point is put by my colleague at Columbia, Daniel Bell, in his introduction to the symposium on *The Year 2000* which was reported in last summer's issue of *Daedalus*, the Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences:

Time, said St. Augustine, is a three-fold present: the present as we experience it, the past as a present memory, and the future as a present expectation. By that criterion, the world of the year 2000 has already arrived, for in the decisions we make now, in the way we design our environment and thus sketch the lines of constraint, the future is committed. . . . The future is not an overarching leap into the distance; it begins in the present.¹

Professor Butts is widely known for his work in cultural and educational history, and for his many contributions to international and cross-cultural education. He is, presently, Associate Dean for International Studies at Teachers College. This article is based on a paper originally read at the Second National Conference of the U.S. Office of Education Tri-University Project in Elementary Education, New Orleans, February 1, 1968, and deals, in Dr. Butts' characteristically vital fashion, with the challenges posed to education by the mighty transformations occurring in the world. Dr. Butts is currently working on a major reinterpretation of educational history called *THE EDUCATION OF THE WEST*.

1 Daniel Bell, "The Year 2000—The Trajectory of an Idea" in *Daedalus*, Vol. 96, No. 3, the Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Summer 1967, p. 639.

Now Daniel Bell and his associates on the Commission on the Year 2000 are quite right in their insistence that the future begins in the present, and I take it this is a basic assumption of this project and this conference. But I take it, too, that we recognize equally well that the present began in the past. And while the future may be more intriguing or dramatic to talk about than the past, the linkage is undeniable. Where then are we on the course from the past to the future?

I would like to divide my answer into two parts, first taking a very long view and then taking a more contemporary view; both must necessarily be extremely sketchy and staccato in form.

We are, of course, accustomed to thinking of our times as "modern" in contrast to "ancient" and "medieval." This is perhaps the most common periodization assigned to Western history by Western historians. But our age is often referred to by social scientists as dominantly "modern," or industrial, or technological, or scientific in contrast to "traditional," pre-industrial, pre-technological, or pre-scientific societies. In addition, Peter Drucker talks about "post-modern" society. Daniel Bell and Bertram Gross speak of "post-industrial" society, and Kenneth Boulding of a "post-civilized" period in human history.² Now these are intriguing, and I believe important, terms. They illustrate that the human career can be defined in different ways depending on what theme or problem is uppermost for study.

Historical Transformations

My own preference, having the role of education in mind, is to think of three major transformations in the history of mankind: The first is the civilizing process by which folk societies adopt an urban way of life which we call civilization; the second is the modernizing process by which traditional civilizations become modern; and the third is the ecumenicizing process by which modern civilization is becoming world-wide.³ I refer to these as historical transformations, but I use the present tense to emphasize that they are all still going on today in various parts of the world.

In the process of developing a literate urban way of life, beginning some 5,000 years ago in Southwest Asia, the social institutions of small, homogeneous and intimate folk societies gradually became larger in scale, more differentiated,

2 See, for example, Daniel Bell, *et al.*, *ibid.*; Peter F. Drucker, *Landmarks of Tomorrow: a Report on the New "Post Modern" World*. New York: Harper & Row, 1957; Kenneth E. Boulding, *The Meaning of the Twentieth Century*. New York: Harper & Row, 1965; Bertram M. Gross, *The Managing of Organizations*, 2 vols. New York: Free Press, 1964.

3 For elaboration of this theme see R. Freeman Butts, "Civilization-Building and the Modernization Process" in *History of Education Quarterly*, Summer 1967; and "Civilization as Historical Process" in *Comparative Education*, Vol. 3, No. 3, June 1967.

and more specialized as farmers, herdsmen, and warrior bands became city-builders. Integral to this process was the invention of writing and the appearance of organized educational institutions based on written language and literacy and designed for small elites in the urban centers.

A second great transformation began some 500 years ago in Western Europe when traditional urban societies began to become "modern" as they developed new modes of production and distribution of goods based on the use of inanimate power and more efficient tools. Underlying the technological developments were new social institutions still more highly differentiated and specialized than in traditional civilization, and, above all, new bodies of knowledge which were more scientific and rational in content and method, and new forms of widespread education made possible by the invention of printing.

Joseph Elder even goes so far as to define the essence of modernity itself as corresponding to "secular education" by which he means that type of education which endorses the establishment of objectifiable evidence as the basis for proof of phenomena in opposition to the type of education which endorses tradition or faith as the basis for proof of phenomena.⁴

The United States, as much of the West, and some parts of the East are well launched into the stage of Modern Civilization. Many other parts of the world, and even some parts or sub-cultures of the United States and Europe, are still largely in the stage of Traditional Civilization. This gap between tradition and modernity, between societies that are at different stages in social development, accounts for some of the most critical problems facing the United States and the world.

To complicate matters still more, we are now on the threshold of a third great transformation in the human career, a social process that is becoming world-wide as a result of the organizational and technological revolutions of the past 50 years. These revolutions are associated with universal education, electronic forms of information gathering, storing, and retrieval as well as electric and nuclear power, and the enormous increase in the speed and transmission of energy and the transportation of material things and people. Bertram M. Gross of Syracuse has a lively term for this enormous speed-up in the movement over space of information, energy, and things; he calls it the "Mobi-letic Revolution,"⁵ a process already familiar to most of us but still largely incomprehensible to many.

4 William B. Hamilton, Ed. *The Transfer of Institutions*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1964.

5 Bertram M. Gross, *Space-Time and Post-Industrial Society*, Occasional Paper of the Comparative Administration Group, American Society for Public Administration, May 1966 (mimeographed).

And Recent Trends In the long view then, our position is one that brings us to the brink of a world-embracing modern civilization. What of the shorter view, say the last 50 years? I should like to mention four trends which I believe are enormously important for education and for the education of teachers.

The first is an increasing recognition that knowledge and education are themselves the basic sources of social change. This in itself is a drastic change from earlier and more simplistic assumptions that social or cultural development depended principally upon a favored class, whether merchant, industrial, proletarian, military, or a superior race or nation or religion, on a special accumulation of land, capital, labor, technology, or natural resources. The elevation of the role of knowledge and of education in the hierarchy of importance as creators and maintainers of civilization carries the seed of a shift which is of incalculable value for the educational profession. Mr. Chips now holds several trump cards to back up his growing stock of blue chips.

Let me mention a few examples of this trend. In a felicitous phrase John Kenneth Galbraith refers to the recent emergence of the "educational and scientific estate" as a key group in modern industrial society.⁶ He argues that the rapidly growing body of educators and scientists in the schools, colleges, universities, and research institutions provide the decisive factor in modern production, namely, qualified talent and highly trained manpower, much as the banking and financial community provided the decisive factor of wealth for the earlier industrial system. What was once an inferior and tolerated caste has now become a large and increasingly powerful estate. The size of the educational community in the United States in 1900 was approximately 450,000, of whom the vast majority were elementary school teachers, and less than 25,000 were in higher education. Today, the educational estate approaches 3 million of whom slightly less than half are in elementary schools, and a half million are in colleges and universities.

This growth in teaching staff reflects, of course, the tremendous growth in school and university attendance in the past few decades. The greatest percentage increases have been in secondary and higher education: from less than 200,000 in high school in 1900 to nearly 15 million today; and from a quarter of a million in college to nearly seven million today. And the still more important thing is that the prospects are for continued rapid growth especially at the lower and the upper ends. The expectation is that in a decade the preschool enrollments will double (from 3 million to 6 million) and the higher education enrollments will nearly double (from 7 million to 12 million). Both of these increases

6 J. K. Galbraith. *The New Industrial State*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1967.

will have fundamental meaning for the relatively more stable elementary and secondary schools: an increasing number of children will have a longer period of "schooling" before they enter the first grade, and an increasing number of high school graduates will go on to further formal education. The high school that was largely a college preparatory institution in 1900 is becoming once again principally a college preparatory institution. But there is now a fundamental difference. Whereas the high school in 1900 dealt with about 10 percent of youth of high school age and sent 75 percent of them on to college, it now deals with some 90 percent of high school age youth, and it may well be that it will soon again be sending 75 percent of them on to college.

This is not simply an extraordinary quantitative expansion. It may well amount to a qualitative difference, for it is something new in all human history: the prospect of nearly universal secondary education leading to virtually universal post-secondary education. The term "educational civilization" which had such a visionary sound a few years ago is almost upon us.

But the expansion of the formal school and university system is not all. In another striking phrase Bertram Gross has coined the term "learning force" to embrace all of the people engaged in some form of group-learning process. He defines the term as follows: "the total number of people developing their capacities through systematic education—that is, where learning is aided by teaching and there are formal, organized efforts to impart knowledge through instruction.⁷ So if we add to the 60 million now in school and university, those 30 million who are engaged in vocational, technical, and professional training outside the regular educational structure, and those 20 million who take part in some form of adult education, we get a total of some 110 million people in the "learning force." This amounts to more than half of all Americans and considerably more than the total labor force in the country (some 80 million). Projections are even more startling with the estimate that the learning force in 1975 will be half again as large as the labor force, approximately 150 million to 100 million.

But this is *still* not all. We now hear of the "knowledge industry" (a term that happens to grate on me) which includes not only organized education but the rapidly expanding fields of research and development, publishing and printing, entertainment, communication media, and information machines. It is estimated that close to \$200 billion are being spent annually in the knowledge industry. This amounts to approximately one-fourth of our Gross National Product. Expenditure for education alone has surpassed \$50 billion and thus totals

7 See, for example, Wilbur Cohen, "Education and Learning" in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 373, September 1967, an issue entitled "Social Goals and Indicators for American Society," Vol. II, p. 83, Note 3.

nearly 7 percent of the GNP. So education is not only Big Business itself. It is needed by Big Business, and it is a lucrative market and target for Big Business. All this requires that we look again at the kind of life our students are likely to lead in a society in which teaching is a major occupation and in which learning is a major preoccupation of the vast majority of the people for a large part of their lives.

The Educational Estate This is a society in which the *production* of goods will require fewer and fewer people with higher and higher training, and the *service* occupations and professions (with as much as 70 percent of the labor force) will require more and more people with higher and higher training. In such a society the role of formal education becomes more important than ever. I am not one who believes or implies that because the "knowledge industry" is so active that the role of the formal school can be lessened or can be narrowed. I believe just the contrary. The more the predominantly non-educational agencies of society get into the business of education the more active and effective the predominantly educational institutions must become, and the more socially responsible professional autonomy they must demand and exert. What is good for the "knowledge industry" is not necessarily good for education. If the educational estate is to assume the mantle of moral, political, and social authority which has been worn in the past by the clergy, the statesman, and the wealthy, it may find that it must add to its rightly claimed freedom the social responsibility that goes with moral and social authority. Whereas education has been the tool of other classes throughout much of history, it may well now be in a position, as Clark Kerr has put it, to write its own independent chapter in history. It is a fearsome but exhilarating prospect. The education of teachers in this event must temper its transmission of knowledge and its development of skills with social vision and commitment.

By dwelling on the emergence of the educational estate as a major factor in social change I assume that there will be a closer relationship between all "levels" of the educational system, but I do not mean to imply that therefore the only function of lower schools is to prepare children for higher education. I look upon the "higher" and "lower" as genuine partners. The universities will inevitably become more and more specialized as they train for the increasingly complex range of intellectual, professional, and technical activities required by a post-industrial society, and the schools will need to make ready large numbers of their students for this training, but the schools will also have their own function of providing a common culture and common medium of discourse that will enable the individual as well as the society to function together in ways that perhaps cannot now even be anticipated. The schools have as much right to

exert their claims for participation in the educational estate as do the universities and the research institutes. Neither can exist without the other in the educational civilization of the future.

The Speed of Knowledge Accumulation A second trend, closely related to the first, is the increasing *speed* with which knowledge is accumulating and the accompanying expectation that social change will be continuous as well as rapid. This takes the form most spectacularly of technological development and innovation, but what is often overlooked is that innovation and technology now rest heavily upon the deliberate partnership of academic organization, industrial organization, and governmental organization. This is part of the overall "organizational revolution"—which has been going on for 200 years as large scale formal organizations have appeared in nearly all phases of modern society: Big Business, Big Government, Big Military, Big Labor, Big Science, Big Religion, Big Education.

Education must somehow reckon with the speed of the accumulation of "cultural content" of our civilization and the massive impact this ever-growing cultural content will have upon the individual. We are all familiar with the predictions concerning what we are in for in the coming years—some dire, some enthusiastic. These range from the now astounding but familiar developments in moon landings and heart transplants to such no-less astounding but still unfamiliar developments as automated language translators, drugs to increase intelligence and learning, direct electromagnetic interaction between the human brain and the computer, education by recording on the brain, et cetera.

General Sarnoff in the *Saturday Review* of July 1966 predicted that the 1,000 computers of 1956 in the United States would become 100,000 in 1976 and the 12 billion computations per hour they could do ten years ago will become in the next ten years 400 trillion per hour—or about 2 billion computations per hour for every man, woman, and child. Not only will every school have a computer but possibly every home. Your first reaction of course may be: "I don't want that much computation, I'll stick to reading." But then a billion books are being published every year, and they will soon be published electronically so that hundreds of lines of text can be set in a minute; and 2,000 pages of scientific knowledge are *now* being published every 60 seconds; and the whole Bible can be contained on a "2" by "2" piece of film by micro-imagery, and . . . et cetera, et cetera, et cetera.

Now, the usual conclusion to such a recital as this is that the speaker or writer urges that educators "get with it," beef up their educational technology, and start using computer-assisted instruction, teaching machines, programmed instruction, audio-visual aids, closed circuit television, team teaching, and teacher

aides. And the usual reaction of the professional audience is to express alarm that the teacher will be ousted from the educational process or that the individual child will be lost or that personal contact in teaching will be destroyed. Or it may simply be a weary or wary suspicion that the exhorter really has some "hardware" to sell.

I do not have this conclusion in mind. I *assume* that we shall be concerned about the impact of technology on learning. I assume that we must consider what kind of thinking and what kind of personality development will best enable an individual to cope with the constant bombardment of information and the multi-sensory multi-media saturation of our lives that Marshall McLuhan talks more or less lucidly about. But I have another purpose in mind. I believe that we must try to recognize that the rapid accumulation of knowledge poses fundamental *social* problems for education that are basically different from any ever faced before. Universal literacy and universal elementary schooling were in their time revolutionary social developments having great impact upon the very structure of modern social organization, the rise of nation states, participant forms of political organization, economic and industrial development, and the like. Now, I am interested in the similar impact upon social organization that universal "information technology" will or may have in a post-industrial society. In other words, what kind of *society* shall we educate for?

Organized Innovation What is even more im-

portant than the present speed of communication of knowledge, of energy, and of transportation is the cumulative mobilization of men and ideas designed not only to promote deliberate innovation in the technological field but to assure that continuing and constant innovating will continue indefinitely into the future. Now I know that "innovation" has nearly become a catchword or a slogan used by the newest educational reformers and their followers to prove that they are *not* stodgy members of the Educational Establishment, which is, of course, opposed to all innovation. But I do not have in mind here an injunction for teachers "to innovate," which often means "Stop whatever you are doing, and do something else—especially do what *I* think is important."

What I have in mind is the fact that the present day mobilization of scientific knowledge woven together with large scale social organization is now so effective that it seems destined to mean a constant transformation of society and of culture as far as we can see into the future. Scientific invention may be the business of university and industrial laboratories, but social invention to *cope* with technology as well as to promote it is surely the business of the entire educational estate.

The challenge to education is not merely to learn how to use the new tech-

nological hardware to make the instructional process more efficient, but how to enable the learners to live in and deal with a constantly and rapidly changing technological society. My emphasis here is upon how to cope with constant transformation in *society*, not technology alone. My colleague, Dankwart Rustow, in a stunning new book, defines the modernization process as man's "rapidly widening control over nature *through closer cooperation among men*. It transforms both man and society, but most of all man's mind."⁸ *This* is the fundamental locus of the problem posed for education by technological innovation: "cooperation among men" and "man's mind." Let us remind the educational technology salesman that the real business of education is not "hardware"; it is ideas, knowledge, teaching, learning, *and* their inter-relationship with social organization and cultural development, i.e., man and his developing civilization.

Empirics, Policies and Concepts

My third trend is closely related to the second; it has to do with a three-pronged development that has been taking place in the social sciences during the past 50 years and the gradual linking together of the three prongs in the last decade. The three prongs may be denoted as empirical investigation, policy orientation, and conceptual schematizations.

In the 1920's and 1930's American historians and social scientists, deeply affected by the horrors of World War I, were disillusioned with the prevailing theories of inevitable progress of Western civilization, with the nationalistic tone of the theories of social evolution which had come out of the 19th century and which seemed to find all peoples except Westerners as backward in the scale of social evolution, and with the individualistic, capitalistic bias of a Social Darwinism which somehow favored the well-to-do and the upper classes of privilege. As the disillusion was reenforced by the depression some social scientists and educational spokesmen turned to social theories that were heavily oriented to social reform, social crusading, and even social revolution. A policy orientation was paramount in their objectives, and conceptual schemes of a political and economic nature were popular, ranging from capitalism to socialism.

Empirical investigation was not in the forefront of the thinking of the reformist wing of social scientists and educators, but it was in the minds of a large contingent of behavioral psychologists, testers, anthropologists, and sociologists who assumed a neutralist stance as far as social reform in the U. S. A. was concerned and a position of cultural relativism with regard to the relations of

8 Dankwart A. Rustow. *A World of Nations: Problems of Political Modernization*. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1967. (Italics added.)

one society to another. Cultural relativism said in effect that standards of moral, intellectual, and aesthetic value which grow out of one society are reflections of that society alone and are not properly subject to judgment or criticism or change from outside the society. So, outsiders should not try to change another culture. Many empiricists virtually took the stance, "I am a scientist describing society; social change is not my business except as an observer."

So, in over-simplified terms, the policy-oriented social scientists and educators employed ideological conceptual schema but neglected empirical investigation; and the empirically-oriented social scientists and educators neglected both policy matters *and* conceptual schema in favor of simply gathering hard data or "teaching facts."

Following World War II and especially in the 1950's many social scientists and educators alike found it convenient to soft-pedal the reformist character of social science (remember the other Senator McCarthy?). They played down controversy and class struggle in their studies and teaching and generally reflected the Eisenhower period of social accommodation and conservatism at home or they reflected the Cold War abroad. In any case, an attachment to empirical investigation and to intellectual conceptualization as method of thought within the separate disciplines of knowledge (rather than as social ideology) came to the fore. This was also the period of widespread attack on progressive education for being reform-minded instead of discipline-minded. You remember the roster—Hutchins, Bestor, Lynd, Rickover, Koerner, Rafferty, and the rest.

Our response to these attacks and then to Sputnik was to reform science instruction in the schools and universities and then turn to the other subject matter fields, but these efforts have not been matched in importance in the schools by a renewed attention to policy-oriented research that has appeared in the social sciences. In the late 1950's and 1960's a growing number of social scientists (but fewer educators) began to focus attention upon conceptual schema that would be not only tools of thought within the disciplines but also would aid understanding of the most critical policy problems facing the nation and the world. The problems of war and peace, military strategy, political, economic, and social development of the new nations, world-wide modernization, world-wide urbanization and the development of megalopolis, rural transformation and migration, the confrontation of the super-powers, the population crisis, and a host of others.

These social scientists began to find that they could not divorce themselves from the portentous policy questions posed by problems like these. They turned to social systems analysis, organization theory, games theory, model building, ideal types, typology, and I do not know what all. But I do know that extremely significant work is going on in anthropology, sociology, political science, eco-

nomics, and history in the effort to meld rigorous empirical investigation with policy-oriented studies which can be illuminated by conceptual schema that will give policy makers a handle on the regularities and uniformities in social behavior, on social change, and on social development. In some part the 19th century theories of historical social evolution have been substantiated by archeological digging; the idea of progress has been found to have a kind of empirical though not a moral justification; and cultural relativism sounds a little dated in the face of massive efforts by a hundred underdeveloped nations to borrow from and to emulate the already modernized nations as they attempt to move from traditional forms to modern forms of society.

Towards a Three-Pronged Education

My conclusion is that education and teacher education must somehow blend an empirical regard for hard facts with conceptual frameworks that will organize and generalize relevant knowledge in such a way as to be useful for helping to solve the critical problems that face the civilization of the world. A research institute may confine itself to empirical investigation; a think-tank may devote itself exclusively to conceptual schema; a political party or government may focus its energies on policy decisions, but an educational institution has the hardest job of all. It has to prepare people who can act in all three capacities with a sense of reason and a strong commitment to the improvement of public and world affairs. I see no lesser way in which education can perform its legitimate task of leadership in civilization-building. Otherwise it will be buffeted and perhaps even swamped by the rising winds of alienation, unrest, militancy, and violence, whether symbolized by Black Power, or White Power, or Red Power, or Poor Power, or Rich Power, or Student Power, or Teacher Power. I know it is trite but I can find no other way to say it: The only antidote within reason for these Powers is Educational Power.

My fourth trend has two prongs which I devoutly hope will come together and support each other. They are the trend toward comparative study in the social sciences and education and the trend toward international engagement of the United States in the affairs of the world. Both subjects are of enormous importance, but only a few words can be given by way of outline for each.⁹

The first generation of American historians in the late 19th and early 20th century had an international outlook; they saw American history as part of

⁹ For elaboration of my view and supporting bibliographies, see my articles cited in footnote 3; also *American Education in International Development*, New York: Harper & Row, 1963; a task force paper on the International Education Act and Professional Education; chapters in the Oxford University Press publication of papers of the Williamsburg Conference on the World Crisis in Education, *Essays on World Education*, 1969; and in the 1969 Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education.

European or imperial history. But Progressive historians like Turner, Beard, and Parrington began to look within the United States for its own distinctive characteristics; and a generation of American historians followed suit. Who can say what influence they had in building the generally ethnocentric if not isolationist view that Americans have of themselves? In any case, the trend has been reversing since World War II with a rapidly growing interest in world history, Western civilization, world civilizations, area studies, non-Western studies, and comparative historical studies.

Somewhat parallel experience can be cited for the other social sciences. The great sociologists of late 19th century Europe (Durkheim, Toennies, Weber) worked cross-nationally and comparatively, and the first generation of American sociologists (Sumner, Thomas, Ross, Park) were deeply interested in comparative studies. But the empirical trend in sociology prompted the second generation of American sociologists to "study the small," as Immanuel Wallerstein puts it. So when you study the small, you study yourself, your local community, or possibly the U.S.A. But after World War II, some sociologists turned again to comparative analysis, to cross cultural studies, to the study of whole nations, whole societies, and whole regions—or the comparative study of such major institutions as bureaucracy, empires, organization, family, elites, and the like. In fact, this interest of sociologists in comparative analysis was preceded by developmentalist and comparative political scientists who began to adopt sociological techniques and conceptual schema in their comparative political studies and their studies of political development around the world.

Anthropology showed a similar trend although it has always been more comparative than the other social disciplines. The giant anthropological synthesizers of the 19th century (men like Tylor and Morgan) tried to conceptualize the stages of human evolution that would encompass all human societies both past and present, but their work was often speculative, for they were handicapped by the lack of world-wide empirical evidence for their schema. Then the anthropologists of the early 20th century took a narrower view, stressed the study of small cultures, especially primitive cultures, gave up much of the earlier historical and synthesizing interest, took on a heavy psychological orientation, and stressed the differences, the variations, and thus the relativity of cultures. But, of late, some anthropologists have become concerned again with the broad developmental sweep of cultures, with civilized as well as pre-civilized societies, the influence of one culture upon another, and the uniformities and regularities as well as the differences among cultures.

What all this adds up to is that strong elements in the American intellectual endeavor are now more conscious of the rest of the world and of the problems of the world than they have been for 50 years. But I believe our schools still

largely reflect the ethnocentric views as well as the socially neutral stance of the university scholars of the between-the-wars generation who were, and perhaps still are, preoccupied with looking inward instead of outward.

However, I have hopes that the second prong, i.e., the international involvement of the United States in the economic, social, political, and educational development of the rest of the world, will prompt the educational estate to make this the object of urgent, prolonged, and continuing study for that enormous "learning force" that promises to grow larger and larger. This should be at the top of the educational agenda as it is on the national agenda. But I am very much afraid that it is not very high on the priority list of many educators or of many learners.

Planning for a World Civilization

And, finally, still less do we educators study, plan for, or work for what *has* to come—what *is* coming—a recognizable and viable world civilization. The ingredients of an emerging world society are described thus by Bertram M. Gross:

Today, unheralded and uncelebrated, a world society is slowly and painfully coming into being. It is characterized by the growth of increasingly interdependent nations, both industrializing and post-industrializing, of world-spanning organizations, of urban world centers, and of world-oriented elites. This growing interdependence is facilitated by communication-transportation systems that, for some activities, are continuously decreasing the space-time distance between Washington and Moscow more rapidly than that between Washington and Wichita or Moscow and Mintz.

The emerging "One World" hardly conforms to the visions of the utopians—any more than does the giant organization to "classical" ideas of administration, the megalopolis to the models of city planners or the "great societies" to Keynesian theory. The world society includes a bewildering variety of subsystems increasingly locked together in conflict-cooperation relationships. The world polity is characterized by polycentric conflict, intersecting coalitions, continuing outbreaks of localized violence, many possibilities of "escalation," and spreading capacities for nuclear destruction. The political instrumentalities of conflict resolution and regional and world integration operate—as in nations, states and cities—in an atmosphere of pressure and power politics, behind-the-scene lobbying, rotten borough representation, moralistic double-talk, deception and self-deception. The world economy tends to be disorderly—neither free nor planned. The world culture, on the one hand, tends to submerge national characteristics and values in a homogenizing flood of material goods and international styles. On the other hand, it includes vast

value differences and sharp value conflicts. Like Megalopolis, the world society is a territorial entity without government. It is an all-inclusive complex macro-system with remarkably complicated and unpredictable—although increasingly structured—mechanisms of mutual adjustment.¹⁰

I believe that study of the concept of a world society is of the first importance for American education. And yet I was appalled a few weeks ago when some of my younger colleagues at Teachers College argued that the concept of world society was so complicated that it could not be dealt with fruitfully at all by teachers or students in the schools.

I am convinced that the two overriding problems facing the United States today are: (1) How to create and learn to live in decent urban centers and (2) how to create and learn to live in a decent world civilization. And the two problems are closely related, for urbanization and the urban way of life are now encircling the globe. Not only does the world-wide urban revolution pose enormous threats to human dignity and serious dangers to peace and security, but it also holds out great hope. Today the educational nucleus of the world's cities are beginning to form what Kenneth Boulding calls an "invisible college" of persons devoted to bringing into existence and spreading a world culture.

The world culture as the essence of modern life has, according to Lucian Pye, a degree of inner coherence:

It is based upon a secular rather than a sacred view of human relations, a rational outlook, an acceptance of the substance and spirit of the scientific approach, a vigorous application of an expanding technology, an industrialized organization of production, and a generally humanistic and popularistic set of values for political life.¹¹

What American education must do is to play its role in building and strengthening the incipient world society described by Gross and the recognizable world culture described by Pye. Taken together, world society and world culture in their interactions can constitute world civilization. For five thousand years formal education has been a formative force, sometimes conservative, sometimes innovative, in the building of civilization. The school itself as an organized institution arose as one of the building blocks of the first civilization as it emerged in the cities of the Middle East and as civilization later appeared in and related to the cities of India, China, Greece, and the West. As the school played its role in the building of the major civilizations of the world, it must now play its role in the building of a genuinely world civilization.

10 Bertram M. Gross, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-46.

11 Lucien W. Pye. *Aspects of Political Development*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1966.

Building the Ecumenopolis And the Greeks, bless them, had the words for it. The *polis* was the city, the creative center and focus of the civilized man's life. And the *ecumene* was their word for the entire civilized or settled region of the world. Outside the cities were the barbarians. In their ethnocentric view the *ecumene* of their day radiated out from Athens. We know now that great urban centers nourished the spread of civilization not only in the Middle East and Europe but in East Asia, South Asia, Africa, and finally the Americas. The *polis* which became metropolis, the mother city for colonies; or the cosmopolis to which people from the world came; or the megalopolis as it spreads along the United States East Coast (Boswash), or the Mid-West (Chippits) or the West Coast (Sansan) are only points along the way. The genuine world city or the city of a world-wide civilization is still to be created—the *ecumenopolis*.

That is an awkward word to say. The Greeks would have known better than to garble their beautiful language in that way. But the word "ecumene" should become better known. The churches have acquired a near monopoly on the word "ecumenical" because they have thought for so long in world-wide terms, but the modern world and modern civilization can no longer be wholly encompassed by The City of God or the City of Man as viewed by St. Augustine. The scientific and humanistic and religious reformations in the West since the 16th century irrevocably set the world on a new course toward modern civilization. And now we are on a still speedier and more inclusive course—not just toward post-industrial society, or post-modern society, or post-civilized society, but a truly ecumenical civilization embracing a world society and a world culture.

Building the *ecumenopolis* is the overriding task before the world's educators. This is what the educational estate should be doing, this is what educational innovation and technology are for, this is the goal of the social sciences in education, and this is the purpose of comparative study and international education. Some progress toward this end is what I would like to think my students and your students and their students will be celebrating on New Year's Eve in 1999.

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Education and Politics in Developing Countries

Roy Adam

University of Western Australia

Throughout history, intellectuals have been blamed for revolutions. The cause of public education in England was set back twenty years by fear that an increase in opportunities for schooling would result in a blood-bath similar to that occasioned by the French Revolution. The wave of revolutions which swept through Europe in 1848 was widely thought to be the work of radical philosophers and their students.

In the twentieth century, the break-up of the colonial empires has been attributed by many writers to the policy of sending native leaders abroad for their education. "The gestation, birth and continuing of the new states of Asia and Africa, through all their vicissitudes, are in large measure the work of intellectuals," wrote Edward Shils in 1960.¹

No one knows precisely the influence of educated Parisians on the violent French upheaval of 1789, and it would be equally difficult to measure the impact of education on the anti-colonial revolutions of the twentieth century. The fact that the Congo had few native leaders with any education did not prevent that country seeking independence. The leaders of the Indonesian revolution were well-educated, but this does not prove that there would have been no movement against the Dutch in Indonesia if a few hundred young men had not gone to the Netherlands universities or local colleges for higher education.

The importance of the assumed link between education and revolution is its influence on those whose duty it was to provide schools and universities in Asia and Africa. From the earliest European colonization on these continents, there was a hard core of opinion against undue expansion of schooling for native peoples. Convinced that the grip of the colonizing powers on Asian and African countries would be lost if education became freely available, they fought a continuing battle against all proposals for public funds to be spent on colonial schools.

Dr. Adam, Senior Lecturer in Education at Western Australia and editor of the AUSTRALIAN JOURNAL OF HIGHER EDUCATION, spent 1967 as Visiting Scholar in the University of London. He has spent six years as Director of Educational Research in the Fiji Islands and two years as Professor of Education at the State University of Bandung in Indonesia. In this article he traces the educational developments which took place in various developing countries after they achieved independence, and explains the connection between effective educational planning and "sound political development."

1 "The Intellectual in the Political Development of the New States," in *World Politics*, III, No. 3, April, 1960.

They were joined by people with investments in the colonial territories who feared the reduction of their profits. Economically, nothing was to be gained by having a literate population in such countries as India or Malaya. The exports of these countries depended on expatriate managers, a handful of skilled local foremen, and a ready supply of unskilled manual labourers. Only the expatriates and the foremen needed education, and the latter could do their work with a minimum of schooling and training.

In the opposition camp were the more humane and enlightened colonial administrators, missionaries, and some philanthropic traders. They managed together to raise funds for schools. When free public education was introduced in Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century, radical thinkers in the colonies talked of the need for similar measures there. They were dismissed as dreamers, or imprisoned if they became troublesome.

The Growth of Colonial Schools

Slowly, however, opportunities for education began to increase in the colonies. Schools began to spread outwards from the urban areas to the larger villages. Secondary schools were built in the cities, and a few university colleges followed. A handful of colonial students began to appear on campuses in Europe and North America.

For a variety of reasons, colonial education was in a period of rapid expansion when the break-up of the colonial empires took place. In the 20 years prior to independence in Uganda (1962), enrollment in primary schools rose from 175,000 to 405,000.² In Ghana, between 1936 and 1956, the number of trained teachers in primary schools increased from 1,853 to 7,262.³

The countries of Asia and Africa possessed the foundations for an education system when they gained independence. Less than a third of the adults were literate, but the proportion of children of school age attending school was as high as 70 per cent in some territories.

During the revolutionary period, education was the symbol of freedom, the rallying cry of the freedom fighters. Schools assumed a mystique which could never be understood in countries where they are freely accessible to all children. The power of the colonial rulers had come to be associated with the educational advantages enjoyed by Europeans. To open the schools to all children of the country seemed to be the final sign of the success of the revolution. Not much thought was given to how this might be done, or what the consequences would be.

² Peter Williams. *Aid in Uganda—Education*. London: Overseas Development Institute, 1966.

³ John Wilson. *Education and Changing West African Culture*. London: Oxford University Press, 1966.

Popular Awe The popular belief in schools as a source of power originated partly in language differences. Local people were required to speak a European language before they were given any position of authority in the colonial regime. Languages were learned at school.

Another factor in the popular awe of schools was the association between clerical work and education. In colonial territories, power resided in government offices in the cities. The passport to employment in an office was success in a school examination. Under these conditions, it is not difficult to understand how schooling came to be equated with authority and wealth.

What more natural, therefore, than for revolutionary leaders to promise education for all when independence was won? The sincerity of the promises varied with the individuals, but it is unlikely that even the most honest had calculated the cost or the value of rapid provision of universal education in their countries.

Increased opportunities for education feature in the revolutionary manifestos in countries from India to Vietnam and Nigeria to Malawi. Emphasis is placed on primary education for all, and on more chances for university education. It is rare to find any mention of secondary, technical or adult education. These had little popular appeal.

Revolution and the Schools Some leaders spoke mainly of using education to promote or to confirm their revolution. In Africa, Sekou Touré wrote of his party: "Ruling out 'culture for the sake of culture' and 'learning for the sake of learning,' the party considers that learning is a patriotic duty of the militant who wants to make a conscious, valuable contribution toward the emancipation of his nation, and of the world at large."⁴ These sentiments, together with bitter criticism of the educational policies of colonial authorities, formed the text of most statements on education.

In countries where the struggle for independence involved warfare, as in Indonesia and Vietnam, the work of schools was disrupted for several years. There are legends of schools and universities carrying on their work during the fighting, but these institutions probably contributed more to morale than to learning.

The attention of the colonial authorities was diverted from education when fighting began. The revolutionaries possessed neither the personnel nor the resources to replace the school systems which they destroyed.

In countries where power passed peacefully to indigenous governments, as in India and Malaya, schools were able to continue their work. Inevitably, however, a period of uncertainty followed the change, and teachers were not im-

⁴ Cowan L. Gray, James O'Connell, and David G. Scanlon. *Education and Nation-Building in Africa*. New York: Praeger, 1965.

mune from the enthusiasms and disappointments which swept through the new nations. The schools waited anxiously while their new political masters decided how to use them.

When the central government felt secure in its power, it turned to the tasks of civil government. Education did not stand high on the list of priorities. A workable administrative system, internal and external security, aid and trade agreements, had to be settled first.

Fulfilling Promises New governments, elated by their success in winning or seizing power, believed that fulfillment of their education promises would be easy. Inexperienced in government finance, and ignorant of the complexity of educational development, they issued decrees extending primary education to all. The decrees remained on the statute books as hopes for the future while government officials debated how to begin this great venture of the education of their whole nation.

As the more immediate tasks of the revolutionary governments were fulfilled, pressure groups became vocal on the subject of education. Left-wing elements, anxious to force the government into their camp, loudly advocated the abolition of all "elitist" education, and demanded equal educational opportunity for all. They felt no obligation to suggest practical methods of achieving these aims.

Private employers joined government service departments in advising caution. Uneasy at the prospect of interruption of the already-reduced trickle of trained manpower, they supported a conservative line in educational planning. New power groups, including military leaders, talked of educational equality, but took steps to ensure that selective schools remained, and that places were reserved in them for their own children. And beyond these organized and influential groups, the surging mass of urban workers and peasants began to demand evidence of the fulfillment of revolutionary promises of schools for their children.

When further procrastination was impossible, political leaders began to make plans for educational development, and the harsh economic realities of independence became clear. The construction of hundreds of new schools represented the outlay of a very large amount of capital on which no economic return could be expected in less than a decade. Economists warned their governments that there was considerable doubt whether expenditure on primary education would ever pay financial dividends through increased productivity.

New schools would require salaries for thousands of additional teachers. Existing schools were asking for more teachers. The people were in no mood to pay fresh taxes to meet these salary bills.

Contesting Priorities The higher levels of education threatened to be an even larger drain on national resources. Technical colleges, teachers' colleges and universities would cost millions of dollars. Although likely to bring a quicker and more obvious dividend than elementary education, benefits to the economy could not be expected immediately.

To be weighed in the scales against expenditure on education were tempting projects in industry and agriculture. These gave promise of a swift increase in productivity. The case for spending on education was not improved by bitter quarrels between sectors of education, each demanding first priority. Few educationists seemed able to study the whole pattern and produce a set of planned priorities for schools, colleges, and universities.

As government officials in the Education Ministries argued, the politicians wavered. The situation was complicated by the necessity for finding a new balance between political and administrative personnel. The carefully structured hierarchy of colonial times had been destroyed, and now Ministers and their departmental heads needed to construct a new system of decision-making. Every person who has attended school feels qualified to make decisions about schools. It was to be expected that the Ministry of Education would find it more difficult than others to separate professional from political spheres of action. In the Ministry of Health, or the Ministry of Public Works, doctors or engineers are more often able to demand and receive autonomy on professional matters.

African and Asian countries received a variety of offers of educational aid when they became independent. Few of them have been able to establish and maintain a consistent policy towards foreign aid. In the period since the Second World War, small nations have been used as pawns in world power struggles, and decisions on the acceptance of minor aid projects have been inflated into great issues. The improvement of schools or the building of a university has been lost from sight in the turmoil of political discussions which surround educational aid programs.

Aid Programs Even in the calmest atmosphere, the administration of educational aid programs is not a simple task. In developing countries where there is an acute shortage of middle-level administrators, the most-carefully planned project is likely to founder on some unexpected barrier. Montgomery⁵ quotes the case of a completed school in Vietnam which stood vacant for two years because village officials had not received a written order from the Ministry of Education authorizing its opening.

5 John D. Montgomery. *The Politics of Foreign Aid*. Council on Foreign Relations. New York: Praeger, 1962.

Teachers sent to other countries under aid schemes often become so enmeshed in securing permits and filling out forms that they have little time or effort for the work they travelled so far to do.

To general inefficiency in administration must be added corruption. Travelers' tales tend to exaggerate the corruptness of public officials of the new nations, but poor organization and bad auditing have undoubtedly provided opportunities for underpaid officials to supplement their incomes by dishonest practices. Although not the most fruitful department for corrupt practice, education has suffered along with other government activities in the developing countries. A report from Taiwan tells of the demoralizing effects on education there of the corruption of officials.⁶ It is said that bribes are used to gain promotion in the teaching service or to avoid transfer, and that 53,000 elementary school teachers in Formosa have paid bribes to obtain or retain their positions. School directors have received commissions for the building of school facilities, some of which have been paid for with American aid funds.

If local governments are powerless to clear their education services of corruption, foreign governments cannot help them, even to protect foreign aid investments. Americans working in an Asian or African country are fortunate if they can keep themselves fully informed about expenditures under the aid programs. Unfamiliar procedures, language barriers, changes in governments or officials and unexpected policy reversals make the task of aid supervisors an unenviable one. The change of government in Burma, for example, when Ne Win succeeded U Nu as leader of that country, completely disrupted the elaborate development plans which were just coming into operation. It is unrealistic to expect that any American official can keep a close check on expenditure in education, or in any other type of aid project. There is no alternative to leaving control to the local government, however inept, or even corrupt, this control may at times appear to an outsider.

Culture Clashes Some of the practical difficulties of administering educational aid have been mentioned. There are also matters of aid policy which have been the subject of prolonged controversy in America and in the developing countries. An education system is closely woven into the cultural pattern of the nation which has produced it. It is seldom suitable for export without considerable modification. Although this is recognized in theory by most officials concerned with aid programs, some still appear to work on the principle that a type of school which has been successful in Colorado or New York should also succeed in Burma or Thailand.

6 Mark Mancall, Ed. *Formosa Today*. New York: Praeger, 1964.

When aid is being received from a variety of sources, the already numerous problems of integrating foreign experts and training into a local system are multiplied, and grow to alarming proportions. Nevertheless, developing countries continue to seek aid from different countries in order to reduce their political dependence on any single power.

In 1958, Indonesia was receiving educational aid from seven countries. The United States, Britain, Australia and Canada were providing university and other teachers, and were receiving Indonesian students. Russia, Japan, and West Germany were also supplying assistance to the hard-pressed Indonesian government. The utilization of such different kinds of aid placed a severe strain on the educational administrators. It called for close policy co-ordination between the Ministry of Education and the Foreign Affairs Ministry.

The position of receiving countries is not made easier when different agencies within a single donor country enter into aid negotiations. In 1961, the I.C.A. had contracts with 75 American universities which were involved in aid programs. Official control of these programs was loose, and many of the universities became involved in direct negotiations with government agencies in the receiving countries.

The basic problems of educational aid remain unsolved to the present time. Governments of Asian countries see little prospect of keeping the provision of schools abreast of soaring birth-rates. Assistance from abroad provides a few thousand university places and trains a few hundred teachers. This moderates the popular demand for more education, buying time for local institutions to train their own teachers and to provide more school places. But the price is sacrifice of autonomy and coherence in educational planning, and badly managed aid programs could conceivably leave a country in a worse situation than would have prevailed if it had depended wholly on its own resources.

Educating Minorities While the complexities of foreign aid are a constant source of worry to Ministers of Education in Asia and Africa, a more immediate and dangerous problem is the education of minority groups, usually Chinese and Indians. Colonial authorities, finding insoluble the problem of assimilation of immigrant groups such as the Chinese in Indonesia or the Indians in Burma, tended to allow them to set up their own schools. The immigrant groups rarely accepted an offer to attend government schools for the indigenous people. After independence, the new governments tackled the problem afresh. The minority groups demanded a share of the national revenue for their schools, and pressed their claims for recognition of their languages in government and education. The choice seemed to lie between cultural unity for the new nation (implying the suppression of minority cultures), and politi-

cal unity (implying full recognition of minority cultures). The Education Ministries came under the heaviest pressures, being required to set policies for languages of instruction in schools. Most countries chose to enforce a single national language (avoiding the problems met by Belgium, Switzerland, and South Africa), and insisted on it being taught to all children. They tried to pacify minorities by permitting, or even subsidising, schools in which the main language of instruction was the home language of a majority of the children in that district.

Bloodshed in Ceylon, and conflict in Malaysia, prove that this is a politico-educational issue of major importance. Although language conflicts tend to erupt first in the schools, they reflect national divisions. Questions of language study in schools may appear to be decided by educationists, but ultimately policy is set by governments on political rather than educational grounds. Even international politics can influence school language policies. During the post-independence period in Asia, governments have intervened in other countries on behalf of their nationals. The Chinese in Indonesia, for example, have constantly sought to strengthen their position by appeals to both the Nationalist and Communist Chinese Governments. Education Ministries in all countries with large minority groups are aware that language decisions must be taken with full regard to probable national and international repercussions.

It has been suggested that political considerations have weighed heavily in decisions about education in Asian countries since the Second World War. Have changes in education affected the political climate, and are they likely to modify it during the next few decades?

Student Power The student population of Asia has grown rapidly, and has become a force in national politics. In the Philippines, Indonesia and Japan, student groups regularly use street demonstrations to influence policy. Although radical in outlook, few of the student movements are under Communist control. In Indonesia, they were largely responsible for inhibiting Communist influence during 1965 and 1966.

Students are rightly recognized as a potentially explosive political element. In poor countries, they are better able than less educated people to observe the widening gap between their own and the rich countries. Those returning home after study abroad have been particularly active in politics, and often in organizations advocating violence. Conditions of life for students in such countries as Indonesia and the Philippines are not conducive to passive acceptance of the present regimes. Universities are overcrowded, study conditions difficult, and the prospects of finding well-paid employment after graduation are very slight.

To a lesser degree, the spread of literacy through the populations of developing countries also feeds political discontent. Nineteenth century landowners in England were probably correct in assuming that popular education was a threat to their position. Where political institutions are sufficiently flexible to meet demands for change, education serves a valuable purpose in guiding national thinking. Where governments are autocratic and insecure, an educated electorate disturbs the political balance. The latter situation is now common in Asia and Africa.

There will be politicians and political parties who will try to slow down the spread of education to protect their own interests. Pressure from within their countries and from abroad will frustrate this attempt. It is now being recognized, even by peasants in the villages, that education in greater quantity and of higher quality is an essential ingredient of freedom. Quantity is easily measured: it is a simple task to count students and teachers and school buildings. The danger lies in confusing quantity and quality. A thin veneer of mass literacy is no substitute for an education which teaches people to examine honestly the institutions, political, social and religious, in their society. If America and Europe have a contribution to make to education in the developing countries, it is in persuading the people of those countries to prevent temporary political considerations from destroying the liberal education on which all lasting and worthwhile political institutions are built.

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Education for What?

Irving N. Berlin
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"Education as a rule is the strongest force on the side of what exists and against fundamental change." These words of Bertrand Russell¹ are born out by historians. In ancient Greece the contrast in education between the slave-holding city-states of Athens and Sparta is illustrative: one educated for erudition and sensuality, the other for war. Education was for male citizens. In Athens, philosophy, art, music, sports, and debate were taught primarily to sons of the wealthy citizens. The stated purpose was to continue the rule of Athens in the tradition of continued sensual pleasures for the ruling citizenry. The Spartan citizenry were few in number and ruled a large number of slaves and Laconians (the original inhabitants of Sparta) who continued to grow the food and engage in commerce for their conquerors. Here education was designed to train every citizen for war and to reduce family unity so that ties were to an extended family of Spartan citizens who could thus maintain their rule.²

The church-schools of the Middle Ages were designed not only to educate the children of the wealthy for religious life, but also to help the Catholic Church maintain and extend its extensive landholdings and commerce by educating the sons of landed gentry and princes of commerce in law and accounting.³

The industrial revolution and urbanization resulted in drastic changes in education as overpopulation, unemployment, and terrible poverty forced social and reform movements. Thus, the increased concern for human beings as expressed by Rousseau, for the poor, and for the child labor and children in general, led to increased schooling between the ages of 5 and 11 years. After age 11

Dr. Berlin is Professor of Psychiatry and Head of the Division of Child Psychiatry at the University of Washington School of Medicine in Seattle. He writes here from the vantage point of mental health worker and concerned citizen about the impact of depersonalization on many school children. We need, he says, to nurture a sense of purpose and community involvement. We need to help young people find meaning for themselves. (This article is based on a paper read to the 1967 meeting of the American Orthopsychiatry Association.)

- 1 R. Egner and L. Denonn. *The Basic Writings of Bertrand Russell*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1961.
- 2 R. F. Butts and A. Freeman. *A Cultural View of Education*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1947; S. E. Frost, Jr. *History of Education*. New York: Barrons Educational Series, 1947.
- 3 Philippe Aries. *Centuries of Childhood*. New York: Vantage Books, 1965.

the poor child was expected to work. Even in the United States it was not until mechanization and reduced needs for child labor after World War I that education through high school became widespread. Universal education through high school still does not exist in many areas of the country for minority groups and poor whites. Universal education poses a threat. The ability to read and to write helps people feel more effective and knowledgeable and may mean the loss of field hands and cheap labor. Although this is most obvious in some South American countries, it also obtains in agricultural communities of the United States.

The Contemporary Crisis The crisis in education in the United States today stems from the convergence of many factors. Historically education has been preoccupied with methods of teaching subject matter *en masse* and has paid little actual attention to teaching children with individual needs and individual maturational readiness.⁴ The needs of slower maturing boys are still not taken into account in the education and curriculum planning of most schools in the country. Mass education, which at one time was concerned with creating a homogeneous nation by upgrading the education of a wide variety of national immigrant groups, continues to ignore the special needs of its students in a troubled world. Again in Russell's terms, education continues an outmoded and ineffective status quo. Mechanization of both industry and agriculture has reduced the need for a large labor force; high school graduates have ever fewer job opportunities. Urban living, high mobility, societal pressures for acquisition of possessions, the decline of the extended family, and depersonalization which begins in large classrooms and continues in industry, all tend to reduce interpersonal intimacy and concern.⁵ In an age of pervasive anxiety about jobs and possible annihilation by the H-bomb, it is each man for himself, as highlighted in the fall-out shelter panics.⁶

Towards Depersonalization Communication occurs through television, radio, press, and magazines, but there is very little communication on a feeling level between people. In part this seems to reflect the technological ease with which one can escape interpersonal communication and use impersonal methods instead. However, the need for such escape reflects a serious disintegrative force in our society. At its simplest, it reflects the inability

4 Jerome S. Bruner. *The Process of Education*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961; H. L. Witmer and R. Kotinsky. *Personality in the Making*. Palo Alto: Science and Behavior Books, Inc.

5 Robert L. Heilbroner. *The Future as History*. New York: Grove Press, 1939.

6 Michael Harrington. *The Accidental Century*. New York: Macmillan Company, 1965.

of individuals to have any personal effect on their society, community, work, etc. The overwhelming size of our impersonal schools, business, industry, and government make people feel helpless, inadequate, and frightened.⁷ Reassurance comes from bulwarking oneself with material things. Talking together, especially about feelings, brings forth the danger of expressing and facing the fears, hopelessness, and helplessness of being an ineffectual cog in an ever-larger machine.

Behavioral scientists have stressed that the atomic bomb, with its ever-present threat of destroying us without any personal way of affecting any decision, is a serious demoralizing factor.⁸ The self-alienation, depersonalization, and lack of purpose in life now affects all but a few in our nation. One needs to examine the shift from a culture which emphasized the individual and his potential for having impact on business, government, and community to the computerized, I.B.M., mass approach to humans and their problems. Harrington and others attribute this change to the unplanned-for effects of technology and the megalopolis. The concentration of industry, business, and agriculture into giant corporations makes it possible for only a few managers, scientists, planners, and government executives to have any sense of personal impact or personal stake in anything. All other human beings tend to be dealt with as ciphers in terms of the efficiency of a system. In our technological society personal concern, intimacy and close human relationships may well be considered an anachronism.⁹

On the other end of the spectrum are the large numbers of poor. Their sense of isolation, hopelessness, and chronic depression also stem from their inability to affect their environment. In addition, years of poverty have added the attrition of malnutrition, being forced to accommodate to a welfare system which, though not yet computerized, is almost as impersonal and unconcerned.¹⁰

Educational Unconcern The result in either case is a child raised without much personal concern, attention, or nurturance, who lives in an environment which is depersonalized and in which his personal development and future are of no great concern to anyone, especially if he belongs to a minority group. It is small wonder that so many children are indifferent to learning and need to get some kicks and satisfactions instantly from sex, drugs, or violence. It is also understandable that those very bright children

7 See Harrington, *op. cit.*; and Jules Henry. *Culture Against Man*. New York: Random House, Inc., 1963.

8 G. Gurin, J. Veroff, and S. Feld. *Americans View Their Mental Health*. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1960.

9 C. Wright Mills. *The Power Elite*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1957.

10 Mary F. Greene and Orletta Ryan. *The Schoolchildren*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1965; Frank Riessman, O. Cohen, and A. Pearl, Eds. *Mental Health of the Poor*. New York: Free Press, 1964.

from upper-middle class families, where education is stressed as the road to success, tend to see their goal as becoming rich or becoming impersonal scientists who have little to do with involvement or concern with other human beings.

This state of affairs is of much concern to both educators and the mental health professions. From the mental health viewpoint our present culture bodes ill for society. Now one-half of all hospital beds are used for the mentally ill. Notwithstanding new drugs, the untold millions of depressed, unproductive, alienated, and seriously disturbed adults and children promise more crime, delinquency, psychosis, and incapacity to learn or to be productive. There is an apparent paradox. Our society actually requires fewer learned and productive human beings to run it, while learning, competence, creativity, productivity, and a sense of usefulness and purpose are absolutely necessary for mental health.¹¹ Thus, succeeding generations promise to be evermore seriously impaired. Despite valiant efforts there will never be sufficient mental health professionals, or even the newly developing middle professional mental health aids, to provide mental health services.¹² Since it requires some kind of personal interaction and some personal concern to help children and adults, where do we start?

Education provides at least one avenue of approach to these problems. It has been the concern of educators, learning theorists, and psychologists concerned with cognition to discover how we learn in order to provide systematic methods for teaching mathematics, English, science, social studies, etc. Each subject can be programmed and machine-taught for sequential learning beginning at the correct maturational stage. Using a variety of stimulating methods, the emotionally healthy child can be engaged in an exciting learning experience. However, more and more children are disturbed and require personal attention and concern in order to learn. In addition, these new methods are expensive and require major changes in teacher education, inservice training, and planning for nationwide use.

To date, educators and psychologists have not concerned themselves with the purpose of this education. Since only a few children in our evermore automated society will be able to use their learning productively in science, art, business, government, and the caretaking professions, what are we educating the others for? It raises the serious question of "Education for What?"

Giving Purpose to Children's Lives

This question can be translated into an operational query: how can education give pur-

11 Bruner, *op. cit.*

12 Gurin, *et al.*, *op. cit.*

pose to the lives of our students? A partial answer is suggested by the effects of the Civil Rights Movement on students and youth in general. It is clear that for some young people the Civil Rights Movement provided them with the first sense of purpose and meaning in their lives. It is not accidental that delinquency and crime dropped in Harlem when Civil Rights activities occurred. In the same vein, it is notable that for many college students the Peace Corps provide them with the same sense of meaning, purpose, and commitment to something outside of their own isolated self-pleasures. Similar evidence comes from VISTA and the OEO tutoring programs, which show that the tutors seem to gain more than those tutored.

How, then, from the very beginning of the educational experience can we help children to develop a sense of purpose and a sense of involvement in their community? How do we help students not only to understand how each of them in a democracy can affect their community and their lives, and also why they must become so involved? How do we convey to our youth that the excitement of learning, acquiring new skills, and becoming competent can lead to meaningful work and productive living in society, especially in a society that cannot use them? What in the educational process can help children to feel concern for others, to express freely and non-destructively their feelings of anger, hate, etc., and to learn to feel and express feelings of love and tenderness so that communication rather than isolation occurs?

As a child psychiatrist who has long worked in the schools, I can think of several possibilities. First, in the preschool and elementary school experiences there must be enough human beings available who can demonstrate personally their concern and interest in the child and who can stimulate the child's senses and help each one develop a feeling of competence and effectiveness in their early efforts in learning. Special attention given early enough is required for the children of the poor. Second, the learning process must be tailored to the individual child's readiness to learn in his own sensory-motor modality, be it visual, auditory, motor, or a combination of these. Each child's unique capacities need to be fostered. He must experience pleasure in learning and success and help to grow at his own rate. Third, his teachers must provide models for how feelings can be understood and expressed non-destructively. His teachers must also learn to be committed to the idea that democracy depends upon effective participation at every level. They must also be committed to the realization of individual potential as vital to human survival. Fourth, the child must have actual practical experience that he can affect his immediate environment in the school. That is, that individual and joint action can change things where he is; that such effort will indeed result in meeting his own needs in the school setting more effectively. Democracy must be experienced in daily living in school.

Education needs also to teach from historical example the necessity of eternal vigilance in the maintenance of democratic process. The school can demonstrate how at every governmental level, from neighborhood to the nation, such vigilance and commitment to voicing one's concerns and arousing informed support, even as a dissident minority, is at the very heart of our democratic process.

Fifth, education should be geared to the child's immediate community and its needs for health, education, and welfare services and for housing, transportation, beautification, recreational, cultural, and occupational improvements. There needs to be recurrent participant analysis through student research of the community and state's deficiencies in health, welfare, educational, and other services so that each child becomes an informed citizen. Each youngster must also learn the history of how changes in the community, state, and nation are effected. He must have the opportunity of participant learning in what makes for needed changes and what models of citizen action have affected community and other level changes in our present society.

Lastly, he needs actual and ongoing experience throughout his education of how his involvement with fellow students in a variety of goal-oriented interactions and personal services gives purpose to his life and makes his interactions with his fellows more meaningful. As a mental health worker, I believe the child's mental health also depends on education for meaningful work. One major purpose of modern education should be to prepare many children to take their places in a variety of education, health, welfare, recreational, cultural, and community service occupations and professions at various levels.

Remaking Community Life These major changes

in education and its purposes require equal changes in attitude and commitment of our society. It requires a national commitment to the actual eradication of poverty, to the elimination of racial discrimination in every form and location. It requires legislative action to bring to the families of these children a decent standard of living. It means not only training for jobs and professions, but actual provision of jobs and positions of entry into these professions at all levels with the possibility of continued education and advancement. It means that the dignity and purpose which accrue with acquisition of such skills and the meeting of professional requirements at every level be given real meaning by remuneration that permits dignified living and equality in every aspect of community life.

These changes also require massive reorientation of the role of teachers' colleges and educational systems. They require the education of a new breed of teacher as well as new educational techniques. Only then can the motto,

"An educated and informed citizenry is vital to the survival of democracy" be made a reality by being coupled to a new motto, "Every citizen must have equal opportunity to a decent standard of living and full and meaningful participation in every aspect of our society."

Education can play a vital part in the child's mental health by helping him to acquire a sense of purpose in life through having learned to live as a participant in his community's social, economic, and political activities. The child can develop a sense of competence and effectiveness and find a meaningful and productive role only in a society and economy that values his efforts. A society and educational system so dedicated can help each child evolve a sense of commitment to his fellow human beings and become a knowledgeable and fully participant citizen in our democracy.

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Stimulus Mode and Sense Modality: What's in It for Education?

Kaoru Yamamoto
Pennsylvania State University

Increasing specialization in socio-behavioral sciences entails "the danger of an excessive fragmentation of inquiry"¹ and of a resultant breakdown in communication among related disciplines. In this process, it is quite easy to develop an atomistic orientation and lose an integrative perspective.

Although scholars have been aware of the negative effects of the greater differentiation and have indeed tried to counter them by occasional inter-disciplinary efforts,² it seems rather difficult for us to realize that many seemingly isolated observations are often closely interrelated and may profitably be subsumed under a unifying viewpoint.

A case in point is a "simple" comparison of children's reactions to pictures and words describing the same objects. The information obtained from such an apparently isolated inquiry bears, in fact, many implications for various matters of importance in education, including the preparation of textual materials, the utilization of audio-visual media, foreign language instruction, the teaching of the culturally deprived and the mentally retarded, and remedial reading. Hard to believe? Let me explain.

Pictures and Words For explanation of some of our daily observations, we occasionally avail ourselves of the old Chinese saying that "a picture is worth a thousand words." This sounds so convincing as to make us forget to ask, "But what for?" A picture may or may not be superior to words, depending upon the purpose of its use; and there is some evidence to show this.

Is a picture worth a thousand words? Does learning proceed more efficiently when verbal stimuli are combined with visual and auditory stimuli? Professor Yamamoto, reporting on a range of inquiries in this area, comes up with some surprising and suggestive information. His article holds implications for many educational specialties—including remedial reading, teaching of the retarded, the use of audio-visual media, and foreign language teaching. And, as he points out, the work has just begun.

- 1 Robert K. Merton, "The Mosaic of the Behavioral Sciences," in Bernard Berelson, Ed. *The Behavioral Sciences Today*. New York: Harper and Row, 1963.
- 2 See, e.g. Berelson and G. A. Steiner, Eds. *Human Behavior: An Inventory of Scientific Findings*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1964; and Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils, Eds. *Toward a General Theory of Action*. New York: Harper, 1951.

It is sometimes argued that presentation of a stimulus situation in a pictorial form conveys a richer and more vivid feeling of the experience than do abstract words. It is, accordingly, expected that a pictorial mode of stimulus would result in more realistic, raw sensory reactions than a verbal (printed word) mode. A picture of a lemon may elicit such sense-impression associative responses as sour, bitter, sweet, smooth, and yellow, while the word "lemon" may result in such different associations as fruit, car, lemonade, and tea. In 1962, Otto³ reported a study in which a forced comparison technique was applied to a set of stimulus objects, presented either verbally (printed words) or pictorially (line drawings), in order to examine the differential effects of the stimulus mode upon evoked responses. The study was followed by two similar inquiries,⁴ and the general trend seemed to give credence to the familiar notion that pictures elicit more sense-impression associations than do words.

When, however, a more systematic comparison was made⁵ between the verbal and pictorial stimulus presentation of a list of nouns selected from those used by B. J. Underwood and J. Richardson,⁶ rather unexpected results were obtained. With 180 subjects of the eighth through tenth grades in a rural high school in a Northwestern state, it was reported that the verbal mode evoked sensory associations significantly more often (28.1 per cent) than did the pictorial mode (23.9 per cent). "Thus, despite some prior evidence, admittedly limited, and the apparently high face validity of the idea, there is no support from the present data for the notion that the direct sensory appeal of pictorial stimuli will tend in any general or predictable way to evoke more sense-impression associations than verbal stimuli."⁷

A replication study⁸ with 661 students in the tenth through twelfth grades of a large suburban high school in the Midwest confirmed the general results of the preceding investigation. Incorporating three new features, namely, (1)

3 W. Otto, "The Differential Effects of Verbal and Pictorial Representations of Stimuli Upon Responses Evoked," *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior*, 1962, 1, pp. 192-196.

4 Otto, "Responses to Verbal and Pictorial Stimuli as a Function of Verbal Orientation," paper read at AERA, Chicago, February, 1963, and "Response Hierarchies with Verbal and Pictorial Presentations of Stimuli," *American Educational Research Association Journal*, 1964, 1, pp. 241-248.

5 Otto and Gwenyth Britton, "Sense-Impression Responses to Verbal and Pictorial Stimuli," Paper read at AERA, Chicago, February, 1964.

6 "Some Verbal Materials For the Study of Concept Formation," *Psychological Bulletin*, 1956, 53, pp. 84-95.

7 Otto and Britton, *op. cit.*

8 Whitfield Bourisseau, O. L. Davis, Jr., and K. Yamamoto, "Sense-Impression Responses to Differing Pictorial and Verbal Stimuli," *AV Communication Review*, 1965, 13, pp. 249-258.

random assignment of subjects to experimental groups, (2) presentation of instructions and stimuli over a closed TV circuit to increase the degree of control, and (3) addition of the picture and word condition (WP) to the previous word-alone (W) and picture-alone (P) conditions, the authors reported sensory response ratios of 10.0 per cent, 8.3 per cent, and 5.4 per cent for, respectively, the W, WP and P modes.

At about the same time, Travers⁹ shed an interesting light upon the transmission of information to human receivers. On the basis of the generally agreed-upon characteristics of human information processing, namely, its rather low capacity and single-channel transmission system, he suggested that no advantage seems to accrue to feeding redundant information through more than one sensory modality and to flooding the learner with the so-called "realistic" inputs.

Instructional Media The points raised by Travers immediately force us to re-examine some of the rather basic beliefs in instructional media. There has been understandably much argument about what various media *can* do,¹⁰ but the limiting conditions of these possibilities have not been carefully explored.

For example, the relative "effectiveness" of one form of stimulus versus another has not by any means been clarified. What makes a picture worth a thousand words in one situation but not in another? Thus, in a paired-associates learning, Lumsdaine¹¹ and Kopstein and Roshal¹² showed "that the use of pictures to represent the first object of the pair was better than verbal presentation, but that verbal presentation (printed words) was definitely superior to pictorial presentation for the *second* ('response') term of the pair."¹³ It was also reported¹⁴ that association of nonsense syllables was easier with pictures rather than with words.

Moreover, "performance in concept learning was better when the stimuli

- 9 Robert M. W. Travers, "Transmission of Information to Human Receivers," *AV Communication Review*, 1964, 12, pp. 373-385.
- 10 See Robert M. Gagné, *The Conditions of Learning*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965; and A. A. Lumsdaine, "Instruments and Media of Instruction," in N. L. Gage, Ed., *Handbook of Research on Teaching*. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1963.
- 11 Lumsdaine, "Cue and Response Functions of Pictures and Words," in M. A. May and Lumsdaine, Eds. *Learning From Films*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958.
- 12 F. F. Kopstein and S. M. Roshal, "Learning Foreign Vocabulary from Pictures versus Words," *American Psychologist*, 1954, 9, pp. 407-408.
- 13 A. A. Lumsdaine, "Instruments and Media of Instruction," in N. L. Gage, Ed., *Handbook of Research on Teaching*.
- 14 C. C. Wimer and W. E. Lambert, "The Differential Effects of Word and Object Stimuli on the Learning of Paired Associates," *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 1959, 57, pp. 31-36.

were in the form of words than when they were represented pictorially,"¹⁵ while retention of pictorial materials was found no better than that of words.¹⁶ Verbal reaction time was reported to be shorter when subjects were to respond to concrete objects than to drawings of the same objects.¹⁷ And, finally, a higher proportion of sense-impression responses was evoked by words than by pictures in a free-association situation.¹⁸

On the one hand, therefore, the matter would seem to concern the difference in the amount and kind of information conveyed by a picture in contrast with a word for the particular type of task performance;¹⁹ but, on the other hand, it appears to be a function of the similarity among stimuli to be processed and their arrangement.²⁰ Complex results are to be expected mainly because of the probable interaction among these and other relevant variables.

Multiple Modes and Modalities What if more

than one stimulus form is combined? Even when a single sense modality is involved, various complications may arise to nullify any hypothesized advantages of an increased amount of information transmitted to the human receiver. Because of the single-channel, intermittent-analysis system of human operators,²¹ messages from two sources tend to interfere with each other unless they are well-coordinated to allow the central system to function efficiently with its unique filtering and processing mechanism. R. Davis²² has demonstrated this

- 15 W. N. Runquist and Valorie Hutt, "Verbal Concept Learning in High School Students with Pictorial and Verbal Representation of Stimuli," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1961, 52, pp. 108-111.
- 16 R. Ducharme and P. Fraisse, "Etude genetique de la memorisation de mots et d'images," *Canadian Journal of Psychology*, 1965, 19, pp. 253-261.
- 17 P. Fraise, "Recognition Time Measured by Verbal Reaction to Figures and Words," *Perceptual and Motor Skills*, 1960, 11, p. 204; T. R. Karwoski, F. W. Gramlich, and P. Arnott, "Psychological Studies in Semantics: I. Free Association Reactions to Words, Drawings, and Objects," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 1944, 20, pp. 233-247.
- 18 Bourisseau, Davis, and Yamamoto, *op. cit.*; Bourisseau, Davis, and Yamamoto, "Sense-Impression Responses of White and Negro Children to Verbal and Pictorial Stimuli," *AV Communication Review*, 1967, 15, pp. 259-268; W. Otto, "Effects of Race, Sex and Grade upon Responses to Verbal and Pictorial Stimuli: II. A Study in Small Southern Cities." Paper read at AERA, February, 1966; Otto and Britton, *op. cit.*
- 19 Anne L. Ryle, "A Study of the Interpretations of Pictorial Style by Young Children." Paper read at AERA, February, 1966.
- 20 S. L. Deno, "Multiple Discrimination Learning as a Function of Conceptual Similarity among Picture and Word Stimuli," Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1965; Ethel King and S. Muehl, "Different Sensory Cues as Aids in Beginning Reading," *Reading Teacher*, 1965, 19, pp. 407-408.
- 21 D. E. Broadbent, *Perception and Communication*. New York: Pergamon Press, 1958; R. Davis, "The Human Operator as a Single Channel Information System," *Quarterly Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 1957, 9, pp. 119-129.
- 22 R. Davis, "The Combination of Information from Different Sources," *Quarterly Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 1964, 16, pp. 332-339.

with visual stimuli, while Broadbent²³ has discussed it in terms of auditory signals.

In a realm much closer to school learning, it has been suggested by Davis, Hicks, and Bowers²⁴ and by Vernon²⁵ that pictorial or graphic illustration accompanying textual materials may not be so useful as generally believed. This reminds us of the observation that the combination of pictures with words did not result in "better" performance in terms of either retention or of sensory association;²⁶ but there is also some counter-evidence.²⁷

When two or more sense modalities are utilized simultaneously, the situation becomes more complex, but the results, in general, lend little support to the "more information, the better" idea. For example, in spite of many earlier studies, carried out mostly around the turn of the century,²⁸ drawing supportive conclusions for the superiority of a combined audio-visual mode of stimulus presentation to either the auditory or the visual mode alone, recent investigations²⁹ tend to refute the claimed benefit of redundancy in transmission.

While Rey³⁰ reported that a simultaneous presentation of objects via the visual modality and of words via the auditory modality resulted in a better retention of the objects than words, Lumsdaine and Gladstone³¹ showed that either pictorial or auditory adornment of visual stimuli made them less effective than a plain presentation of visual stimuli alone. Lockard and Sidowski,³² on the

- 23 Broadbent, "Attention and the Perception of Speech," *Scientific American*, 1962, 206, pp. 143-151.
- 24 O. L. Davis, Jr., Linda C. Hicks, and N. D. Bowers, "The Usefulness of Time Lines in Learning Chronological Relationships in Text Materials," *Journal of Experimental Education*, 34, 1966, pp. 22-25.
- 25 "The Value of Pictorial Illustration," *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1954, 23, pp. 180-187.
- 26 Ducharme and Fraisse, *op. cit.*
- 27 J. E. Bousfield, J. Esterson, and G. A. Whitmarsh, "The Effect of Concomitant Colored and Uncolored Pictorial Representation as the Learning of Stimulus Words," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1957, 41, pp. 165-168.
- 28 W. F. Day and B. R. Beach, "A Survey of the Research Literature Comparing the Visual and Auditory Presentation of Information." AF Technical Report, No. 5921, PB 102410. Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 1965.
- 29 Danielle H. Haygood, "Audio-Visual Concept Formation," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1965, 56, pp. 126-132; also, see Travers, *op. cit.*, and A. P. Van Mondfrans and Travers, "Learning of Redundant Material Presented through Two Sensory Modalities," *Perceptual and Motor Skills*, 1964, 19, pp. 743-751.
- 30 A. Rey, "Solicitation de la mémoire de fixation par des mots et des objets présentés simultanément," *Archives de Psychologie*, 1959-60, 37, pp. 126-139.
- 31 Lumsdaine and A. Gladstone, "Overt Practice and Audio-Visual Embellishments," in May and Lumsdaine, *Learning from Films*, *op. cit.*
- 32 Joan Lockard and J. B. Sidowski, "Learning in Fourth and Sixth Graders as a Function of Sensory Mode of Stimulus Presentation and Overt and Covert Practice," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1961, 52, pp. 262-265.

other hand, demonstrated that the learning of nonsense syllables was superior for visual and/or visual-auditory input groups than for auditory input group when the required output was overt responses, while there was no difference among the three input modes when covert responses were the output. Investigation of the distraction or channel-clattering process, in relation to the characteristics of both input and output variables (sense modalities, meaningfulness and structure of message, speed of transmission, etc.) and to the varied developmental sequences of different sense modalities³³ would be quite fruitful.

Language: Native and Foreign Words and thought are closely and complexly intertwined.³⁴ In both its printed and spoken forms, language keeps thought verbal, while thought keeps language rational. The study of linguistic behaviors in all dimensions is obviously crucial in understanding of human beings. Nevertheless, as pointed out by Carroll,³⁵ the auditory aspects of verbal learning have largely been ignored either in themselves or in their relationship with visual aspects.

One area in which this lack of systematic inquiry is being called to our attention is education for the socially disadvantaged. Raph³⁶ has pointed out a deficit in the auditory-vocal modality, rather than in the visual-motor areas, of disadvantaged children's linguistic development when compared with middle-class children. Deutsch's study³⁷ seemed to indicate that, in addition to their poorer auditory discrimination, lower-class pupils may be experiencing greater difficulty in shifting from one sense modality to another. The lead offered by Bourisseau, Davis, and Yamamoto concerning the possible difference in sense-impression responses between the Negro and white children, coupled with the possibilities of an "oral-aural-visual stimuli approach" in teaching of composition,³⁸ also deserves further exploration.

Foreign language instruction would appear to offer very interesting possibilities in this regard, since it is expected that different "organismic mobilizations"³⁹ are involved in shifting from speaking one language to another. Asher's

33 See L. J. West, "Vision and Kinesthesia in the Acquisition of Typewriting Skill," Paper read at AERA, February, 1966.

34 L. S. Vygotsky, *Thought and Language*, Cambridge: The M.I.T. Press, 1962.

35 J. B. Carroll, "Linguistics and the Psychology of Language," *Review of Educational Research*, 1964, 34, pp. 119-126.

36 Jane B. Raph, "Language Development in Socially Disadvantaged Children," *Review of Educational Research*, 1965, 35, pp. 389-400.

37 Cynthia P. Deutsch, "Auditory Discrimination and Learning: Social Factors," *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly of Behavior and Development*, 1964, 10, pp. 277-296.

38 A. Tovatt and E. Miller, "Effectiveness of an Oral-Aural-Visual Stimuli Approach to Teaching Composition to Ninth Grade Students," Paper read at AERA, February, 1966.

39 J. Church, *Language and the Discovery of Reality*. New York: Random House, Inc., 1961.

study,⁴⁰ for example, suggested generally larger transfer effects from visual to auditory modes for most foreign languages than those from auditory to visual. The matter of intersensory integration⁴¹ seems important: "The findings strongly indicate that information received by young children through one avenue of sense is not directly transduced to another sensory modality and that different age sequences characterize the development of intermodal equivalence among the different senses. In fact, it may perhaps be argued that the emergence of such equivalence is developmental."⁴² The implications for language instruction should be obvious.

The phenomenon of bilingualism also provides unique opportunities for investigation because here we may be able to separate the effects of the media of information transmission (languages) from those of the modes of presentation (verbal, pictorial, auditory, and the like). If these different stimulus modes and sense modalities elicit the same response patterns regardless of the particular languages employed, it may then be suggested that the phenomenon involves some central processes transcendent of the particular carrier of information. It further seems possible to analyze the differences in referential meanings encoded in two languages between the "compound" or "fused" bilinguals and the "coordinate" or "separate" bilinguals.⁴³ The study reported by Massad, Yamamoto, and Davis⁴⁴ is an encouraging beginning of explorations along this line, even though the results were inconclusive.

Learning Difficulties and Remedial Instruction

Reading and reading disabilities are obvious areas of interest. If, as Holmes⁴⁵ postulated, reading indeed involves multiple input systems (tactile-kinesthetic,

40 J. J. Asher, "Vision and Audition in Language Learning," *Perceptual and Motor Skills*, 1964, 19, pp. 255-300. (Monograph Suppl. 1-V19).

41 H. G. Birch and M. E. Bitterman, "Sensory Integration and Cognitive Theory," *Psychological Review*, 1951, 58, pp. 355-361; Elaine V. Houck, B. Gardner, and Donna Ruhl, "Effects of Auditory and Visual Pretraining on Performance in a Tactile Discrimination Task," *Perceptual and Motor Skills*, 1965, 20 pp. 1057-1063.

42 H. G. Birch and A. Lefford, "Intersensory Development in Children," *Monograph of the Society for Research in Child Development*, 1963, 28 (5), pp. 1-48.

43 Susan M. Ervin and C. E. Osgood, "Second Language Learning and Bilingualism," in C. E. Osgood and T. A. Sebeok, Eds., "Psycholinguistics: A Survey of Theory and Research Problems," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1954, 49, pp. 139-146; W. E. Lambert, J. Havelka, and C. Crosby, "The Influence of Language-Acquisition Contexts on Bilingualism," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1958, 56, pp. 239-244.

44 Carolyn E. Massad, Yamamoto, and Davis, "Stimulus Modes and Language Media: A Study of Bilinguals," Paper read at AERA, February, 1966.

45 J. A. Holmes, "Speed, Comprehension, and Power in Reading," in *Problems, Programs, and Projects in College-Adult Reading* (11th Yearbook), Milwaukee: National Reading Conference, 1962.

aural, visual, or olfactory sensation), mediating systems (somesthetic, auditory, visual, verbal, or cognitive central processes), and output systems (speaking, writing, or subvocal reading action), coupled with memory systems (long- and short-term), emotional systems, and physiological systems, the importance of careful explorations of the input-mediating-output chain is self-evident. Again, the limiting conditions of the usefulness of various cues and methods in teaching reading should be carefully studied lest sweeping generalizations should be accepted.

Birch and Belmont⁴⁶ showed that impairment in auditory-visual integration was more commonly found among intellectually-normal but retarded-reading children than among their agemates with adequate reading skills. Otto's study⁴⁷ tended to suggest that poor readers may not be able to benefit from cues provided through more than one modality (visual-auditory and kinesthetic-visual-auditory). The sensory feedback technique used by Smith and his associates⁴⁸ may prove useful in further extension of the research on reading and reading difficulties.

The area of mental retardation also presents its unique challenges. O'Conner, for example, summarized his studies on the severely-retarded by saying:

The first emphasis I think necessary is to exculpate the visual and sensory apparatus of imbeciles from any involvement, or any serious involvement, in the extreme backwardness of defectives' learning. . . . It might also be said that the experiments on recall suggest that it is extremely unlikely that difficulties of memory are involved as a major cause in backwardness. . . . Quite clearly, two major difficulties of defectives are concerned with coding. One is the coding from symbol to sound, cross-modally, and the other is the verbal translation of experience into a verbal account of this same experience. Both forms of coding, which underlie a great deal of our scholastic learning, are extremely deficient in imbeciles, even taking account of their relatively limited vocabulary.⁴⁹

Also relevant here is the phenomenon of extinction (the report of only one stimulus) in double simultaneous stimulation and other related failures in dis-

46 H. G. Birch and Lillian Belmont, "Auditory-Visual Integration in Normal and Retarded Readers," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 1964, 34, pp. 852-861.

47 W. Otto, "The Acquisition and Retention of Paired Associates by Good, Average, and Poor Readers," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1961, 52, pp. 241-248.

48 K. V. Smith, R. Cambria, and J. Steffan, "Sensory-Feedback Analysis of Reading," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1964, 48, pp. 275-286; K. V. Smith, Lynn Wargo, and R. Jones, "Delayed and Space-Displaced Sensory Feedback and Learning," *Perceptual and Motor Skills*, 1963, 16, pp. 781-786.

49 N. O'Conner, "Speech and Thought in Severe Subnormality," *Monograph of the Society for Research in Child Development*, 1965, 30 (2), pp. 68-81.

crimination reported among the brain-injured subjects. Although the generality of such defects across various modalities has not been systematically investigated,⁵⁰ it is easy to see both the necessity and the fruitfulness of such an inquiry.

The Information-Processing Model This, then, is the perspective in which I look at seemingly disparate studies on stimulus modes and sense modalities reported in widely scattered sources and disciplines. Basically, the unifying viewpoint takes the familiar form of the information-processing model, consisting of receptor, processor, memory, and effector units just as in an electronic digital computer.

Each system comes in different speed, capacity, and other structural and functional characteristics and its operation may go astray by difficulties in any of the numerous constituent units and parts. The receptor may not be able to handle certain incoming information because the sheer amount and rate of the input exceed the optimal capacity, because the information redundancy in the message is not high enough to allow an effective screening of noise, or because the encoding function is limited for various reasons. The effector may present parallel difficulties in its treatment of decoding and output, while both the afferent and efferent channels connecting the receptor-effector units with the central processing unit may not operate smoothly for organismic or functional reasons. Effects of possible malfunctioning or impairment of the processing and memory units are well known and need no elaboration here.

Regardless of the particular sphere of his activities, a human being is bound by the characteristics of his information-processing mechanism. Coherent and intelligent behavior requires well-coordinated development, operation, and reparation of this system and, hence, an integrative scheme of understanding and exploration becomes essential. The territory to be covered is indeed large and the workers few. As we made it clear in our reply⁵¹ to a critic,⁵² we need all hands to tackle the task.

50 G. Spivack, "Perceptual Processes," in N. R. Ellis, Ed., *Handbook of Mental Deficiency*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1963.

51 K. Yamamoto, O. L. Davis, Jr., and W. Bourisseau, "Groping Together: A Reply to Gropper," *AV Communication Review*, 14, 1966, pp. 93-97.

52 G. L. Gropper, Comment on Bourisseau, Davis, and Yamamoto: "Sense-Impression Responses to Differing Pictorial and Verbal Stimuli," *AV Communication Review*, 14, 1966, pp. 91-93.

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Implications of Severe Visual Handicaps for School Personnel

James W. Bommarito
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Blindness introduces practical problems of considerable magnitude in such matters as travel, eating, and personal care. Moreover, it is extremely difficult for a blind child to achieve the genuine respect of people in his environment. "He is subject to pity, insult, misunderstanding, and ignorance."¹ In addition, the blind child faces extreme problems in cognition. Finally, both blind and partially seeing children frequently face the prospect of entering school districts which have inadequate programs and services for meeting their educational needs, such as skills in braille reading, mobility training, careful utilization of large print books, the effective use of optical aids, and judicious educational placement.² In a word, a severe visual handicap may result in numerous general difficulties of a social, cognitive, and educational nature.

A severe visual loss, *sui generis*, presents trying circumstances. When the defective vision is complicated by a physical or emotional disorder, it requires a complete evaluation from a multi-disciplinary approach, including "... social workers, psychologists, psychiatrists and educators. . . ."³ Furthermore, since visual defects frequently accompany such severe handicaps as cerebral palsy,⁴ prematurity,⁵ and mental retardation,⁶ the combination of visual and physical or mental impairment may occur more often than commonly assumed. Statis-

Professor Bommarito here presents a compendium of information on an educational problem about which teachers tend to know little. His analyses and his recommendations hold obvious implications for a conception of special education; but, at a moment when so many children are considered "exceptional," his discussion will be thought-provoking for the general reader as well.

- 1 N. J. Raskin, "Visual Disability," in J. F. Garrett and Edna S. Levine, Eds., *Psychological Practices with the Physically Disabled*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1962.
- 2 S. C. Ashcroft, "Blind and Partially Seeing Children," in L. M. Dunn, Ed., *Exceptional Children in the Schools*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963.
- 3 J. W. Oberman, "Vision Needs of America's Children," *Sight-Saving Review*, 1966, XXXVI, pp. 217-226.
- 4 W. M. Cruickshank, Ed. *Cerebral Palsy: Its Individual and Community Problems*, 2nd Ed. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1966.
- 5 B. Pasamanick and Hilda Knobloch, "The Contribution of Some Organic Factors to School Retardation in Negro Children," in S. S. Webster, Ed., *Understanding the Educational Problems of the Disadvantaged Learner*. San Francisco: Chandler Publications, 1966.
- 6 Oberman, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

tical evidence exists for this conclusion in that a recent survey of physically handicapped children in Pittsburgh found 60 per cent of the visually impaired pupils to be mentally retarded.⁷ Lastly, with respect to the visually handicapped child, the research has documented the ignorance and unfavorable attitudes of teachers.⁸ Such data emphasize even more the importance of knowledge for educators in the area of visual handicaps.

On the basis of the foregoing material, the education and treatment of visually defective children assume a significance far in excess of the attention which would seem to be warranted by the rather low incidence of this handicap in the school-age population. Manifestly, the visually defective child presents dilemmas, at some time or other, of interest to teachers, psychologists, social workers, school administrators, psychiatrists, and other specialists who may work in the schools, such as the speech therapist.

The intent of this writing, then, is to provide an overview of problems among visually handicapped children that will be informative and interesting to these workers in the school situation. For this purpose, the principal focus will be on the more general implications of visual handicaps pertinent to school personnel. In this connection, the selective discussion will deal briefly with background information on definition and incidence and more extensively with (1) real limitations, (2) emotional and social characteristics, (3) potential difficulties, and (4) some basic educational considerations.

Definition, Description, and Incidence

Visually handicapped pupils include the blind and the partially seeing. Legally and medically, the former refers to visual acuity of 20/200 or less in the better eye after correction (refraction) or severe impairment in peripheral vision. The medico-legal classification of the latter includes persons with visual acuities 20/70 or less after refraction, though it also encompasses pupils whom eye specialists (ophthalmologists) have recommended for special classes or services.⁹ Interpretation of medical reports on visual acuities, however, may be made more intelligible by adherence to one "rule of thumb." In the pseudo-fraction denoting visual acuity usually measured on the Snellen eye chart, the general principle of interpretation is that "... the numerator ... corresponds to the number of feet separating the patient from the chart (preferably 20 feet) and the denomi-

7 M. Fouracre, Leigh Rooke, and P. Botwin. *A Report on the Educational Needs of Physically Handicapped Youth in Pittsburgh*. Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh University Press, 1961.

8 B. Lowenfeld, "Psychological Problems of Children with Impaired Vision," in W. M. Cruickshank, Ed., *Psychology of Exceptional Children*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1963.

9 Ashcroft, *op. cit.*, p. 414.

nator to the number indicating the distance at which the smallest letters should be read by the normal eye."¹⁰ This principle applies regardless of the visual acuity exhibited. Thus, in 5/200, the individual reads at 5 feet what the normally seeing person sees at 200 feet. In 20/10, the client sees at 20 feet what the normally seeing person reads at 10 feet. In other words, his visual acuity is better than average.

Educators, however, have been quite dissatisfied with these essentially medical definitions because they fail to account for the frequently observed phenomenon that children differ widely in their functional use of residual vision. As an illustration, a large scale survey by Jones found that more than 80 per cent of legally blind children could read ordinary print.¹¹ Accordingly, the crucial criterion for educational purposes is the child's psychovisual efficiency or his ability to use his residual vision effectively. If the child primarily requires a tactual-auditory approach, as in braille, he would be classified as blind. If his vision is sufficiently useful, he would be designated as requiring special class placement or services for the partially seeing.¹²

Accepting and applying the standard of psychovisual efficiency for the classification of visual handicap has tremendous implications for the education of the child with such a disability. Thus, if it can be determined that a visually disabled child can read regular or large-type print, irrespective of his visual acuity, a number of advantages may immediately follow. He can use the same texts and materials as his classmates; he can remain in his own school district. He can be taught by the regular classroom teacher with occasional consultation by a specialist in the education of the visually handicapped thereby obtaining the advantages of full integration with normal peers. Finally, he can substitute a much more efficient method of learning (a visual approach) for the cumbersome, laborious braille system or other tactual systems of instruction. In short, the reinforcement or reward possibilities from his school environment are maximized; whereas potential anxiety provoking situations are minimized.

It is on the basis of this psychovisual efficiency that intelligent estimates on the prevalence of visual impairment among children may be made for educational purposes. Within this approach, 0.06 per cent of the school-age population (or two in 3000) need special services or classes for the partially seeing. With the medically and legally blind (one in 3000), approximately 60 per cent from this preliminary pool probably should be considered as possible referrals to special

10 C. A. Perara. *May's Manual of the Diseases of the Eye* (22nd ed.). Baltimore: William and Wilkins, 1957.

11 J. W. Jones. *Blind Children: Degree of Vision, Mode of Reading*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1961.

12 Ashcroft, *op. cit.*, pp. 419-420.

education facilities and/or services.¹³ All in all, the visually handicapped represent the group of exceptional children with the lowest incidence. Nevertheless, because of the enormous problems a visual handicap may engender, this disability is a very important one for the educator. The real limitations of a severe visual handicap exemplify this generalization forcibly.

Real Limitations Lowenfeld has contended that "... blindness creates problems *sui generis* only in the areas of cognitive function and mobility." Other research workers concur with this conclusion.¹⁴ The cognitive dysfunctioning is particularly striking. The description of this dysfunction which follows is the writer's summary of the comprehensive treatment by Lowenfeld on the subject.

Essentially, the cognitive limitations of the blind person "in experiencing the outer world" are reflected in three principal ways.

1. The limitations of vision eliminate the perception of numerous stimuli, illustrated by such phenomena as large man-made objects (e.g., skyscrapers), celestial features, color, minute animals (as insects), microscopic observations, and liquids. In these cases, descriptions frequently must occur by analogies from other sense modalities.

2. The tactual perception from manual contact manifestly limits sensory input and only occurs by active application of the hands.

3. Audition also has severe limitations in perception. Thus, the blind individual may be unaware of another person's presence because the latter does not initiate conversation or ceases to talk. Further, unless he is specifically addressed, the blind person may not be certain as to whom comments from others are directed.

In brief, the cognitive deficiencies of the blind in experiencing the outer world stem from the need of accessibility to stimuli before perception can occur tactually, the elimination of many stimuli due to visual limitations, and the drawbacks of audition for sensory input.

A second major limitation imposed by the physical handicap of blindness is the matter of travel. The importance of this function is reflected by the tremendous emphasis teachers of the blind place on this skill, the dissatisfaction many blind persons themselves express concerning their adequacy in mobility,¹⁵ and the fact that several universities have developed specialized curricula for mobility instruction of the blind. These specialists have even been given the new career title of "peripetologist."

13 Ashcroft, *op. cit.*, p. 424.

14 Raskin, *op. cit.*, pp. 346-348.

15 See Ashcroft, Raskin, *op. cit.*

Emotional and Social Characteristics Three general findings apply in this area. First, no inevitable relationship exists between the severity of the visual handicap and the occurrence of social maladjustment. Secondly, in view of this finding, no substitute exists for an intensive exploration of the "... severe disturbances which have become organized around the handicap."¹⁶ One cannot simply attribute the psychological deviations of a child to his visual handicap. Finally, substantial research indicates not only a frequent relationship between adverse attitudes to the visually limited and social maladjustment but also the unfavorable attitudes and ignorance of teachers regarding the child with a severe visual handicap.

Thus far the discussion has centered about rather prevalent data concerning the handicaps of the visually handicapped child. A number of other limitations may also exist. Though these may not be as common as the previous ones mentioned, the potential damage they cause the child in his social adaptation merits close attention to their nature. The occurrence of these behaviors among children with severe visual defects should alert general educators to the need for specialized help. Among these phenomena, one may cite "blindisms," fear of being observed, speech difficulties, and possible psychological problems associated with the visual handicap. Brief comments on these behavioral manifestations may be made for identification purposes. Thus, "blindisms" refer to acts of automatic self-stimulation as "... rolling or tilting the head, thrusting the fingers into the eyes, and swaying the body." They occur because, unlike the seeing child, the blind child must find his stimulation within his own reach and thus turns to his own body as the source and object of stimulation. In like manner, the fear of being observed stems from the inability of the blind child to control his environment. The child cannot determine if he is being observed at the onset and end of the observation unless the observer makes his presence known by some non-visual means. Thirdly, a variety of speech difficulties is very prevalent among visually handicapped children, particularly the congenitally blind, because they have no visual model for learning proper speech. As a concluding note, potential personality difficulties may arise from severe visual handicaps. These are sufficiently important to warrant separate treatment.

Though no inevitable relationship exists between severe visual handicap and maladjustment, clinical observations reveal that eye difficulties may render the child susceptible to the development of rather severe forms of maladaptive behavior. The sources of this maladaptive behavior include (1) the limitation of visual activities; (2) the pain and discomfort of the eye condition, as well as anxiety about imminent attacks and prognosis; and (3) various forms of mild

16 Lowenfeld, *op. cit.*, pp. 226-310.

or severe facial disfigurement, exemplified by crossed-eyes (strabismus), rapid and involuntary movement of the eyes (nystagmus), the discomfort of heavy lenses and the negative reactions they may elicit from others, and the self-consciousness engendered by the need of a child to wear an artificial eye.

Educational Considerations The foregoing findings constitute some of the numerous problems to which visually handicapped children are vulnerable in general. It may be well for school personnel, however, to realize certain essentials about the education of these children. Such information would fulfill at least two functions. It would serve as a yardstick (albeit a weak one) for satisfactory educational facilities and it would possibly help prevent unnecessary trauma among these children. In this connection, a number of generalizations may be subsumed under three topics: some primary methods in teaching, the values and precautions in integration, and the importance of proper educational placement.

Obviously, considerable literature describing teaching methods for the visually handicapped is already available.¹⁷ In terms of frequency and importance, however, braille and magnification would rank very highly.

Braille. Braille refers to an involved system of numerous combinations of raised dots. Since the effective teaching of braille requires a highly trained specialist, it should be of little concern to general educators. Several implications in the general educational progress of blind children, however, may emanate from the use of braille as follows: In the primary grades, the braille reader is not at a disadvantage in reading speed. As silent reading assumes greater importance in the middle elementary grades, the braille reader rates unfavorably in speed. Tapes, records ("talking books"), and other auditory means of education become necessary. At the secondary and university levels of schooling, it then becomes crucial for the students with a severe visual disability to have "readers," individuals with normal vision who can read material to the handicapped person. Otherwise, it becomes virtually impossible for him to perform his academic tasks adequately.

Magnification. Just as braille is vital for the academic progress of blind children so is magnification of print a necessary medium for the majority of partially seeing children. Some of the most significant implications for school personnel with respect to this medium of learning are as follows:

- 17 Winifred Hathaway. *Education and Health of the Partially Seeing Child*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1959; A. Pellone. *Helping the Visually Handicapped Child in the Regular Class*. New York: Teachers College Press; Geraldine T. Scholl, "The Education of Children with Visual Impairments," in W. M. Cruickshank and G. O. Johnson, Eds., *Education of Exceptional Children and Youth*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1967.

1. Allow the severely visually handicapped child to bring the book as close to his eyes as he so desires. This activity will not harm his vision in the least and frequently serves as very effective technique of magnification. The only precaution is to observe at least a minimal degree of decent posture for the child.

2. In large print books the type may be more than twice the size of ordinary print and thus serves as a second method of magnification.

3. Low vision aids, a special form of optical equipment, may provide tremendous magnification for near reading. In fact, they may make the difference between classifying the child as blind or partially seeing for educational purposes.¹⁸ Concomitantly, low vision aids clinics can provide invaluable help to school districts with regard to clinical work in diagnosing the visual problems of children for the potential and most effective use of these optical aids. If a school district is planning the education of visually handicapped children on any extensive scale whatsoever, it would be to its advantage to study the literature on low vision aids thoroughly.¹⁹

Despite the need and advantages of magnification in the education of partially seeing children, it should be recognized that all these methods of enlarging print sharply reduce the field of vision or the area the eyes can view without shifting the gaze. Applied to reading, for example, this may mean that the visually handicapped child may be able to read only portions of a word at a time. The net result is that the child may read at a "painfully" slow rate. This type of reading may also lead to a great deal of fatigue in the child. Unless the teacher understands these possibilities, it is easy for her to become impatient at the child's low productivity. These handicaps in learning also highlight the need for an auditory approach to instruction whenever possible or feasible (tapes, radio, talking books, readers, oral instructions, oral examinations, etc.), at least as a supplementary measure or a "change of pace."

It should be further recognized that a highly clinical approach is necessary to determine the most effective form of magnification for any given child because of the variations resulting from the interactions of the child's anomaly, his age, his personality, and the onset of the disability. The need for this specialized clinical work once again emphasizes the significance of the low vision aids clinics.

Values and Problems in Integration

The modern trend among special educators is to emphasize integration of exceptional chil-

18 G. Fonda, "Definition and Classification of Blindness with Respect to Ability to Use Residual Vision," in *New Outlook for the Blind*, 1961, 55, pp. 169-172.

19 See G. Fonda, "Binocular Corrections for Low Vision: Rationale for Rule of Thumb for Decentration," in *American Journal of Ophthalmology*, 1959, 56, pp. 23-27; Fonda, "Lenses for Subnormal Vision," in *Sight-Saving Review*, 1955, XXV, pp. 2-5.

dren with normal students whenever possible.²⁰ Numerous philosophical and practical bases could be elaborated in support of this development. As illustrative points only, three basic reasons may be briefly mentioned. First, the exceptional child will need to learn adaptation to a larger society of normal peers. Unless he develops skills in this direction over a relatively long period as a child, such adaptation will prove difficult as an adult. Certainly, these social skills will not have an optimum climate for development in the exclusively protective confinement of the special class. Secondly, integration stresses the point that special education is basically "just another" service in the school's instructional program and thus reduces estrangement from the rest of the school staff. Thirdly, like other instructors, a teacher of visually handicapped children cannot be expected to have the specialized training which many of her colleagues possess. Hence, integration broadens the range of potential abilities and subjects available to visually handicapped children.

Despite its many potential advantages, integration is fraught with difficulties. Clinical experience leading to consensus among special educators dictates the following as representing some of the most crucial precautions and likely sources of friction within the school as a result of the integration process.

1. The roles of the special and general educators in the management and education of the visually handicapped child must be made explicit. Unless the teachers know who teaches what to whom, personal enmity between these two groups of workers could easily develop. Grades, discipline, assignments, and numerous other matters also come under this rubric of role definition.

2. Communication between teachers should be free and open. Agreement between the regular teachers and special educators will be necessary for grading, assignments, permissible activities, realistic expectations, the need to wear glasses, the proper use of optical aids, and other matters. The regular classroom teacher will also need considerable support, encouragement, and specific cues on teaching and behavioral management. Necessarily, role definition and candid and easy communication are interrelated.

3. In view of specific needs of the visually handicapped child for large print books or braille material, the special teacher will need to know, well in advance of the school term, the instructional texts used by the classrooms in which the handicapped child is to be integrated. Without ordering these school supplies well in advance, the material will not be available at the beginning of the school term and integration will become extremely trying on all parties concerned.

4. Administrative support is imperative. Without this support, many regular classroom teachers become discouraged or easily rationalize their refusal to ad-

20 See Cruickshank, Ed., *Education of Exceptional Children and Youth*.

mit visually handicapped children to their classes. Special educators, in turn, could become resentful at an administrator who precludes desirable educational practices. Sometimes this lack of administrative support has a vicious reciprocal relationship. Administrators, such as principals, refuse integration because of their fears regarding teachers' reactions. This fear is recognized by some teachers which emboldens them to oppose integration strenuously. Since many regular classroom teachers suffer some anxiety about integrating handicapped children, a little encouragement for refusal from a powerful authority figure "goes a long way." In any case, the strenuous opposition by teachers reinforces the original fears of the administrator. Under this interactional system of reciprocal reinforcements, progress in integration becomes arduous and hazardous, the program suffers, and the aftermath is frequently an embittered special educator.

5. As a rule of thumb, not more than one or two visually handicapped children should be placed with any one regular classroom teacher. As an illustration of the added load these children impose on the teacher, the State of Michigan has recognized the extreme and numerous difficulties involved in teaching these children by its reimbursement plan. It reimburses local school districts who provide acceptable services to these children by providing a weighted membership of four for each visually handicapped child served. In other words, it provides four times as much money to local school districts for each visually handicapped child as it does for a normal student. Hence, placing two such children in a classroom is roughly equivalent to eight students.

6. As another guiding principle, it would be judicious procedure not to integrate a visually handicapped child in a regular classroom for academic work unless his achievement is equivalent to the median level of the class in which he is to be placed. The anxiety of the general classroom teacher, the large classroom she usually teaches, the potential travel difficulties of the child, and the possible slow productivity of such a child because of a restricted field of vision or the special equipment he may need (as a braille typewriter) negate placement under any other condition. In brief, the child should be able to do the class work on a competitive basis if the integration is to be successful.

7. Much of the opposition of administrators and regular classroom teachers is based on a free-floating anxiety, a fear of the unknown. They feel very inadequate in coping with these children. Consequently, special educators will need to interpret the characteristics of these children, provide support and concrete suggestions in teaching the handicapped children, assure the teachers that they will not be expected to perform duties beyond their skills, lend a "ready ear" to gripes, recognize and acknowledge legitimate complaints, generally reinforce communication positively, freely admit the failure of integration when it occurs,

and supply a rationale for the advantages and needs of integration. The last step is particularly vital since regular classroom teachers and administrators are quick to point out, not without some justification, that the special educator has specialized training, unique materials and equipment, and a relatively small number of children in her classroom. For these reasons, they sometimes interpret integration as a "shirking of responsibilities."

8. Lastly, both the value of integration and an additional hazard in its implementation are reflected by the apparent need of normally seeing children for considerable education about visually defective persons, including exposure to such students. Thus, research by Bateman has disclosed a number of findings related to the perceptions of normally seeing children toward the abilities of blind students. First, an increase in positive perceptions was directly related to experience with blind children. Secondly, in several areas, the perceptions were unduly pessimistic or optimistic. Finally, a lack of knowledge regarding blind children tended to be associated with dogmatic opinions.²¹

Proper Educational Placement As important as

integration may be, proper educational placement of visually handicapped children in special facilities is even more critical for their social adaptation and learning in school for at least two reasons. One is that failure to succeed in school due to visual handicap or other reasons may make educational experiences aversive stimuli to the child. As a result, he may want to avoid school or become antipathetic toward learning in general. Furthermore, the research indicates that educational placement of partially seeing children who have considerable vision with blind children results in problem cases. As Lowenfeld emphasized: "This may be explained as a reaction of children who are placed in an environment which does not permit them to make full use of their vision, which they consider their greatest sensory asset. Being frustrated in their visual functioning, they may develop resentment and asocial or even hostile behavior."

As alternatives to the foregoing improper placement, it is generally recognized that the education of partially seeing children should assume one of the following forms: (1) placement in a special class designed solely for children of this classification; (2) the resource room plan in which the child is enrolled in a regular class but goes to the special educator for technical instruction (e.g., typing); and (3) the itinerant teacher plan in which the child is again placed in a regular classroom and the itinerant teacher provides individual tutoring for the child in some subjects and consultation for the classroom teacher in others.

²¹ Barbara Bateman, "Sighted Children's Perceptions of Blind Children's Abilities," in *Exceptional Children*, 1962, 29, pp. 42-46.

The classroom consultation by the special educator, moreover, would extend to almost any phase of the learning process that would be of help to the teacher or the child.

Summary and Conclusions It is evident that the child with a severe visual defect suffers from real difficulties in cognition and mobility because of his disability. Speech problems, fear of being observed, and blindisms may also be present. Though the research suggests that no univocal relationship exists between personality aberrations and visual limitations, clinical observations lead one to conclude that this disability may cause adverse psychological effects due to limitations in activities, potential somato-psychological developments, and reactions to mild or severe facial disfigurement.

The problems of the visually handicapped are further complicated by (1) the frequent association of physical or intellectual handicaps with visual disability, (2) the ignorance of teachers and children in this area, and (3) the low preference of the former for working with such handicapped children. Accordingly, the low incidence for severe visual handicaps in the school-age population belies the significance of the problems these limitations among the children present to teachers and other school personnel.

In addition to the wide range of general difficulties these children may present, their educational needs are unique and crucial. This article has attempted to discuss some issues relating to the needs for special materials and instructional approaches, a few implications of these methodologies for academic expectations and supplementary techniques, the rationale for integration together with precautions in its effective use, and the importance of proper educational placement.

What general conclusions can one deduce from this mass of information? The following generalizations, while not inclusive, certainly seem relevant and significant.

1. The positive reinforcements available to these children from the environment are sharply reduced for several reasons. They suffer real limitations in cognition and mobility; they face unfavorable or unrealistic attitudes from uninformed citizenry, professional educators, or normally seeing children; and they frequently are placed in school districts which either provide inadequate facilities and services or are struggling to establish a satisfactory educational program.

2. They are particularly susceptible to anxiety because of pain, necessary medical care, fear of the future, disfigurement, social isolation, real limitations, and the greater efforts they must apply for the same level of attainment which normal children achieve. The reduced field of vision as it applies to struggles in reading is but one example of this requirement for increased effort.

3. The education of these children requires special technologies, unique materials, a wide variety of supplementary teaching approaches, highly trained educators, and rather specialized medical information. Moreover, proper educational placement is crucial if learning efficiency is to be attained and adverse psychological reactions avoided. Further, maximum classroom loads for special classes of the visually handicapped permissible under state reimbursement procedures are typically quite small. For example, eight is usually regarded as a "heavy load" for a braille class of blind children at the primary level. For this reason alone, the education of these children will be expensive. The high cost of braille material, optical aids, and large print books adds even more to this expense. More importantly, the services of many highly trained experts will be necessary for the education of visually handicapped children, such as ophthalmologists, special educators, psychologists, school nurses, school social workers, and ideally even peripetologists. In some cases at least, psychiatric consultation and/or treatment may also be highly desirable.

4. General educators, by their own admission, are not only quite ignorant regarding these children but also hold very unfavorable attitudes toward them. If an educational program for these children is to be successful, then, teachers will need appreciable interpretation, information, and support. Without administrative approval, moreover, the program will undoubtedly fail. The importance of administrative support in establishing an atmosphere of acceptance within the school has been elaborated by Cutts and Moseley.²² Even with this support, the chances of success are improved but not guaranteed. These factors suggest the importance of in-service training for classroom teachers regarding visual defects and their impact on children. The importance of this training is highlighted by the unrealistic perceptions many normally seeing children hold toward the abilities of students with severe visual defects.

In conclusion, these are indispensable deductions that one can derive from research and clinical experience regarding implications for the education of the visually handicapped. They are not exhaustive by any means. Nevertheless, it is the firm conviction of this writer that judicious consideration of these matters constitutes but a minimal basis for the initiation, implementation, and execution of a successful educational program for the visually handicapped child. In scientific terminology, solutions to these issues may be regarded as necessary but not sufficient conditions to conduct an effective educational program for visually defective children.

22 Norma Cotts and N. Moseley. *Teaching the Disorderly Pupil in Elementary and Secondary Schools*. New York: Longman's Green, 1957.

Inhumanities, Humanities, and the Teacher

The Humanities in the Schools,¹ a report on a "contemporary symposium" edited by Harold Taylor, and "The Humanities and Inhumanities," an article by Louis Kampf² (whose title we have adapted), have started us thinking again about the function of the humanities in colleges and schools today. More particularly, they have made us ponder the responsibility and plight of the teacher asked to nurture a "personal vision" by means of the humanities, to make his students "more human," more sensitive, more aware.

The symposium Dr. Taylor presents in his book met at the University of Kentucky in December, 1965. The idea was to bring together a small group of artists and critics who would be willing to talk with school people about the prospects of giving the arts and humanities a more central place in the curriculum. Papers were read by Dr. Taylor; Harold Rosenberg, the art critic; Stephen Spender, the poet; Stanley Kauffmann, film and literary critic; Robert Shaw, music director and conductor; and Edgar Friedenberg, sociologist and teacher. Educators from various parts of the country took part in discussions which Harold Taylor effectively distills for the reader of his book.

Objecting to the notion of the hu-

manities as "culture-containers, or value-containers, of courses in the higher things," Dr. Taylor writes that the primary purpose of all education ought to be humanistic. And then:

My proposal is, therefore, that we return to the root of the matter, in the quality and variety of experience available to the race, and that we consider education in the humanities not as a problem of developing a separate set of courses in a separate section of the curriculum, but as the creation of a spirit of inquiry and aesthetic interest throughout the whole curriculum and the entire environment of the school or college. The arts themselves must be a central element in that environment.

The responses of the artists and critics were seldom directed to the specific proposal; but they are worth contemplating, if only to discover some of the differences in vantage point between educators and those primarily concerned with the arts and letters. Stephen Spender lamented the general neglect of language, which he thought ought to be "intermediary between all things taught." Harold Rosenberg talked about bringing artists as well as works of art into universities and schools. Stanley Kauffmann challenged what he called some "democratic fallacies" in conceiving the teaching of the arts: "Any teacher

1 New York: Citation Press, 1968.

2 *The Nation*, September 30, 1968.

who is not an advocate of elitism, who does not approach the subject of art as the abbot of a religious order approaches novices—to find out which ones truly have the vocation, instead of trying to recruit them all—such a teacher is in my view a menace." Robert Shaw said that an art teacher *had* to believe that he was helping all his students in some fashion: "An art language, whatever it might be, is so essential somehow to the nature of man that everybody has a little bit of it, and this is the place he can be touched most."

But it is Edgar Friedenberg's argument which disturbs and challenges us most. As Harold Taylor points out, it is utterly "gloomy," lacking in hope. For Friedenberg (as his many readers know), the schools have "limitations as social organisms" which distort and limit the kind of artistic experiences with which they deal. He said at the symposium:

Much of what American public schools do about artistic experience may be attributed to three of the schools' most basic social functions. They are familiar: the transmission of culture, the promotion of social mobility, and the assimilation of youth of diverse backgrounds into a common American culture. These functions of the school have complemented each other in contributing to our historical development; but the effort they have jointly produced is antagonistic to, and probably cannot encompass, humanistic education.

The arts, for Friedenberg, are taught as "part of the pattern of middle-class life." Instead of learning to respond in their own authentic ways to works of art, students are taught

to take the "postures" associated with upper-middle-class attitudes towards the arts. In order to socialize the young effectively, in order to "process" them efficiently for the corporate society, the teacher tends to "subvert" the humanities, to avoid serious questions, to repress creativity. Given this sort of school, Professor Friedenberg finds the prospects dim. He cannot see the kinds of confrontation Dr. Taylor proposed occurring in classrooms geared to "common American culture"—to induction into some form of "Great Society."

His argument meshes with Louis Kampf's when Dr. Kampf writes about "the educator's myth of the moment" which "informs us of both the practicality and the transcendent beauty of a liberal (or humanistic) education." Like Friedenberg, he looks upon American schools as agents for the corporate enterprises, which "need managers who are not only steeped in the techniques of operations research but who are equally adept at quoting John Donne or T. S. Eliot." Why should they be adept at quoting poetry? "The exposure to literature, we are to assume, makes them better—indeed, more enlightened—managers." Quoting Max Weber, Kampf goes on to say that these managers are mere functionaries, caged bureaucrats, trained to oil "the corporate machine." So that enough goods may be consumed and the necessary rewards made available, such functionaries must be prepared for a "cultured" style of life so that they will not feel they are part of "a new industrial proletariat." The humanities are taught, therefore, in order to give the functionary a rationale for his existence, a sense of

connectedness with the cultural tradition. "Thus the master task of the humanities becomes one of accommodating students to the social dislocations of industrial society by hiding their painful apprenticeship—their rite of admission to an appropriate office—behind the mask of a traditional culture."

Professor Kampf's solution is to link liberal education to socially relevant activity. He would have students resist the tendency to make the courses they take a kind of "property." He would have them put their self-knowledge to work by becoming activist in the name of "our civilization's highest achievements" and some meaningful social ideal:

If liberal education is to perform its proper function—to help the students see things as they are, to face them humanely and freely—then that education must be placed within an appropriate social context. Creating this context becomes, consequently, the foremost task for the liberal arts.

Friedenberg and Kampf, it seems to us, are raising questions that have to be raised and ought to be confronted by teachers who are concerned. On the one hand, they are dealing with the issue once defined by Reinhold Niebuhr as that of "moral man in immoral society"; on the other hand, they are goading educators to consider whether (using George Counts' phrase) the schools "dare to change the social order." They are, clearly, not alone in pointing out the injustices and inhumanities of what Zbigniew Brzezinski (writing in *Encounter* a year ago) has called the "technetronic age" or those due to what Jacques Ellul (in

The Technological Society) calls "technique." They are not alone in crying havoc before the spectacle of increasing manipulateness and surveillance in our culture; nor are they alone in their suspicion that individuals are increasingly likely to be programmed or behaviorally engineered into compliance with the status quo. Throughout the country, rebellious young people, militant blacks, and conscience-struck intellectuals (each group in its distinctive idiom) are demanding self-determination and autonomy among structures they perceive as depersonalizing, inhumane. Our disagreement with Professors Friedenberg and Kampf is not so much with their diagnosis of the American predicament today. Rather, it is with the generality of their condemnations, the finality of their despair.

They speak of "the schools," of "education," of "the humanities," of "the corporate machine," of the "common culture"; but rarely, if ever, do they focus on the individual teacher and the kinds of choices he consciously makes. Rarely do they mention the fact that individual persons still feel themselves existing, in spite of "depersonalization" and the voracious corporate machine. We know as well as Friedenberg does that too many teachers still tend to be fearful, repressed, conforming, or "up tight" people. But we also know that many teachers have the capacity to generate cognitive activity in their classrooms, and that many actually do succeed in enabling their students to experience (on their own terms) works of art. We reject determinisms, including the determinism of the bureaucratic cage and the determinism of the corporate society.

Jean-Paul Sartre once wrote that poets as well as criminals come out of bad environments. It seems to us that teachers as well as functionaries may appear in the "technetronic" society's schools. All depends on whether the individual teacher acts upon his freedom in a situation which, as John Dewey made clear, is never "given," which must be "taken," interpreted, reflectively defined. But, unlike Louis Kampf, we cannot single out one sort of action—namely social protest—as the single desideratum. The individual teacher, we believe, must decide for himself on the "lack" in his particular situation at any moment of time. Acknowledging the more portentous "lacks" in the larger social context, we still think that teaching is one form of legitimate action and that a variety of options remain open when young people are moved to learn.

Arthur P. Mendel, in an article called "Robots and Rebels,"³ has presented an incisive critique of Brzezinski's (and others') enthusiastic "heralding the imminent arrival of a 'technetronic' age." Even Brzezinski, writes Mendel, for all his apparent willingness to accede to increasing technological "control," is able to see that "increasing attention will have to be given to giving man meaningful content—to improving the quality of life for man *as man*." But then Mendel turns to what he calls "the Great Refusal" evident in the advanced societies today. "The essential accusation of the Great Refusal," he says, "is directed against the subordination of human experience to the economic processes of the consumer society and its increasingly more absurd products, to the aggres-

sive militarism that at least in our case has become so tightly interwoven with this society, and to the gigantic, impersonal organizations through which it all functions." Friedenberg and Kampf tend to see this "Refusal" as the expression of a relatively few gifted students, who rebel creatively or passively or violently while their fellows (in the vast majority) continue toeing the line. Professor Mendel believes (challenging all determinisms) "that it is the rebels of the Great Refusal and not the technetronic servitors who speak for the future." What he says is relevant to our argument here in several ways. For one thing, he is asserting that all sorts of people (corporate society despite) are becoming conscious in a manner which excludes the kinds of "postures" Friedenberg describes. This means (at least to us) that the Friedenbergian generalization is far too sweeping, that more things remain possible than are dreamt of in his philosophy. It also means that the world of scholarship has not been made into a mere servitor (as Kampf seems to think) of the Establishment. Mendel writes:

I have in mind the increasing number of youth in universities and their growing role throughout the society; the spread among them of all sorts of cults for letting go and their leading involvement in all the movements opposed to Brzezinski's utopia; the revival among the social sciences of personalist, subjectivist approaches in opposition to the heretofore dominant behaviorists; the spread of the humanistic psychology movement; the not-so-coincidental upsurge of anthropological studies of primitive societies ... the richly emotional qualities

3 *The New Republic*, January 11, 1969.

of contemporary art; the leisure and sexual-sensual liberation . . . the ubiquitous sprouting of small groups of all sorts where personal communion is rediscovered.

According to Mendel, then, there is a revolution under way; and it might well be called—with Harold Taylor's view in mind—a humanistic revolution. Whether its power and pervasiveness are as great as Mendel seems to think is beside the point. Our concern is with individual teachers who, if impressed with Edgar Friedenberg's view on the built-in limitations of the schools, may well be overcome by feelings of futility. There is nothing worse than discovering you have been a functionary, a mere tool for the achievement of someone else's ends, when you have believed all the time that you were free. Images of Kafka's *The Castle* come to mind. You find yourself groping through corridors in search of an invisible (perhaps non-existent) king. In Taylor's book, Friedenberg is reported to have said that he felt "a combination of pity and terror" for the teachers who were doing their jobs well, "and certainly any admiration I felt had to be restricted to them and not extended generally to the enterprise with which they were associated." Harold Rosenberg, disagreeing with Friedenberg, agreed that there were many obstacles to humanistic education—"there by design and not through lack of intelligence." But he went on to say: "I think we should have started by saying, 'Is it utterly impossible to do anything? What *can* be done? What are the counterforces that would make it possible to do something in spite of the very solid existence of these conditions we are talking about?'"

There are counterforces, as Mendel has suggested; and there are possibilities. There is also the great potential within works of art, the "import" which can be made accessible to those enabled by good teachers to possess andprehend. Paul Goodman, who shares many of Friedenberg's and Kampf's feelings about American society, said a good deal of what literary art makes possible in an article called "Wordsworth's Poems"⁴ not long ago. Writing about how Wordsworth's "way of being in the world" had served him personally, Goodman makes the point that poetic expression reveals the world and the self as well to the poet. Concluding, he affirms that Wordsworth's "idea of pedagogy is true and primary; it is the beauty of the world and simple human affections that develop great-souled and disinterested adults." The fundamental question confronting the teacher, we believe, is—using Goodman's words—"how to produce disinterested and magnanimous people," people who are also free to be their authentic selves.

We are not claiming that a "mere" exposure to literature or the other arts can make "better" human beings. Nor are we claiming that it is enough to cultivate a personal vision, while refraining from action in the troubled world. We believe that human beings create themselves in choosing and in action; we do *not*, anymore than Kampf, accept the edict that "Thought may be free, but action is controlled." It is simply our view that teachers, even under the present difficult circumstances, have the opportunity to liberate young people for the action—the norm-governed

4 *The New York Times Book Review*, January 12, 1969.

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action—which is thinking. It is our view, as well, that they have the obligation to enable young people to decide (reflectively as well as authentically) what undertakings are relevant in their own life-worlds. The teacher is determined and controlled only if he agrees to be, only if he chooses irresponsibility and indifference, only when he refuses to care.

We have hope. We believe in the "Great Refusal." We perceive possibilities of creating a "community of rebels," as Kierkegaard once put it, rebels against the Weberian cage, rebels against processing and dehumanization, rebels against the "technetronic age." Where the humanities are concerned, Harold Taylor's concluding paragraph in *The Humanities in the Schools* may say what we have in mind better than we can:

If, in the beginning of such new efforts it is necessary to find the time for the arts and the humanities outside the regular classroom schedule, then start things there, secure in the faith that the enthusiasm and aesthetic energy of the students will carry the ideas from there straight into the curriculum itself. There is enough creative energy available for creative purposes in all of us to make certain that once the aesthetic impulse is released, it will carry the arts not only into the school curriculum, but to the ends of the earth.

It is up to the teacher. The teacher, we insist, remains free to choose.

MG

Teachers Should Understand Mankind

Gerhard Hirschfeld

Council for the Study of Mankind

Why should teachers understand mankind? Why should anybody understand mankind? There are not a few who believe we should not try to understand mankind. They have their reasons. They say people have enough problems that are more urgent and more important than a mankind which is hiding somewhere in the distant and nebulous future. They say mankind is so vast and complex and really unknown, it is a hopeless task, anyway. They say that mankind has existed thousands of years, and no one has been able to find out exactly what it is or means. Life has gone on happily, nevertheless. Why bother now?

Of all the reasons I would accept only one as valid. The idea of mankind is very old. It goes back to ancient Rome, to the Stoics, to Cicero and the younger Scipio. It goes farther back—to ancient Greece, to the group around Socrates. Still farther back to ancient Jerusalem and the Prophets of the Bible. And still farther to the ancient Egyptians, to Akhnaton. And farther back beyond that. What I mean by "mankind," I should add, comprises all nations, all religions, all disciplines and institutions, all cultures and civilizations, and, of course, all individual persons. And if that is not enough, one may

add the reality of the past and the potential of the future. All this is mankind. So one can understand why some people want to have nothing to do with it.

But others say: Yes, we should try to understand mankind. Religious orders, since time immemorial, have taught people to be tolerant and understanding toward all men. Intelligent men and women have always held that it behooves enlightened people to try to understand their age as it affects their life, their community, their nation as well as the rest of the world. Their underlying thought was and is that we really cannot understand ourselves unless we understand others.

Today, I submit, we have a far more compelling reason why we should understand mankind than any of those mentioned. The impact of scientific and technological advance has created unrivaled opportunities; it has also created problems of such scope and depth that no single agency can solve them. Among many others, the threat of nuclear war, population, food, automation, the loss of identity, the fading sense of values—are not parochial or segmental but universal or mankind problems. No single nation or bloc of nations can abolish war. No single bank or syndicate of banks can underwrite the eco-

conomic liberalization of the underdeveloped countries in Africa, Asia, Latin America, involving an investment of perhaps fifty billion dollars annually. No single industry or industrial cartel can solve the world problem of automation. No single educational organization, no matter how large, can solve the world problem of illiteracy. And so with population and food, with communication and water resources, geriatrics and medical care.

A Mankind Framework

The implication is clear. The eventual solution of these and related problems requires the mankind framework and mankind perspective. No segmental or parochial approach will suffice. The mankind framework and perspective require mankind understanding. Mankind understanding requires mankind education, i.e., education which gives due and deliberate attention to the mankind dimension and perspective. Here is where the teacher comes in. Only broader education can lead to the mankind plateau. But only the teacher can give us broader education.

In past ages, man had a choice. If he wanted to understand mankind, no one would stop him. If he was indifferent toward mankind, no one would care. Today, there is no choice. The understanding of mankind is a must if survival is what we want. This does not mean that scholars and scientists can provide that understanding tomorrow, and educators can apply it on all levels of education the following week. Involving so much on so vast a scale over so long a period of time, the understanding of mankind is the result of a long and tedious process alternating between research

and experimentation. One researches mankind history, applies the findings to experimental classroom teaching, discovers weaknesses and errors, resumes research and starts the process all over.

Why is present understanding of world affairs and world problems inadequate, no matter how many foreign countries and cultures we may cover in our studies? The simple answer is: Because we try to understand them in the segmental, not the universal perspective. Because things look different seen from the viewpoint of the nation and from that of mankind. Because we do not seem to be aware (or if we are aware, we pay little attention) that the change in perspective also changes the nature of the problem and therefore, the most promising approach and indicated solution.

Common Foundations

Take education. Seen from the perspective of the nation's interest, these problems are among the most important: desegregation; federal subsidies to public and private schools; the alarming drop-out rate of high-school students. Seen from the perspective of mankind's interest, some of the most important problems among the majority of the world's population are: the enormous extent of illiteracy; the great scarcity of schools and teaching personnel; the lack of communication and transportation; the scarcity of funds for any kind of organized education, let alone for teacher training and similar programs. This means that the measures which are effective in dealing with educational problems in the United States and other highly developed countries, are not likely to be effective

tive in the underdeveloped countries of Africa, Asia, Latin America, and other areas. Comprehensive knowledge of the workings of an American urban middle-class high school obviously is not the best preparation for the development of a secondary school program in the Congo. The correct evaluation of the educational problem in the less developed areas of the world requires new perspectives, new insights, new ideas. It requires above all an understanding of the idea of mankind as it relates to the educational situation in different parts of the world. Every situation is different, and should be; but all bear some relation to the idea of mankind as a common foundation at the bottom and an overarching concept at the top.

Take medical science. Looking at the great achievements of medical science in the highly developed countries, one is apt to see the miraculous way in which one disease after another is brought under medical control. But looking at medical science from the mankind point of view, one speaks accusingly of the incessant flow of infants being born in ignorance and social indifference; of ever more persons reaching a ripe old age which, however, lacks many of life's necessities. One speaks of the survival not only of the fittest but of the least fit. In the segmental perspective, the problem is largely medical; in the universal perspective, it is largely social, complicated by economic, cultural and political factors. The remedies which fit one diagnosis, do not fit the other.

Take automation. In the United States, the poorly designed and controlled (in the broad social sense) application of principles, devices and

methods has helped create massive unemployment, estranged men from their jobs, undermined and confused personal values—all of which may and often does cause serious dislocations in the attitude of and personal relationships within the family. In the newly developing countries, the problems are of a different order: how to protect native traditions, beliefs and values against the powerful impact of highly automated technological devices; how to balance largely undeveloped resources against the rising expectations of the people; how to finance and build an automated industry (if that is what is wanted) on top of a poor semi-agricultural economy. The techniques which are designed for and work well in the framework of the American economy, do not work at all when transferred to basically different conditions in less developed countries.

New Lights on History

In a similar sense, the shift in perspective changes the meaning of freedom. In the perspective of the Russian people, the meaning of freedom is different than in the perspective of the American people; the interpretation of the Indians is different from that of the Latin-Americans. Looking at freedom from the mankind point of view, we find that mankind freedom differs from all of these in that it includes all kinds of freedom. Conversely, none of the national freedoms can qualify as true mankind freedom. In a pluralistic society, which a mankind system by its very nature would have to be, there would be more than one interpretation of loyalties, of commitments, of human rights and obligations.

These examples are cited, not to minimize the importance of the nation but to emphasize the vast difference which the mankind perspective makes in the evaluation of any major problem. However, unless we have the correct evaluation, we can hardly expect to find the right solution or any solution. Incorrect evaluations lead to substantial omissions, even errors, for example, in the teaching of world history. There are not a few high schools where the teaching of Indian history starts with the conquest by Clive, and the teaching of Japanese history with the arrival of Commander Perry in the Bay of Yedo in 1854—as if the true history and rich tradition of these and other Asian countries did not go back several thousand years.

This kind of historical misinterpretation would not be possible if world history were taught from a mankind perspective. It is likely that, seen from this perspective, world history would appear in an altogether different light. We may find Ghengis Khan emerging as a more important world figure than Henry VIII., Simon Bolivar may loom a greater man than Charles V., and Akhbar, ruler of the Mogul Empire, greater than Elizabeth I.

Transcending Limitations

What, then, must be done to make education a major factor in the affairs of mankind? Among basic requirements I would suggest:

- a) the need to transcend national, cultural, racial, political and social limitations;
- b) the need to learn to think in terms of mankind and to evaluate issues and problems in the framework of mankind;

- c) the need to refine educational programs to a point where special emphasis is placed upon the teaching of responsibility to society, and of commitment, first, to the awareness, then, to the understanding, finally, to the interests of mankind as a whole.

The need to transcend national, cultural and other limitations is accentuated by the fact that all individuals grow up in a limited environment, the effect of which, in the process of maturing, is tantamount to indoctrination. The latter is most effective when the balancing factors, which operate outside the limited environment, are weak or absent. The effort to transcend must then concentrate upon broadening the original environment by including the balancing factors. In the case of the teaching of world history, this would mean the broadening of teaching what is largely Western and, to a considerable extent, American history by including a proportionate share of the realities of true world or universal history. By doing this, teachers would be re-interpreting the approach to, as well as the perspective and the framework of, the history course. The same rule would apply to any other social science or, for that matter if in different degree, natural science course. The mankind approach and perspective should not be strangers to any teaching course.

Obviously, the ability to transcend depends upon the ability to think in mankind terms. I find that the process of transcending consists of three steps:

- 1) the awareness of the need for transcending national and other limitations;

- 2) the understanding of the reasons why, which will suggest:
- 3) the course of action, i.e., the dissatisfaction with parochial and segmental explanations, coupled with the determination to concentrate upon evaluating the relevant subject from the point of view of mankind as a whole.

My experience indicates that transcending the segmental may be more difficult (often being a habit of long standing—therefore, children may be exempt from this experience) than the application of the mankind point of view which also may turn into a habit. If one manages to think consistently of mankind in relation to a given major topic, it becomes second nature. It would be logical to conclude that the mankind interpretation would serve as the balancing factor in the current teaching of world history.

Mastery and Formation

The learning of mankind thinking would seem to be mostly a matter of thought control combined with self-education, the latter involving the vast literature on world events found in books, paperbacks, magazines, the daily and weekly press, radio, television, films. While they are not ready-made for the purpose of gauging the mankind dimension, they contain the material out of which the mankind interpretation and meaning is stamped and molded. One must master this material before one can work on the formative process. Indeed, one is apt to find that the two merge in a mighty stream of lava erupting from the same crater. But they have different names. Seen through national binoculars, they are, say, the race issue involving in the United States: equal rights, black

power, job opportunity, decent housing and related issues. Seen through mankind binoculars, they involve one single issue: the dignity of man. And it is not primarily a principle of equality or opportunity, recognition, job, housing or power—it is a deep and abiding moral right, the right of a human being. It does not involve one nation or one race or one color. It involves all of them.

That is why teachers should understand mankind. If they are to be successful as teachers in this broader sense, they must be prepared to blend the literature on world events with the formative process of the mankind interpretation for the teaching of a) responsibility of the future citizens regarding their obligations to family and community, and b) the meaning of commitment regarding the nation and mankind as a whole. Only in this way can their potential as individuals be maximized, can they obtain an education which will help them in meeting the profound problems and issues they are bound to be confronted with as mature persons. The noted educator, Professor Robert Ulich, expressed the need this way:

All the great teachers of mankind aimed at something more profound than mere instruction, acquisition of knowledge, usefulness and efficiency. Rather, they believed that education, through widening man's intellectual horizon, should at the same time lead him deeper into his own self, and this not merely for the purpose of developing his individuality but for the purpose of helping him to discover the unity of his own striving with the hopes and ideals, also the loneliness, the sins, the sufferings and the aggressive tendencies of all mankind. . . .¹

- 1 Robert Ulich, Ed. *Education and the Idea of Mankind*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1964, p. xvi.

Professor Mark M. Krug says:

Adhering to the rules of historical evidence, the teacher ought to balance the story of man's inhumanity to man, of wars, and of the relentless struggle for the survival of the fittest with the equally strong manifestation of striving toward a universally better world. He might find more than enough evidence for the thesis that cultures and civilizations in all ages of history tended to intermingle, assimilate, and diffuse, and that this diffusion has often contributed to the advancement and enrichment of the entire human race.²

Professor Elliot W. Eisner puts it this way:

If students are to think with clarity about the concept of mankind, the value questions with which they cope should be related, as far as possible, to those issues that touch their lives. More meaningful ethical theory, sociology, and psychology can be taught in analysis of James Meredith's entrance into the University of Mississippi than in any long-range series of obtuse discussions on the nature of the good.... It is through a concern with human problems as they relate to mankind at large that it may be possible to create the type of understanding that it may be possible to create the type of understanding that will enable man to use with wisdom those tools which have made this century the most promising and the most perilous he has ever known.³

Difficulties in the Way

The goal of enlightened teaching is clear for all to see. But so are the difficulties which the progressive teach-

er is likely to encounter. Two major difficulties may be mentioned. One is the lack of persistent and methodical thought on mankind as an indivisible entity. Few teachers, comparatively speaking, have familiarized themselves with the concept of mankind, and are thus prepared to discuss in broad outline the meaning and the relationship of nations, religions, institutions, disciplines, cultures, civilizations as well as individuals to mankind as a whole. Some teachers, by an ingenious way of adaptation, have succeeded to add a mankind dimension to their teaching. Others have tried without success, lacking the necessary background and preparation. It is perhaps correct to say that most high school teachers require special preparation and guidance in communicating the idea of mankind as related to the human society if they are to make a significant contribution to the broader and better understanding of the meaning of our age.

The other difficulty is the lack of material for both teachers and students. To be sure, books dealing with mankind as a whole have been written by Teilhard de Chardin, H. G. Wells, Arnold Toynbee, Pitirim Sorokin, Alfred Korzybski and others. However, these and similar books are not (and are not meant to be) consistent and methodical efforts to explore the idea of mankind as an organized system in relation to the parts which compose it. They do not tell the story in depth, on a comprehensive scale, and in unbroken sequence. Toynbee deals with the parts rather than with the whole of mankind. As a result, there is not now adequate material available which will enable teachers to apply the idea of mankind to their courses, and enable students

2 Council for the Study of Mankind, "Teaching the Concept of Mankind in World History," pp. 34-35.

3 Council for the Study of Mankind, "Education and the Idea of Mankind."

to obtain an understanding of the impact of that idea upon and its meaning to our civilization and our age. Two more recent volumes on world history might be mentioned, one by Leften Stavrianos, the other by William H. McNeill. The latter's *Rise of the West* is a history of the human community in terms of a variety of cultures and civilizations rather than a history of the concept of mankind.

The Council

Obviously, adequate mankind material can hardly be gathered by a single author or presented in a single book. The UNESCO History of Mankind attempted to avoid these difficulties by organizing its project on a world-wide scale. Recognizing the urgent need for and the present lack of material dealing with the idea of mankind as a whole, the organization with which I am associated, the "Council for the Study of Mankind," located in Santa Monica, California, has made a small beginning to fill the gap.

The history of the Council goes back to the spring of 1952, when a few noted scholars at the University of Chicago, among them Herbert Blumer (Sociology), Richard P. McKeon and Charles Morris (Philosophy), Quincy Wright (Political Science), the late Robert Redfield (Anthropology), also Adolf A. Berle (Law, Columbia University), began to hold informal sessions on the subject of mankind. They did not quite know what they meant by "mankind," nor were they able to define the term. Nor did they even seek a concept of mankind in the sense of ideological agreement in a doctrine or philosophy. They rather thought of the concept in the sense of a framework within which to discuss common ac-

tions, associations, attitudes, and values.

Like many others, the scholars were disturbed by the grave and urgent problems facing all humanity regardless of race, creed, color, nationality. But when they looked at the proposed solutions, they found that they were American, French or Chinese solutions, democratic or communist, management or labor, Christian, Jewish or Buddhist, white or Negro—but never mankind solutions. The question arose: "Can we expect to solve universal problems by segmental solutions?" The answer was self-evident and in the negative. In order to understand, let alone, to solve, the problems of mankind, we must learn to understand the meaning of mankind, i.e., its relationship to the parts which make up mankind.

With this decision under its belt, the group set out to arrange a number of conferences dealing with various disciplines as related to the idea of mankind. Fifteen conferences, lasting from two to six days, have so far been held. They included Philosophy, Education, Science, Economics, History, Technology, Law, Nationalism, Mental Health, and others. The attendance averaged 20 to 25, half of whom were specialists in the respective discipline while the other half represented a blending of other disciplines.

The conferences were followed by the preparation and publication of books. The first volume, *Education and the Idea of Mankind*, was edited by Professor of Education Robert Ulich, Emeritus, Harvard University, and published by Harcourt, Brace and World (1964). The second volume, *Economics and the Idea of Mankind*, was edited by Professor of Economics

Bert Hoselitz, The University of Chicago, and published by Columbia University Press (1965). The third volume, *The Unity of Mankind in World History*, is now being completed and is scheduled for publication in 1969. Future volumes are to deal with Law, Technology, Population, the Humanities, Communications, and other subjects.

Hand in hand with the preparation of these materials goes their application to educational programs. Panel sessions on the idea of mankind have been held under the auspices of the National Council for the Social Studies. Workshop meetings have been held at Wingspread, Conference Center of The Johnson Foundation in Racine, Wisconsin, with high school and elementary school teachers attending; also smaller group discussions in New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and other cities. A series of monographs on the idea of mankind, specially prepared for high school teachers, has been completed on World History, Education, Science, Philosophy, Technology and Anthropology—with monographs on the Humanities, The Idea of Mankind, Economics, Law and Government still awaiting completion. It is hoped that all of the monographs may be published even-

tually in a volume *Social Studies and the Idea of Mankind—A Series of Monographs*.

To make the idea of mankind a new and powerful instrument in the effort to give our youth a better education and a broader understanding, i.e., better preparation to deal effectively with the problems of the future, it may be helpful to remember:

- 1) the process of education (in mankind thinking) should not begin with the students but with ourselves or, in this case, the teachers;
- 2) it should develop hand in hand with the selection and processing of the required materials;
- 3) the student may find it easier than the teacher to think in the mankind perspective; he is a product of the mankind age; mankind as a whole is his natural environment unless it is broken up by artificial interference.

The student may not be a friend of abstract ideas. But neither may he have to be sold on the idea that scientific technology has made the world one and that it belongs to mankind, and to no one with better right than to himself.

On the College for Human Services

Mrs. Audrey C. Cohen
Women's Talent Corps
c/o THE RECORD

Dear Mrs. Cohen:

Just to set THE RECORD straight, you should know that your article published in the April, 1968, edition of THE RECORD (Vol. 69, No. 7, pages 665-683) titled "The College for Human Services," while identifying a legitimate need, contains certain inaccuracies.

On page 665, for example, you say, "... not one of the 2000 or more institutions of higher learning in the United States makes college education possible for the population reached by the Women's Talent Corps," and further that "... no opportunity (now exists) for the mature dropout whose preparation is deficient to learn to make the best possible use of his or her talents in the service of society in general and his or her own community in particular." Again, on page 666, you say, "Special programs for high school dropouts, such as they are, have been geared to teen-agers. They have made no effort to meet, if indeed they recognize, the demand for continuing education from mature working men and women," and that "The 'war on poverty' and the pressures for equal opportunity from minority groups have resulted in many thousands of scholarships and special compensatory programs with federal or found-

dation support," but "These have come too late for women living and working in our inner cities who now wish they could continue their education and prepare for more useful lives."

Again, on page 666, you say, "Not one of the existing experimental colleges, however—not Antioch, Bennington, or even Goddard—addresses the problem of providing higher education for the mature working people of our cities."

You should know that the Office of Economic Opportunity, Project Head Start, contracted with Educational Projects, Incorporated, in June of 1967 to implement and administer the Head Start Supplementary Training Program. The program is a "New Careers" training program based on an academic model, providing an opportunity for Full Year Head Start staff to work toward two- and four-year college degrees in Early Childhood Education and related areas.

Close to 75% of the 6,000 Full Year Head Start staff currently in training at over 150 two- and four-year colleges in 47 of the 50 states and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico are nonprofessionals, a substantial proportion of whom dropped out of high school, and all of whom are mature adults recruited from below the poverty guide line. Your statement on page 667 that "In less than a year of operation the Corps has demonstrated that women of lim-

ited education and experience can, with proper training, perform unique functions as assistants to the professionals in community agencies, helping to bridge the distance between professional workers and the people they serve" must be modified to include the similar accomplishments of Head Start Supplementary Training Program.

In the Supplementary Training Program, all courses are offered for full college credit and count toward a two-year degree or a certificate equivalent to two years of college. All credit earned in the two-year degree program is fully transferable toward a four-year degree at any of the participating institutions, and retroactive credit is given to those successfully completing college level courses once they have completed the GED.

In many instances our institutions, which, by the way, include Goddard College, have dropped the requirements for a high school diploma or an admission examination and have admitted our nonprofessional trainees, mostly mature women, as special students and have changed their status to regular students after they have demonstrated that they can, in fact, do college level work. After one year of operation, ending June 30, 1968, based upon the grades of close to 6,000 trainees, only 1.7% of our trainees failed to pass courses at the college level, and just over 8% withdrew from courses due to social or personal reasons.

The plan to which you refer for the need for a College for Human Services that "... breaks the mold of traditional colleges ..." exists in embryo now. There is a network of two- and four-year colleges of high-

er education nationally committed to the principles outlined on page 676 of your article. For example, in the Head Start Supplementary Training Program:

1. We are meeting the people of the ghetto where they are educationally, and are assisting them to prepare for equivalency examinations at the secondary level;
2. These people are involved in a work study program while employed as full-time Head Start staff members and at the same time taking courses toward two- or four-year degrees at a local participating institution of higher education;
3. Courses are offered in Head Start Centers, libraries, local public schools, as well as on campus;
4. Traditional courses are being modified and new methods of course presentation are being developed, offering professional level courses first and relating all course work to the experiences of the trainees in the Head Start Program; and
5. Participating institutions do offer a variety of curricula tailored to the individual needs of trainees and designed to offer opportunities to earn two- and four-year degrees in diversified fields of specialization.

Let me say in closing that I enjoyed reading your article and highly commend the work of the Women's Talent Corps, and share completely your enthusiasm for the development of Colleges of Human Services. However, I felt compelled to inform you that such a program as you pro-

pose already exists, and to suggest that perhaps the efforts of Project Head Start in the Head Start Supplementary Training Program and the programs sponsored by the Women's Talent Corps should join hands in making the public aware of this critical need.

I am attaching a copy of our Fourth Quarterly Report on the Head Start Supplementary Training Program, and a copy of the Head Start Supplementary Training brochure. These will serve as an introduction to our program.

I look forward to an opportunity to meet with you and discuss our mutual interests in greater detail.

John C. Flynn
Director

Educational Projects, Incorporated
Washington, D.C.

Mrs. Cohen replies:

Dear Mr. Flynn:

Before I respond to the points you raise in your letter, may I say that I am very impressed with the material you sent me. Your program has my sincere admiration for both its organization and direction, and I would very much like to meet with you to discuss ways in which we might be able to work together. I believe that much could be accomplished if we joined forces.

However, in answer to your letter, the following facts are pertinent. Women's Talent Corps began actual operation as a New Careers training program in the summer of 1966 and graduated its first 113 trainees in June 1967. Shortly after initiating our 30-week work-study program, designed to open up new career opportunities in the human services for women of poverty level income and

limited education, it became evident that the educational and career needs of this population would best be met in a two-year college program with more extended academic offerings than was possible in a 30-week program. Work was immediately begun on developing a college and curriculum specially tailored to the needs of such students. This was and is the College for Human Services.

Although the article on the College did not appear in *The Record* until April, 1968, it was first published by us in mimeo form for private distribution in May 1967. At that time there were no educational programs in higher academic institutions even remotely relevant to the needs of or open to adult poverty groups. The contract between OEO and Educational Projects, Inc. was, as you point out, signed in June 1967.

However, even today, while 150 or more two- and four-year institutions now offer courses to Head Start employees, these low income adults have access to these institutions only by virtue of their being paid employees of full year Head Start Programs attending under special arrangements between your organization and the university or college in question.

To the best of my knowledge, not one of the 150 schools participating in the Head Start Supplementary Training Program is opening its doors directly to any qualified motivated adult who lacks the standard academic credentials. On the other hand, the College for Human Services is open to all qualified low-income adults with or without academic credentials or affiliations. Colleges are beginning to move in the direction outlined in our article and we are encouraged.

Also, the courses offered for college credit to program participants by these 150 institutions seem limited largely to the field of early childhood and a few related areas. The College for Human Services is more comprehensive, with a combined work-study program in a variety of fields. In addition to education the College will offer an opportunity to enter careers in the fields of health (both physical and mental), legal services and various social and welfare services.

The College for Human Services and the Women's Talent Corps Institute from which it evolved, in addition to offering training for semi-professional positions in a wide variety of fields, also assumed the responsibility of opening up these positions. The task of negotiating for jobs with unions, administrators and civil service as well as the constant battle to formulate job descriptions and improve career lines is an ongoing one which we are prepared to continue. As you can well understand, this kind of activity requires a great deal of time and energy, not only on the part of the administration of the College for Human Services, but the faculty as well. Our faculty (Coordinator-Trainers) are not confined to the classrooms, but rather form a very strong link between the academic work and the field training, serving both to reinforce the learning process and to assure that the field experience is a meaningful one.

Your success in persuading established institutions of higher education to participate in your program and make changes in their requirements and courses is of great importance. We are convinced, however, that the kind of innovations we have pro-

posed are still unique and absolutely necessary in order to provide educational and career opportunities for the millions of poor whose life and circumstances have precluded them from following the regular academic route and in the usual time sequence.

Perhaps a joining of forces would help to hasten the changes both of us see as so necessary. I look forward to an opportunity to meet with you sometime soon, and wish you every success with your program.

Mrs. Gluck challenges:

To the Editor:

Audrey C. Cohen's report on "The College for Human Services" reveals what can be accomplished by a society committed to the ideal of equal opportunity as a necessary condition for justice. Yet, her report is as disturbing as it is challenging, in that it also reveals what happens when ideals become ideology; when judgment about means is faulted by fixation on ends; and what may happen when action becomes the replacement for contemplation rather than its culmination. Mrs. Cohen is the founder of the Women's Talent Corps, out of which the College for Human Services will hopefully emerge; and the substance of her article is not primarily about the "College" but about the Corps; beginning with a rather lengthy justification for its existence. One must assume that what she has written is not only faithful to the facts, but is the product of her own value judgments as to which facts are relevant to *our* evaluation; and to the evaluations made by officials in other cities wherein she hopes to establish similar institutions. Unfortunately, there are many critical issues that are *not* discussed but

which are indeed relevant, and I propose to raise only some of them here.

1. The Corps was organized in New York City in 1964, funded by the Federal government, and "announced" in 1966. Its task is to develop an "action-centered approach to the training of women from ghetto neighborhoods for careers in community service." (665)¹ Approximately half of those accepted are high school dropouts, the only requirement being that they be able to read and write. (669) In 1966-67 the Corps trained one hundred fifteen women; in 1967-68, two hundred more. On the basis of this sample, Mrs. Cohen asserts that "In less than a year of operation the Corps has demonstrated that women of limited education and experience can, with proper training, perform unique functions as assistants to the professionals in community agencies. . . ." (667)²

The gap that the Corps proposes to fill is delineated in Mrs. Cohen's *cahier* of the inadequacies of existing educational institutions. Evening high school programs are, as she says, "discouragingly long and drawn out" and often at impossible hours for working mothers. Special programs for dropouts are geared for a much younger age group. Her criticisms of American colleges are, however, ideological. Specifically, she com-

plains that even the urban colleges (let alone the upper middle-class liberal havens of Antioch, Bennington, and the like) are not "people's colleges" and "make little or no attempt" to be people's colleges. (666) Classes are not even scheduled for the workingman, who "confronts the same, set, departmentalized courses and the routine requirements designed for middle-class young people and . . . unchanged for a generation or more." Mrs. Cohen asks of the usefulness and relevance to ghetto life, of "English-A, Introduction to Sociology, six credits of laboratory science." (666) The Women's Talent Corps was created to provide the hitherto unavailable "useful and relevant" education.

Despite the "demonstrated" success to which Mrs. Cohen alludes, certain questions arise out of her article itself. For example, the selection panel that screened applicants included psychologists and sociologists whose decisions were based on "a group interview plus a written test developed specifically for the purpose" because no existing test was suitable. "Critical factors were personality, attitude, and commitment to community service." (669) Yet, the newly developed special test is not even sketchily described, let alone even partially reproduced in the article; nor are we told how the personality, attitude, and commitment of *individuals* can be assessed in a group interview.

The program trains women for "career positions in education, health, and social welfare." These are called "pre-professional jobs": "Teacher Assistants, Guidance Assistants, Library Assistants, Social Work Assistant, Occupational and Recreational Therapy Assistants, etc."; all of them

1 Some of the facts about the Corps, and a few others, are drawn from an interview with Mrs. Cohen in *Vogue* (October 15, 1968), pp. 98-99.

2 Only 9 percent are white, the others being Negro, Asian, American Indians, and Spanish-speaking Puerto Ricans. All meet the U.S. Department of Labor criteria for poverty—\$3200 or less annual income. The women range in age from 21 to the late 50's.

"new career lines" in community agencies. Moreover, the job descriptions at these "new levels of entry" are prepared by the trainees themselves, "with staff support." (667-68) However, it is necessary to look closely at these job descriptions. For example, what does a "Teacher Assistant" do?

... keeping grade books, conducting remedial reading sessions in small groups, correcting papers and workbooks, tutoring individual pupils, assisting teachers with small groups, ... [serving as language interpreters], operating audio-visual equipment, giving make-up examinations, gathering background material for classroom lectures, visiting parents, and arranging for interesting visitors. ... (672)

Now, out of a total of 315 trainees, half are high school dropouts, though all of them must "read and write." But at what level of literacy? Using only this criterion, must we not make some distinctions between keeping grade books or operating film projectors, and remedial reading, correcting papers, or tutoring? At least three important intellectual skills are required for these latter tasks. First, sufficient knowledge of the subject to insure the pupil against being the victim of the teacher's shortcomings. Secondly, the experience and conceptual insight that can discern *why* a student is deficient, not merely that he is deficient; and that is also able to discover the student of exceptionally high ability. Third, there must be the ability to *explain* what is not understood or demonstrate how a task should be executed. Loving patience with the slow learner or poor reader is simply not enough. It is

never a replacement for, but only an adjunct to knowledge and teaching ability. These are not clerical jobs, like attendance keeping or recording grades.

These same questions apply with even more urgency to the position of "Guidance Assistant." No job description is given: what does she do? Administer standardized intelligence or aptitude tests? Advise a student on occupational choice? Give counseling in cases of academic difficulties, social difficulties within the school situation, or family troubles? What actual working relationship obtains between the assistant and someone more highly qualified? How is a Guidance Assistant chosen, trained, and followed up? And by whom?

The other social service area in which Mrs. Cohen describes her Talent Corps' accomplishments is work in hospitals.

... no such position as Social Work Assistant existed. Now ... [they] are touring the wards to obtain information for the social worker, talking with children to decrease their sense of trauma (sic!) at being in the hospital, collecting data for a special research project on asthma, participating in group discussions and seminars concerning hospital and personnel problems, serving as hostesses to visitors, working with the Welfare Department to arrange for a family to move, hunting for an apartment with the client, and making school visits on behalf of a hospitalized child. (672)

And, the paragraph concludes:

The mere fact of analyzing and drawing up specific descriptions of jobs being done by pre-profession-

als has helped immeasurably to pave the way for establishment of permanent positions.

Again, a variegation of tasks that cannot be approached with a single, simplistic program. Helping families to relocate, and home-hospital-school liaison are clearly on the Assistant level and are activities that have been publicly acknowledged to be understaffed. To soothe a frightened child requires long experience as a human being—better yet, as a mother; and such instinctive humane expertise is doubtlessly made more sensitive by the training in the Corps. But what information for the social worker can be obtained by the assistant, other than that which already appears on the hospital records? Any number of routine questions may be asked: marital status, number of marriages, number of siblings and children living and dead, and the like. But is the "pre-professional" well enough trained to elicit *truthful and non-evasive* answers to other questions—about family background and his own family troubles; job difficulties; or clues to psychiatric disturbance? Of what specific non-professional work does the assistant relieve the professional social worker? Does the latter person still see the patient? If not, does he rely on the Assistant's report, or decide whether to visit or not on the basis of that report? And, if the social worker does see the patient, does he re-evaluate the data from the Assistant, or does he approach the patient on the basis established by the "pre"-professional Assistant? None of these questions are anticipated by Mrs. Cohen. Although it is manifestly impossible, in a document of less than monograph length, to describe these interactions

in every one of the new occupations, they are not even mentioned in the two examples (education-and-guidance and medical social work) which Mrs. Cohen chooses to mention. One reads also, with no little trepidation, that Corps trainees have also created a job with the title "Mental Health Assistant." (671) In Dr. Reik's terms, who makes a bedside visit to listen with the Third Ear?

Mrs. Cohen reports that various agencies in New York City "agreed to cooperate" (668, 671, 672); that there were consultations with national and local experts (668); and (e.g.) that the demand for trainees is growing rapidly in hospitals (671) and in schools (671, 673). This leads to further questions about objective controls, especially a procedure for following up on-the-job performance after the field training of twenty hours duration. (669)

Before inquiring into the content of the training program itself, let us examine an aspect of the *raison d'être* of the program which obtrudes again and again. The repeatedly avowed social purpose of the program is to create permanent jobs that are not only distributively valuable to society as a whole, but have the additional worth of helping disadvantaged and discouraged individuals to realize their potential. These are *principles* that I accept both intellectually and wholeheartedly; my questions, which again are engendered by the substance of Mrs. Cohen's essay, are about the ways in which these principles are implemented. Consider the following sections:

An important contribution to developing new career lines is the preparation of job descriptions with-

in established agencies, a task being accomplished by the trainees themselves, with staff support. (668)

Or again:

Notable progress has also been made in the preparation of job descriptions, setting down on paper the precise functions being performed by . . . new careerists. (672)

And again:

Specifically, the . . . Corps enlists the support of supervisors and administrators by involving them in the training process from the beginning, and by teaching trainees to analyze and write up their functions in the form of a job description. Each trainee, in effect, develops the job as she trains in it, and at the same time persuades her supervisor, through demonstration, of the need for a permanent job line. (673)

Although we are told that there have been "letters from many enthusiastic supervisors" (and some glowing praise from school principals is briefly quoted), the emphasis is clearly most on the success in creating jobs. Yet, the Corps trainees are simply *describing* what they *do*, not *specifying* what ought, or *needs*, to be done. In professional personnel administration there is an important difference between a job description and a job specification. The description lists the duties and responsibilities of the position. The specification lists the knowledge, abilities, and sometimes the temperament that an individual should possess to enable him to fulfill the position. Obviously, someone has to write the originals of both documents, usually a supervisor in an existing position related to the proposed new ones. When there is

growth, change, and re-evaluation, the experienced incumbent often does write his version of the job description, to be compared with the original and especially with future needs. Here, however, we find new incumbents in new jobs writing descriptions (but not specifications) as part of a campaign of "persuasion." Clearly, jobs are enlarged in the performance thereof, and progressive organizations welcome voluntary and creative enlargement of responsibility (with a wary eye on empire-building, of course). But how many of the first-cycle *graduates* of the Talent Corps were in a position to write job descriptions, let alone while they were trainees? In terms of the great success of the program, how many *different types* of positions were distributed among the first 115 graduates, or even the total to date? How were the descriptions written by the various trainees in like positions evaluated, combined, and standardized? For that matter, how many different positions have been persuaded into existence? To what extent do they exist to fit the specifications of Talent Corps graduates—the lowest common denominator of the group? What are the employment histories of the first and second-cycle classes?

Let us now consider the curriculum of the Talent Corps, to the extent that it is revealed. One of its strengths is a lesson learned from the university curricula of the social service disciplines: provision for conscious feedback from the field training sessions back into the classroom; carried through by the "coordinator-trainers"—the experienced professionals who conduct the classes. But in contrast, there are some peculiar

anomalies. The classroom program

deals with facts, skills, and attitudes. Trainees are introduced to basic concepts of psychology, sociology, and education as applied to everyday problems. (669)

Yet, Mrs. Cohen's narrative begins with a denunciation of the American college, for, among other reasons, the irrelevance to ghetto life of "English-A, Introduction to Sociology, six credits of laboratory science." (666) Even if we plead no contest to the laboratory science, how are *basic concepts* in the social sciences taught in the Corps to high school dropouts, so as to be meaningful in a way that college courses are not? This would seem to be very important also because "remedial work in *basic skills*" is also an important part of the curriculum" where needed on an individual basis (669, italics supplied). It should be noted that nowhere is there an analysis of the basic skill deficiencies of the group.

2. As of the publication date of Mrs. Cohen's article the College for Human Services is yet to be born; though we are given assurances that the Talent Corps staff "*proposes* to use as consultants a group of experienced and imaginative leaders in appropriate academic fields" (679, italics supplied). The "broad guidelines," she writes, "*will be* developed into working papers..." (Ibid., italics supplied).

A curriculum conference is proposed for mid-1968. Top level consultants from the fields of education, psychology, and related areas will be asked to meet with key staff for *two or three days* to react

to the revised guidelines, submit their own minimum and optimum proposals, and map out the essential areas and relationships of curriculum content (679-80, italics supplied).³

Unfortunately, the proposed College appears to represent the further hardening of ideology, a monolithic stance that is also not enhanced by factual error and internal contradictions. Mrs. Cohen's cardinal demand is that we "put the liberal arts in perspective" (681) by plunging into "a mature and useful learning program, highly relevant to the population for whom it is designed." (Ibid.) This program, according to her, is "not ... greatly different in content from the two years of senior college for majors in sociology, psychology, or education." (Ibid.) Here she not only misunderstands the nature of a liberal education, but appears to have misread, or not to have read, college catalogues. The liberal arts are not simply a two-year "interim" of general education before professional education. Moreover, a cursory examination of many college catalogues would reveal that the elementary proposed courses in "advanced" areas are required of students by their second year. Concentration in the final two years does not mean neglect in the first two, any more than the first two years gets the liberal arts over-and-done-with, with no advanced elective courses at a later date. Her quotation from an address by the President of Cornell University is so out of context as to be irrelevant. (682)

Secondly, her proposal for an integrated core curriculum is not in-

3 The mid-October *Vogue* interview still refers to this as in the future.

novative. In truth, it is in those very colleges that she castigates as elitist, for upper-middle-class liberals (666) that the core concept is frequently used; and examples exist in her own New York area. Moreover, the core concept is itself an expression of the essence of a liberal education: the integration of knowledge through discovery, the use of historical and other developmental frames of reference, cross-fertilizations, and above all the criteria for analysis and evaluation, both intellectual and moral. It is painfully true that a great many college students regard their liberal education in medieval terms, but the true liberal arts university is in the Renaissance mold, in which a liberal education is distinguished from a vocational one. The proposed College for Human Services has unconsciously adopted the liberal arts form while deliberately eschewing its content. Even the professional curricula in education, engineering, and business recognize the need: not for the instant-kultur of a "humanities sequence," but of the habits of mind and social perspective that are achieved via the study of history, philosophy, mathematics, and even the arts. For the proposed College to exclude these subjects because of social exigencies may be a sad but understandable necessity from their point of view. For it to reject them as undesirable, irrelevant, and by implication as the intellectual weapons of a conservative establishment, is a distortion of reality that only encourages *ad hoc* immediate solutions to long-term problems extending into at least the next generation. This is a "pragmatic" approach in the rudest, most popularized sense of the term. The Deweyan distinction between training and education is ignored.

Finally, it is unclear to the present writer how academic subjects—not only their "facts" but their concepts, principles, and theories—can be taught to people who are *simultaneously* being given remedial work in the Three R's at the secondary school level (676-77 *passim*). Moreover, in neither the Corps nor the College do we learn what types of examinations (however unlike college examinations Mrs. Cohen may wish to make them) will be used to simply find out if the trainees know anything more than the mechanics of the jobs they have created. (And yet, it is claimed that the College will be compatible with conventional university courses of study.) (680-682)

3. For whom do the Corps and the College really exist? Although trainee placement is into community service organizations, the repeated emphasis is on the creation of jobs for the personal benefit of the *trainees*—for their intellectual and spiritual satisfaction as well as providing gainful employment for them. But for the various institutions to accomplish *their* goals in community service they must have competent and reliable performance, with an economic balance between their services and their activities in the training of people to perform the services. The trainees' own development as persons, though of prime legitimacy, is not of primary legitimacy. It must not be achieved at the risk of the psychic or physical well-being of pupils, patients, patrons, and clients. Though in the land of the blind, the one-eyed man is king, his royal vision lacks depth perception.

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Of Privacy and Public Schooling

One cannot subscribe to a magazine without contracting for a steady stream of unwanted offers, offers for pornography, for "free gifts," and for all with which junk mail abounds; man's ears, ever open, lose their alertness as they are deadened by the ubiquitous noises produced in the fruitful worship of the great god mammon. More portentously, federal and state agencies, credit bureaus, employers, insurers, schools, and many others constantly collect detailed data about us all; and the safeguards ensuring that access to this data will be withheld from those who should not be privy to it are weak. In response, public opposition to the abuse of privacy is increasing; and fortunately, jurists are looking for ways to prevent interested organizations from misusing the power to preserve and retrieve information about our private lives. To abet those trying to prevent the abuse of privacy, let us reaffirm the proper use of privacy.

Privacy should not be defined in simple opposition to the state of being public. Etymologically, "private" comes from the Latin for bereavement and the seclusion that comes with it. Thus, retirement from the public and withdrawal into one's inner world is an intrinsic part of privacy; and hence privacy is a certain kind of public act. Without asserting his privacy, the unobtrusive, hidden,

unnoticed person will entirely lack privacy although his deeds attract no public interest. For instance, there is little privacy in the life of the typical consumer, for although he may spend all his time on private premises, he never turns inward to his own devices and his life transparently follows the patterns laid down for him by the anonymous producers of the goods and services he consumes. To gain privacy, one publicly shuts oneself off from the public, and such withdrawals are a necessary ingredient of a healthy public life. Public and private are not antitheses, but a harmonious tension in which each is an integral aspect of the other.

We can learn much about the inherent unity of the public and the private from the Romans, who for centuries shared an amazingly strong sense of public concord and who at the same time maintained a powerful tradition of family unity, autonomy, and intimacy. Their god of doorways, of gates to both public spaces and private homes, was the two-faced Janus; and the Roman practice was to keep the doors to city and home open when the inhabitants were out and closed when they were in. Janus presided over the point at which the inward turns outward and the outward inward—the door—, and by extension, he was further the god of initiative, of commencements, and of new enterprises; thus we still celebrate him as the patron of beginnings

by naming the year's first month after him. In Janus the Romans understood something profound about human initiative; they sensed the productive unity of outward solidarity and inner autonomy: Janus showed that public and private were not opposites, but directions in which a single person alternately faced. Repeatedly we go in and we go out through the same door.

In Plato's depiction of Socrates we meet another great exemplar of privacy, a man strong enough to maintain his privacy in public. Socrates frequently admitted to "fearing the crowd," yet his capacity for withdrawal into himself fittingly manifested itself in public places, for he taught one thing: that the public would flourish only through the full and proper use of private judgment. In the *Symposium*, Plato twice noted Socrates' power of private meditation. First, Socrates stopped in a busy street on his way to a dinner party and stood for several hours while he pondered a point; and second, his friends recalled how, years before while in the army, Socrates had stood stark still from dawn to dawn engrossed in meditation while his comrades sprawled around him, wagering on how long his absorption would last. Socrates was condemned not only for corrupting youths, but for introducing new, private deities into Athens, deities that we might now call intuition and conscience. And in his *Apology*, Socrates insisted that it would be in the public interest of Athens to support his effort to make people think through their private opinions and confront their inner selves.

Socrates shows why the private should not be defined in contradis-

inction to the public: the preeminent use of privacy is in public affairs. This fact will be resisted by those who believe that the conduct of public affairs consists merely in the manipulation of the public. Woe to those men of action who need to engineer, direct, organize, and command whatever deeds they do; these men will be overwhelmed by the deep obstinacy of mankind, by the profundity of the human response, by the insignificance of the human surface as compared to its substance. The pathos of power becomes visible in men like Lyndon Johnson: his *Atē* was his competence, for it led him blindly into believing that he could rule, not merely reign, that with his capacity for detail he could command the intricate execution of his will. But public power does not operate on the visible surface, for the true determinant of what happens in history is in the private decisions that each person inwardly makes; here, when each man draws within his self and forms his own intentions, he tests his commitment to the common weal and decides which leaders, laws, and customs he will follow and which he will scorn. Public professions of allegiance are meaningless in the long run unless they are founded on a real private allegiance. No system of public enforcements can be sufficiently omnipresent and omnipotent to shore up a law and an order that we do not recognize in the privacy of our hearts.

For this reason, the wise have long upheld that the apparent power to manipulate the crowd is likely to end by producing harm to the shrewd few and to their docile followers; instead, despite appearances, the important ability of the statesman is to in-

spire men in the privacy of their hearts with more just, humane aspirations. Power exercised in this indirect manner will prove substantial; it will persist without continual surveillance and reenforcement, it will not evaporate at trying moments, and its greatest accomplishments will seem to be achieved spontaneously.

The conflicting claims of manipulation and inspiration to political significance have been best memorialized in Plato's *Gorgias*. Against three persuasive opponents Socrates doggedly upheld first that what mattered was not what "everyone thinks," but what each person thinks when he examines a question carefully, and second that what mattered for public affairs was that each person see to the rightness of his own conduct. This insistence that the only politics we can take part in is the politics of our own heart, as Plato put it in the *Republic*, most offends those with inclinations to manipulate their peers; they will ask heatedly about this question or that question and insist that it is so important that a solution must be found even if it degrades the people's humanity. In one or another matter, we are all susceptible to these inclinations; thus it helps to remind ourselves periodically that the essence of leadership is the recognition that no matter what office we hold the only conduct over which we have any real power is our own.

This discussion, so heavily indebted to the Greeks and Romans, might be ignored as ancient history if it were not for two facts: the uses of oratory in classical Athens and contemporary America are ominously parallel, and the importance of private judgment as understood by the ancients is integral to the political

theories on which our institutions are based. Our founding fathers on both sides of the Atlantic shared a schooling in the classics, and they absorbed the lesson these works taught. In retrospect we have a tendency to fasten our attention on the differences between the great political theorists of the Enlightenment; and in doing so we fail to note their common point of departure: an effective political system should ensure that particular, personal judgments concerning concrete situations would have precedence over the fictitious universals that swayed factions and crowds and that coddled outworn systems of rule.

Out of this concern, the theory of checks and balances arose. The idea was to prevent power from being concentrated in such a way that it would be exercised impersonally, without the finitude of a particular, private man standing as a public guarantee to the humanity of the deed. The ultimate aim of the theory was not only to ensure that definite responsibility for every official act could be located, but further to ensure that for every public deed there would be a man who, in the privacy of his person, felt responsible for its consequences. In practice, existing checks and balances have been greatly weakened by rhetorical persuasiveness, for orators provide public servants with ready-made convictions by which they can depersonalize their official conduct: men of diverse offices and constituencies become impersonal delegates of a party point of view. Further, even where responsibility is still located with a single person, its humane implications are glossed over with euphemisms: the actor is therefore rarely confronted

directly by the actual consequences to others of his deeds. One way to strengthen the use of privacy in public affairs would be to reexamine the theory of checks and balances in order to bring these up to date.

Likewise, the Bill of Rights embodied, in a slightly different way, a similar concern for the private man and his place in public affairs. The comfortably complacent have always distrusted these amendments to the Constitution as hindrances to efforts to protect public tranquillity. The placid here err; to preserve the peace, to maintain law and order with any efficiency and humanity, the freedom and responsibility of every citizen must be *convincingly* guaranteed. The danger to law and order is not in the coddling of criminals or in permissiveness towards the provocative; it is in the growing conviction among intelligent and well-intentioned men that under contemporary circumstances the Bill of Rights and other safeguards are no longer adequate to guarantee to each person the right of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness should these, in all sincerity, lead one out of the monolithic middle.

As Martin S. Dworkin profoundly points out, the great danger in contemporary radicalism is in the widespread belief that American society, the entire "free" world, has become totalitarian. Men who no longer believe that they are free no longer recognize that they are responsible; in fighting against oppression, it is most easy to convince oneself that all is permitted. Now the dilemma we face is that the urge to force responsible behavior on disruptive minorities simply helps confirm the conviction that gives rise to their under-

lying sense of irresponsibility. Permissiveness and authority are, after all, merely different ways by which public officials can exercise paternal responsibility for other persons' conduct; the alternative to both, the alternative on which this country was founded, is to publicly guarantee private autonomy. To do this in present circumstances we should be seeking ways to strengthen, not weaken, our Bill of Rights.

Unfortunately, the best theoretical analysis of privacy and public affairs resides in a flawed work, namely Rousseau's *Social Contract*. Like Nietzsche, Rousseau is a dangerous writer when he is read quickly with the illusion of comprehension; unless his principles are slowly absorbed, he easily seems to stand for the opposite of what he truly teaches. Thus, he propounded neither a naturalistic anti-intellectualism nor a tyranny in the name of the common good; on the contrary, he unfailingly upheld that inner, authentic, "natural," thoughtful, private responses were the only foundation suitable for a community of men. By itself, official legislation was powerless to promote the good life, for "the laws . . . constrain men without changing them . . ." Properly understood, the social contract stipulated that the only legitimate public power was in the acts that arose spontaneously from the aggregate of separate decisions that each member of the community made as he meditated privately on the matters about which he was personally, fully informed. In this manner, privacy is the basis of community.

Important pedagogical consequences follow from this proposition; and despite their significance and relevance to current issues, these conse-

quences should be merely suggested here as appetizers, perhaps, for private meditation.

There is a serious ambiguity in the idea of universal education: its proponents are not clear whether mass schooling should suppress or cultivate the inner man. This ambiguity stems from the nineteenth-century school reformers: they knew that by "common school" they did not mean an ordinary, undistinguished school; but they were not clear whether they meant a school that would teach a common, a shared body of knowledge and values *to all*, or a school that would offer a common, an equal initiation to the art of self-culture *to each*. When confronted with pressing public issues, the easy course is to look to the schools as a means of paternally imposing a solution to the problem on our progeny: if only all get adequate driver education, vocational training, contact with those of other races and creeds, indoctrination to the American way of life, or what have you, it would seem as if many problems would happily disappear. With Horace Mann if not before, it became customary to see the public schools as a powerful agent of social engineering; the schools could constrain the disruptive, improve the safety of street and home, increase

productivity, and spread a sense of patriotic service.

All might be well if schooling for these public ends coincided with the education of each inner man; but in fact, it does not. Consequently, to the degree that the reigning powers manage to harness the schools to the direct pursuit of their public policies, they divert teachers and students from their true public service, the cultivation of the private, inner response. In this way, in the name of the public we jeopardize the future foundation of the public. The fruits of this practice are visible in the way a resentful anomie is spreading among youths, and the most promising antidote to it is the movement towards what has been misnamed as "local control," but what is in truth the client control that has long characterized the practice of medicine and law. This movement may be the harbinger of a renewed appreciation of privacy and its public uses.

At any rate, the prospects for privacy will always seem bleaker than they probably are, for the prospects are—as prospects—presently private and hidden from our prying view. Let us hope with Nietzsche that inwardly people realize that "to let oneself be determined by one's environment is decadent."

ROBERT OLIVER

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Introductory Statistics for the Behavioral Sciences

By R. J. SENTER, University of Cincinnati

This text offers instruction in the application of elementary statistical methods to problems common to the behavioral and social sciences and to education. The simple concepts treated early in the book relate to everyday life; the complex concepts are always presented as modifications of something the student has already studied. Each chapter is concluded with problems and questions to provide practice in the techniques and principles already studied and to introduce students to the concepts to be encountered in subsequent chapters. The author writes in an appealing, easy-to-read style that will interest students. *Ready Spring 1969, approx. 608 pages, illus., prob. \$9.75*

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A Guide to Reading Piaget

Molly Brearley and Elizabeth Hitchfield. New York: Schocken Books, 1966, xii + 171 pages. \$4.50.

This little volume could come to have more influence on American education than any other one of the recent spate of books dealing with Jean Piaget's theories of cognitive development.

Originally published in England under the title, "A Teacher's Guide to Reading Piaget," the book consists of eight short chapters. Each begins with a very brief simplified statement about some aspect of cognitive development that has come under Piaget's scrutiny. The selections are from his early investigations of moral judgment and the origins of intelligence in babies as well as from his later work dealing with number, space, and the development of logical thinking.

The major portion of each chapter describes one or more of Piaget's "experiments," interviews, or observations and presents protocols taken directly from the original work. Since Piaget's observations are always made in depth and reported in detail and with a clarity often lacking in his theoretical exposition, these protocols serve as an excellent introduction to his thinking.

The authors make no claim that the text with which they supplement the protocols sufficiently explicates the theory, thereby saving the reader the necessity for reading Piaget in the original. Rather their aim is to give the reader courage to begin "what for most of us is a formidable task."

The experimental material that has been included and the commentary on it, illuminates nicely Piaget's contention that the child constructs his intelligence from his own actions and their eventual internalization. The terms that Piaget uses to describe intellectual functions (accommodation, assimilation, equilibration) and structures (schemata and operations) appear rarely but are concretely illustrated again and again.

The authors, unlike some American psychologists and educators, have not been ensnared in the convenient trap that Piaget's equilibration theory, partially understood, can provide. The notion that the child must himself construct certain basic concepts—the conservation of number, for example—need not mean that nothing can be done to facilitate such construction. Nor does evidence that a concept has emerged absolve the teacher from further responsibility for it. Rather, according to Brearley and Hitchfield, "If we wish to draw the child nearer to our thinking" (that is, to adult intelligence), "we must give him further understanding *at the point he has reached* (*italics mine*). Furthermore, "Young children will make their own opportunities for collecting basic information about the elements and qualities of the world, but unless there is an opportunity and stimulus at school for them to question and try to explain what they are observing, their experiences can remain always a matter of enjoyable play, satisfying immediate interests instead of leading *in addition* to an increase in intellectual un-

derstanding about the world and facility in thinking scientifically and logically."

Too often teachers unwittingly tune out children's questions and explanations, or, at best, regard them as child lore that is interesting, sometimes amusing, but not germane to the serious business of acquiring knowledge. Teachers who read Brearley and Hitchfield, and more especially those who are led to try Piaget's experiments as well as to read his work, should develop more penetrating insight into the nature of the child's intellectual acquisition and new skills for assessing it.

I am inclined to believe that it is in the assessment of the child's knowledge that Piaget's work may have its most profound impact on education. Curricula have been and will continue to be devised to parallel the sequences of cognitive development he describes. Other curricula aim to teach more directly the concepts he regards as basic to the understanding of, for example, mathematics and science. Continuing effort, on the part of both psychologists and educators, goes into the facilitation, if not the acceleration, of the transition from one stage of development to the next. But the most far-reaching contribution Piaget has made may lie in the encouragement he offers teachers, and the methods he provides them, to view the world from the cognitive stance of the child.

Brearley and Hitchfield, in concentrating on the "estimates that may be used to establish how far a child has come in approaching our (adult) ways of thinking," provide teachers with a powerful incentive for taking a new and penetrating look at the children they are teaching. If in so doing they also entice teachers, and other educators and psychologists, to delve deeper into Piaget's kind of experimentation, the potential influence of their volume can hardly be overestimated.

Millie Almy
Teachers College,
Columbia University

Literature as Exploration

Louise M. Rosenblatt. New York: Noble and Noble, 1968.

One of the classic studies on the teaching of English, *Literature as Exploration*, first published in 1938, has been revised and should be required reading for anyone who intends to teach the subject. To reread it is to see how remarkably up to date its ideas are, especially when they are juxtaposed against the findings of the Dartmouth Conference (the Anglo-American Seminar).

Louise Rosenblatt argues for totally involving the student in the literary experience, through inductive teaching and the raising of personally meaningful questions. The purpose of the book is to answer two main questions: "How can the experience and study of literature foster a sounder understanding of life and nourish the development of balanced, humane person-

alities? How can the teacher minister to the love of literature, initiate his students into its delights, and at the same time further these broad aims?" (x)

The argument is not, as in too many guides, to advise us on what books to teach, but rather to consider what emotional and intellectual reaction the student will have to those we choose. And the primary purpose of our choices should be to lead the student to understand himself and others, to achieve a philosophy of life. The teacher would then examine the works of the past in the light of the questions: "What are the basic human traits that persist despite social and cultural changes? To what extent are the resemblances of one age to another, as well as the differences, due to environmental influences?" (13)

One reason that the book is still so relevant is that it argues against purely literary analysis, the intellectual understanding of how a work is put together. Louise Rosenblatt prefers that the student "organize a response relevant to the stimulus of the printed page." (26) And that response must be based on the core of experience that the reader shares with the experience of the book. If this sharing takes place, if the books are chosen so that it can take place, it is more likely that we may achieve one of our greatest aims: "The capacity to sympathize or to identify with the experiences of others is the most precious human attribute." (37)

If we admit to the truth that "Literature provides a *living-through*, not simply *knowledge-about*," we must rethink why we choose the books we teach. Against such a standard how do we judge the rising tide of secondary school humanities courses that teach Goeth's *Faust*, Dante's *Inferno*, and some slogans about the Greek way of life, the Renaissance man, and Beethoven's Ninth Symphony—all of which make *knowledge-about* the prime objective.

It is important at this point to say that the author is not arguing for the point of view that Randall Jarrell satirized with "Never mind what it says; how does it make you feel?" Instead, the book asks that the teacher force the student to reevaluate all of his assumptions in terms of the text as a whole. Stock responses and rigid emotional habits must give way if one is to enter into the esthetic experience presented by a writer.

The inductive approach begins with an unstructured question and free flowing discussion on the student's reaction to the work. Then the group focuses on the problems and the skills of interpretation relevant to understanding what is being said in the text.

The choice of the word *exploration* in the title is not irrelevant; exploration should lead to understanding. And we must be clear on what is meant by *understand*: not verbalizations or generalizations, but rather "the full impact of the sensuous, emotional, as well as intellectual force of a work. It requires linking the word with what it points to in the world of man or nature." (112)

If the student is to understand, to *live-through* the work, he must create it. He must grasp the sensations and concepts used by the author to create the world he presents. "Each must make a new synthesis of these elements with his own nature, but it is essential that he evoke those components of experience to which the text actually refers." (113)

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If the student is to understand, to *live-through* the work, he must recreate it. He must grasp the sensations and concepts used by the author to create the world he presents. "Each must make a new synthesis of these elements with his own nature, but it is essential that he evoke those components of experience to which the text actually refers." (113)

The reader may see reflections of his own problems in literature; he may gain a sense of self-reliance instead of depending on authority for his answers. He will enter imaginatively into the lives of others and have a greater understanding of why they act as they do, of the effects of cultural conditioning, of alternatives of action. He will evaluate different images of life beyond those of his own limited cultural group. He can be more objective about judging his own actions and may be freed from "fears, guilt, and insecurity engendered by too narrow a view of normality." (223) In speaking of a class quick to make superficial moral judgments, Miss Rosenblatt says, "Their point of view changed appreciably in the direction of greater human sympathy and objectivity. Instead of thinking only of individual human beings, they saw them in relation to the social forces that had molded them or that gave them scope for expressing their special temperaments." (234)

We are not here being asked to build character through literature by giving the students models to be imitated, nor are we being asked to choose books to illustrate family life or human relations. The argument is that "The literary experience has been seen to reside in the synthesis of what the reader already knows and feels and desires with what the literary text offers—the patterned sensations, emotions, and ideas through which the author has sought to communicate his sense of life. Our eyes must always be directed toward that dynamic interaction between the work of art and the personality of the reader." (273) And this makes all the difference. If we are convinced, we make a curriculum by asking different questions than those normally asked.

Critics deal most often with writing about symbols and textual patterns; teachers must deal with the human meaning of a work. "In teaching literature, then, we are basically helping our students to learn to perform in response to a text." (280)

Jerome Bruner has emphasized the need to help our students to "learn how to learn." We do this by teaching the structure of a work, the concepts that make up a particular genre: a poem, a play, a story. We do it best by asking the kinds of questions that allow students to see how the concepts work together to form the selection. In this way we teach our students to be more effective readers of literature. But if we do only this, we are delinquent.

Louise Rosenblatt is talking about *why* we teach literature. She sees reading as a way of giving structure to human experience. She is asking that we see a literary work as a metaphor that throws light on the meaning of life.

She feels, and I agree, that if we do, our students may become more flexible and sensitive. And all education and life demand these qualities—*now*.

Edward J. Gordon
Yale University

Education in Community Development: Its Function in Technical Assistance

James J. Shields, Jr. New York: Praeger, 1967. 127 pp.

There is an old story about the advice an uneducated but experienced preacher gave to a young colleague who was about to make his first exegetic venture. The old man counselled, "Tell them what you're going to tell them, tell them, and then tell them what you told them." It is excellent advice also for those in other fields of endeavor, including education, and it would seem that Professor Shields has adhered to this standard in his book, *Education in Community Development: Its Function in Technical Assistance*.

One of the Praeger Series of Special Studies in International Economics and Development, the book is "an analysis from an educational point of view" of the American government's foreign aid activities in the field of community development. Not only does he seek "to describe the role of education" in these community development efforts, but also "to discern hitherto unrecognized facets of the role of international education in community development." In the concluding paragraph of this study, Professor Shields states, "The fundamental processes involved in technical assistance are fairly consistent from field to field. . . . In this sense, this book is more than an analysis of international education and community development. In many ways, it is a much broader study of the role of technical cooperation in the development of new nations."

Professor Shields describes well, on the basis of the data at his disposal, the community development activities of the Agency for International Development (AID) and its predecessor agencies, and the role of education in these programs. For this reviewer, however, he does not "discern hitherto unrecognized facets of the role of international education in community development." Nor does he achieve the final claim of having made "in many ways . . . a much broader study of a role of technical cooperation in the development of new nations."

This is not to suggest that Professor Shields has not made a creditable and useful contribution. He has. Those who have been involved in community development overseas during the past fifteen or more years will recognize a number of their largely unwritten thoughts and conclusions. Professor Shields has had the discipline and skill to organize and to put his analysis in readable form. Fortunately for the larger public and for those who eventually may become involved in such programs, this book provides some of the results of the experiences of community development practitioners, who, usually too busy practising, do not share as they could and should.

This reviewer has been involved overseas especially and primarily in the educational aspects of community development programs for more than ten years, beginning in 1953. The role of education in community development, in the various ways and at the several levels which are described in this book, has been central to his practice and a key process among the

many which are operative in the community development programs of which he has been a part.

Professor Shields has divided his small book (127 pages with bibliography) into two almost equal parts between a brief introduction and a brief summary. The first three chapters are presented accurately as a "short history and an analysis of the philosophy of community development supported by AID and the functions performed by community development personnel who work for the agency." The heavy emphasis on country programs in India, Pakistan, and the Philippines and the limited treatment of programs on the African and Latin American continents are indicative not only of the much greater amount and length of American assistance to the former, but also of the greater availability of information on and experience with those programs at the time the original research for this study was done in 1961.

In the second part, chapters four through seven, Professor Shields describes in some detail and analyzes "the major educational activities related to intergovernmental programs in community development"; namely, advisory assistance, training programs in host countries, and participant training in the United States and third countries. For those who have been involved in these activities in AID and its predecessor agencies, these chapters, *inter alia*, will encourage recall, reflection, and, hopefully, a setting down on paper of some of their experiences and conclusions.

One can regret some oversights in the book; such as, Arthur Durham for Arthur Dunham in Chapter 6. One also can be most grateful for many useful observations, including the following excerpts from Professor Shields' "Introduction":

... A functioning community development program defies the demarcations carefully established by the separate disciplines and the subject areas. ... (I)t is well to realize that no one field holds the key to all that is significant in community development. ... Community development will not become an effective instrument until all the fields whose concerns touch on community development are recognized and utilized in planning, programming, and evaluation. Whenever community development becomes the exclusive domain of any one discipline or subject area, whether it is sociology, social work, or anthropology, it is doomed to one-sidedness and a severely limited range of success.

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The Development of Political Attitudes in Children

Robert D. Hess and Judith V. Torney. Chicago, Illinois: Aldine Publishing Company.

In a turbulent political year filled with McCarthy and Johnson, Nixon, Humphrey, Wallace, Yippies, Daley, Agnew and Muskie, wouldn't it be

interesting to see how children find out about our magnificent system, how they become "socialized" to it? The authors of this book have done just that, using surveys with an extensive sample of over 17,000 children in the pilot and final field work. The final group of 12,000 were elementary school youngsters from the second through the eighth grade from eight cities from different regions in the United States. The sampling, and that included controlling for many variables such as socioeconomic status and intelligence, was quite meticulously done. "Groups were selected to include equal numbers of children of each sex, from seven grade levels, from a range of status backgrounds, and from the four major geographical regions of the United States; it was not feasible to investigate systematically the influence of ethnic background or race in this project." Rural groups were also excluded. Still I find no fault in this sampling. But the dilemma of this craftsman, like many others reviewing his colleagues' work, is that I am getting hung up in form and ignoring content.

I have mixed feelings about this book. I wanted to review this book; the title and the subject matter are of critical import. It does have some important messages; and I intend to present these to you, but my criticisms far outweigh my positive remarks. One of the dilemmas of technical material such as Hess and Torney present is that the price for objectivity, technical acumen, large sample size and batches of data looked at from different ways, such as controlling for I.Q. or SES is that the reader (me) was overwhelmed by too much information. The study became so detailed, so locked into numbers that I thought the main threads were lost in a cluttered rug. The authors labored to simplify their data using figures whenever possible but it was not enough. This problem is by no means Hess and Torney's alone.

I had hoped for an integration of political theory and childhood development and for their data to shed light on both. The authors gave too little attention to these. Maybe they wrote their book rather than my book, but I am tired of reading uncritical and basically dishonest Pollyanna reviews or collegial backslapping. The first two chapters and the concluding chapter do speak to me and I was interested in reading what the children actually said and what they meant.

In this encyclopedia of information, I was quite impressed with the following result: "Children who are independent of party show the most active involvement in political affairs." This finding and the implications that Hess and Torney draw for schools are definitely exciting. The whole Eugene McCarthy movement and the disenchantment with the present political system and the continuance thereof show signs of disintegration and the fact that independents had much to do with this gives hope that the next generation is potentially capable of continuing that process. The fact that children who are most interested and most informed are usually the most likely to think on their own gives me hope in a year of much despair.

The authors have data on what schools do gathered through extensive interviews of children and their teachers. The authors show that the fam-

ily plays a role in exposing and educating the children to politics but it is the school that plays the largest part. The school, however, does *not* emphasize the rights and obligations of citizens to participate in government. Teachers spend most of their time on voting but do not devote time and energy for "sufficient understanding of procedures open to individuals for legitimately influencing the government." The greatest emphasis is placed upon compliance to law, authority, and school regulation. The authors conclude that teachers do not educate children about governments, the ways by which they work, the conflicts of interest, political corruption, change, nor the realistic way in which our system operates, but teach regard for the rules and how to behave in school. And this is civics or citizenship training!

The authors suggest that the school needs to evaluate its role in this process of teaching how the political system works. There is no systematic curriculum that is devoted to understanding the way our government operates. I would agree and go beyond Hess and Torney, pointing to how teachers are also part of the political process (that's why they "teach" law, regulations and docility) and why they have failed in their mission of really educating the young, politically. Teachers are removed from the way government works, and they are also removed from how politics influence their own education, their training as teachers, and their entry into the profession and how they continue as teachers. Unless they become conscious of these processes they will not be able to go beyond the confines of teaching routines and memorizing the Bill of Rights, The Star Spangled Banner, The Pledge of Allegiance and reverence for the American flag. What is involved in becoming a citizen goes beyond accepting everything as it is and expecting children to imitate all that is asked without any appreciation for why and how come.

Bernard Mackler
*Hunter College of the
 City University of New York*

The College Experience

Mervin B. Freedman. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Inc., Publishers, 1967. xv + 202 pp. \$7.50.

In this book about the college years, Professor Freedman covers five topics: the college and society, personality development, sexuality, the education of women, and current issues on campus. Of the topics, the first two and the last will be read profitably by faculty, administrators, and the interested public. Parents will be reassured by the discussion of sex on campus and those persons interested in the education of women will be familiar with this section since these chapters have appeared previously as journal articles. Rewritten as a chapter they would have strengthened and improved the book.

Professor Freedman is not commendatory about the present state of higher education. He sees the grim competition for academic achievement in the existing system as forcing conformity upon students. These intense demands to excel are met by abandoning social activities, athletics, and just idle meditation, turning students into "humorless, leisureless, guilt-ridden drudges." He recalls the great men who were mediocre students and reminds us that Newton, while dawdling in the garden, educed the law of gravitation.

The future, he suggests, can be foretold by examining the present student culture. He perceives definite trends toward restoring the sense of community in academia, replacing materialism with the social service ethic, the development of smaller social units and a rebirth of eroticism. Eroticism is confined not only to matters sexual but also to "more love, more affection, more consideration, more respect for human dignity."

Commenting upon the changes that a liberal education can effect on college students, Professor Freedman discards previous dicta which held that mental growth ceased at age 15 or 16. He maintains that the college years are a time of life when young people are as susceptible to enduring changes in personality and intelligence as they are in their earliest years. Although the changes in attitude of college students may not appear large, slight changes in individuals can lead to profound changes in society. Moreover, schools could not effect large changes even were they able, because society would not permit drastic or sudden alterations from its established ways. Since these increments occur early in the college years, junior college personnel particularly would do well to heed and to be alert to studies in this area.

In discussing sex on campus, Professor Freedman emerges as a kindly conservative presenting a comfortable picture, especially with regard to women. "Underlying feelings of caution, control, and inhibition . . . and the essential conservatism of the American middle class" preclude any sexual revolution from taking place on campus. He posits that sexual mores in colleges have not changed since the 30's, except for a decline in sexual promiscuity on the part of the males. Student personnel deans, however, report that this generation's moral code is based on fidelity to one's current partner rather than on sexual abstinence, which was the ethos enunciated in the period prior to World War II. The campus incidents are increasing sufficiently to disturb administrators. A few years ago Sarah Gibson Blanding, president of Vassar, made headlines by serving notice on the girls that she would not tolerate extra-marital sexual activities.

Insofar as education of women is concerned, the author sees great advantages in women's colleges in their freedom to be experimental, to offer a really liberal education and to act as a bastion against the encroachments of academic freedom. Alumnae, however, are portrayed as contented housewives, the enthusiasm for present continuing-education-for-women programs notwithstanding. Nevertheless, the author opts for the inclusion of professional education in women's colleges, stating that the traditional liberal arts curriculum has tended to turn out women who are passive subordinates rather than active contributors in the occupational realm.

The final chapters contain a discussion of the causes for student unrest, an exposition of campus drug use, and predictions of the future of higher education. Professor Freedman suggests that campus turmoils indicate foreknowledge by the students that the age of automation and cybernation is upon us and that they are not being prepared to cope with it. In the future university he foresees significant alterations in major fields, teaching and learning, and grading procedures. Discrete departments will cease to exist. The emphasis will be on innovations in thought and interdisciplinary programs. Counseling goals will change from occupational suitability to self-development. Students will not be on trial to prove themselves but will remain in college for as long as they desire.

The author discusses the alignment of power in education, a trend from an inferior-superior student-faculty relationship toward a more egalitarian and mutually participatory one. In envisioning this future university, Professor Freedman takes the *laissez-faire* leisure of universities of earlier periods, adds the best innovations from the present ones and laces them with creative ideas of his own. He makes it clear that higher education must change if it is to play a significant role in the 21st century.

Jean Glidden Henderson
Orinda, California

The Imperfect Panacea: America Faith in Education, 1865-1965
Henry J. Perkinson. New York: Random House, Inc., 1968.

This volume might be appropriately subtitled, "A Thesis in Search of Proof." The thesis in question is given partial expression in the one-page "Preface" and appears again in the two-page final chapter, this time in the form of a conclusion. It consists essentially of the following: After the Civil War the nation used its schools as "a panacea for all social problems." Such unlimited faith in "the power of education caused us to make unwarranted, unrealistic, and harmful demands upon it." The result has been that the schools not only failed to solve our social problems but have actually aggravated these and produced consequences directly opposed to those that were intended.

This is indeed an interesting thesis. Quite possibly it is a correct one. This volume, however, fails to supply much support for it. The main part of the book does little by way of systematically developing and evidencing the writer's claims. The concluding chapter, in turn, makes almost no reference to data previously presented.

In order to support the claim that the nation used its schools as a panacea for its social problems, the writer would have to demonstrate that society gave the schools a clear mandate to perform certain services and that no other institutional alternatives were employed. Neither of these points is sufficiently established, the latter being completely ignored, while the former is treated rather ineptly. For instance, the author apparently believes

that the writings of a few educational leaders urging the schools to undertake some assignment or other is equivalent to the will of society. Again, the nation did not commission the schools to undertake the task of racial integration, as the book seems to imply, but actually created conditions to prevent this from happening until fairly recently.

To support the conclusion that our faith in the power of education "caused us to make unwarranted, unrealistic, and harmful demands upon it," the writer would have to make a case for what he considers to be the proper functions of formal schooling in our society. This he fails to do. One might indeed question his implied, limited conception of the proper role of formal education by pointing out that schooling can be just about anything that our imaginative genius might devise which society can accept and support with the necessary material and human resources.

To substantiate his position that the schools aggravated social problems even while they were attempting to ameliorate these, the author would have to establish that certain educational activity functioned directly as a causal agent to produce certain specified undesirable effects. Some of his efforts in this direction would hardly satisfy the canons of logic and scientific method. As an example, it is argued that the schools accelerated the flight from the city and aided in the spread of urban blight. They did this, it is alleged, by providing certain individuals with the education needed for better jobs which, in turn, made it economically possible for them to move to the suburbs leaving the less fortunate behind in urban slums. The schools, then, are seen as largely responsible for the residential polarization of society. All of this, of course, is gross over-simplification and sounds very much like a "This is the house that Jack built" kind of argument.

Despite its flaws, this book can be commended for its forthright attempt to deal with socially-relevant topics and for the many significant insights it offers. Educators, with their usual myopic vision, need all the perspective historians can provide on the vexing problems of the day.

Albert S. Anthony
University of Massachusetts

Harper's University: The Beginnings

Richard Storr. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1966.

The reverberations of earlier experiments in university-building were still echoing across the United States in 1892 when the first of the University of Chicago's grey Gothic quadrangles rose out of the Lake Michigan marshland in the suburb of Hyde Park. Organized and chartered in 1890 under the auspices of the American Baptist Education Society, underwritten by a grant from John D. Rockefeller, the new institution had been conceived as a "college pure and simple." By locating their new university in the

booming industrial and agricultural heart of the Midwest, the Baptists had every hope of fulfilling at least two aims: to afford young people of the region an education under denominational auspices, and more grandiosely, to give the denomination a voice in the intellectual and spiritual life of the fast-developing West.

It was recognized, to be sure, that vigorous internal development could set in motion the yeasty natural processes that would enable the institution to expand to true university status, and were this to occur it would be all to the good. It was this prospect for a great university that caught the imagination of the non-Baptist community of Chicago—especially the rich and influential business men who, jealous of their city's cultural pretensions, helped the Education Society raise the additional funds required under the terms of the founder's \$600,000 grant.

Even so, the University of Chicago might have remained an institution of local, or even parochial influence, and a "college pure and simple," but for the vision of that most remarkable young man who was its first president—William Rainey Harper.

Harper's University it was indeed, as Richard J. Storr reminds us in his choice of title for his history of "the beginnings" of the University of Chicago. That the university today still shows the imprint of Harper's genius, despite the curricular overhauls and organizational innovations of intervening decades, is a tribute to the enormous reach and scope, the detail and daring of Harper's educational thought. Almost at the outset, the overwhelming and impatient energy of the man swept aside any tendency to rely on "natural processes" to achieve an enlargement of purpose. Harper wanted a university "in the highest sense of the term," and he set out to get it.

When did the full magnitude of his educational blueprint reveal itself? Certainly Harper did not start his career as a university-builder. A noted Baptist scholar of Hebrew and Old Testament studies, he had taught at the denomination's Morgan Park (Illinois) Seminary and so had a natural interest in helping to further educational plans in the Midwest. It was in the months of negotiation with Rockefeller and the raising of funds for land and facilities to meet the conditions of the founder's grant that Harper, in Storr's words, "had the heady experience of quickening the growth of the university. . . ." By the time he had resigned his professorship at Yale to assume the presidency of the University of Chicago in 1891, his plans were full-blown.

So omnifarious were his schemes that we must look to the multi campus, state-wide systems of higher education, such as those in New York and California, to find a present-day counterpart to Harper's encompassing vision. It is this scope rather than the originality of the details that makes Harper's plan so interesting and so significant to the future of the university and to the development of the American higher educational enterprise. Storr sums up this plan as "In its essence, . . . a statement of intention: the University was to be a great series of experiments in human enlightenment."

Nothing less than an educational system complete at all levels would satisfy Harper as he set about the acquisition of a junior and senior college,

a graduate school, professional schools, postdoctoral offerings, a correspondence school, a corps of traveling lecturers, a course of studies for the adults of Chicago (later called University College), a university press publishing good books and unprofitable scholarly journals, and, in time, even a kindergarten, an elementary and a secondary school. Moreover he had had an ambitious program of "affiliation," by which colleges were to join with the University of Chicago to form a coordinated system of collegiate instruction. A few colleges did in fact become tied to the University, but by the most tenuous of bonds. Harper's energies stretched, too, to include an active part in the formation of the American Association of Universities and the North Central Association.

Harper's ability to imbue others with his own faith in his university would have done credit to a 19th-century land speculator making promises to immigrants. In his effort to secure a faculty he was not above casting his golden lure on the troubled waters of other educational institutions. At Clark University, for example, where affairs were in turmoil, he was able to persuade almost half the faculty to join him on the gold-paved streets of his New Jerusalem.

But Harper's natural ebullience and optimism had to weather severe tests of the sort that lend an air of melodrama to the chronicling of the university's early financial vicissitudes. Regularly, it seemed, a full measure of carbon black despair was served up to Harper and his associates with the announcement of the annual deficit; and just as regularly, the situation was saved through the timely intervention of Rockefeller, or a group of local businessmen, or other friends of the university. Somehow, the young and (understandably) prematurely Grey Lady of the Midway would survive, virtue uncompromised, to face the financial crisis of another year. Certainly one of the more intriguing mysteries of those early years arises from the ability of that prudent man of business, John D. Rockefeller, seemingly to suspend his belief in the laws of financial gravity to succor the University of Chicago. A measure of the importance of monetary matters is suggested by Storr's index, in which the entries allotted finance take as much space as those for William Rainey Harper himself.

Anyone who has sat as a member of a university curriculum committee intent, as all such committees seem to be, on re-discovering the curricular wheel, may find somewhat tedious Storr's reports of efforts to secure changes in course requirements, and the account of endless faculty political moves on such questions as the place of Latin in the course of study. Understandable, albeit disappointing, is the fact that relatively little attention has been given to the intellectual, as opposed to the political life of some of the stars of the Chicago faculty crown, among them, Thomas C. Chamberlin, J. Laurence Laughlin, Albion W. Small, Albert A. Michelson (first American to win a Nobel prize), John Dewey, and Thorstein Veblen. Storr does an excellent piece of work as he places in perspective the contributions of the two remarkable trustees, Charles Hutchinson and Martin Ryerson, and especially the work of that good friend of the institution, the Baptist clergyman and adviser to Rockefeller, Frederick T. Gates.

As a member of the Department of History at Chicago for some years, Storr has obviously steeped himself in the lore of the Midway to write a valuable addition to the growing shelf of institutional histories. Among the many delightful passages are those reporting Harper's views on the university presidency, views as fresh today as they were sixty years ago. Storr is at his best in those sensitive and moving words on the untimely death of Harper (pages 362-68). The book is well illustrated with photographs and a number of excellent drawings by Virgil Burnett.

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Horatio Hornblower: A Hero For Today

William Jay Jacobs
Hunter College

Pausing at an airport newsstand recently, I came upon an old friend, Lieutenant Horatio Hornblower. Like some avenging Old Testament prophet, Hornblower's taut visage glared from the cover of a paperback reprint at the busy crowd of passers-by. He was flanked incongruously on one of those squeaky revolving racks by a new generation of folk-heroes—James Bond, Eldridge Cleaver, Candy. The book jacket, in a shameless bid to ensnare browsers, trumpeted that:

... The Spanish prisoners on H.M.S. RENOWN were in full mutiny. The British officers were overpowered. Suddenly another ship came alongside.

It was Hornblower, aboard the captured Spanish man-o'-war GADITANA. There were wild yells from the struggling men on the RENOWN, shouts and screams and a grinding crash as the two ships came together.

Then, suddenly, there was Hornblower, sword in hand, leaping down on the deck cutting a bloody swathe through the Spanish enemy.

Such a sales pitch captures one dimension of the Hornblower legend—that of Horatio Hornblower the

swashbuckling adventurer. But to the legion of Hornblower buffs this is an incomplete, perhaps a misleading, view of so absorbing and many-sided a personality. (Indeed, even in his role as a combat commander Hornblower usually relied more heavily on craft and intelligence than mere animal spirit.)

C. S. Forester, the imaginative British creator of *The African Queen*, began work on the Hornblower saga in England, just as the full weight of Hitlerian tyranny was sweeping across Europe. Set in the equally tumultuous time when Britain stood alone against Napoleon, the series covers Hornblower's career in the Royal Navy from his initial cruise as a Midshipman to his Admiralty in the West Indies. It includes ten novels and the remarkable *Hornblower Companion*, a one volume atlas with detailed autobiographical commentary by Forester.*

- * The Hornblower saga was published originally by Little, Brown and Company, Boston. It includes: *Mr. Midshipman Hornblower*, *Lieutenant Hornblower*, *Hornblower and the Hotspur*, *Hornblower and the Atropos*, *Beat to Quarters*, *Ship of the Line*, *Flying Colours*, *Commodore Hornblower*, *Lord Hornblower*, *Admiral Hornblower in the West Indies*. Paperback reprints of several titles in the series have been prepared by Bantam.

Although the books contain their share of "patriotic gore," some of Hornblower's most fascinating adventures take place far from the scene of battle. We meet him at an officer's club in London, penniless, risking his career on a single hand of whist at high stakes. Later, on a mission to the Baltic he plays at diplomacy, delicately maneuvering to bolster the friendship of the Czar for England and preserve the shaky neutrality of Sweden. Eventually a country gentleman and a loving father, he remains restless, eager for action, susceptible always to the charms of an exciting woman.

Even when Hornblower is not in battle, tormenting Napoleon's Channel fleet or storming a Spanish fortress in the Indies, he is very much the "hero figure." He is daring and flamboyant, inventive, relentless in pursuit of seemingly impossible goals—all the qualities we have come to expect of the romantic hero, in fiction or in real life. One inescapably wonders how such a protagonist has retained his wide appeal among a generation of young people so recently infatuated with that self-declared anti-hero, Senator Eugene McCarthy.

The answer lies partly in Forester's subtle characterization of Hornblower. Indomitable leader though he may be, Hornblower never degenerates into stereotype, but remains a profoundly complex human being. He is gangling and awkward in appearance and, embarrassingly, given to sea-sickness—which only adds fuel to his shyness and pitiless self-criticism. In the Navy's tradition of stoic control, he smothers his emotions, conceals his feelings, only to regret the woodenness and pomposity that sometimes results. He lives with

death and fears it; still he is the very man who condemns himself as brutal and cold-blooded after destroying an enemy ship that could not return his fire. He is cross-grained, moody, incurably jealous. He is also, on occasion, supremely silly, concluding an altogether capricious first marriage out of pity for a girl whom he does not love.

Above all, Hornblower is the Man Alone, a brooding solitary Hamlet who never can know happiness because he distrusts it, who refuses to rejoice in his own successes, who will not truckle to authority, even when doing so would serve his ends, who remains alike unmoved in triumph and in adversity. He is a man of high ideals, grand designs, deep passions. Yet, torn by self-doubt, he is able to resist despair only by imposing upon himself an iron discipline.

There is something refreshing in all of this, in drinking, with Hornblower, the heady wine of heroism. Certainly, not everyone prizes such an experience. But I strongly suspect that many young people will find the exploits of Hornblower surprisingly congenial. Here is a man who shares their idealism, their disdain for vulgar displays of wealth, their self-consciousness. He is very much an "in" hero.

Young people probably will welcome the Hornblower books, too, as a respite from their daily academic encounters with so-called "analytic historians." As Howard Mumford Jones puts it, "The school of social historians has substituted movements for personalities, conflicts of economic interest for dramatic events, sociology for the romance of personal endeavor, and 'citizenship' for hair-breadth escapes by land and

sea." Somehow we have managed to remove from the history books the half-magical legends of our past and to replace them with one-dimensional cardboard versions of statemen and soldiers—insufferable bores, mediocrities whom no child could possibly idolize or hate, or for that matter care about in the least. For all our good intentions we have succeeded only in debunking the hero to make room for the jerk.

This is not to champion the Hornblower books only because they are colorful and robust (even if such grounds probably would be sufficient). They are valuable, too, as

authentic history, as painstakingly accurate representations of the sea and ships. For this reason alone they deserve to be regarded in company with other great tales of adventure. Still, like the *Bounty* trilogy of Nordhoff and Hall, their survival probably will stem primarily from another source: their fidelity to the requirements of fiction—their total immersion in imagination, invention, characterization, vicariousness. Here are books that are more delightful than useful, whose real contribution, through the versatile hero, Horatio Hornblower, is to make history live and entertaining—as literature.

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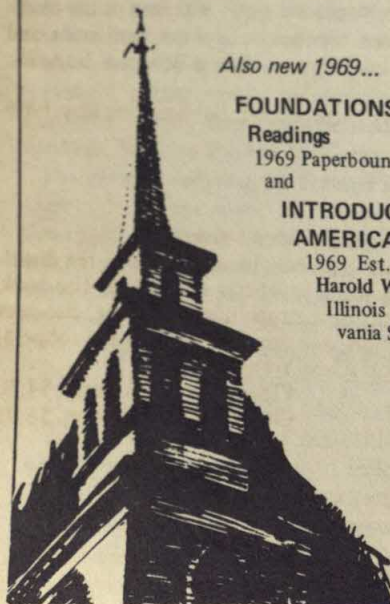
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Can We Define Good Teaching?

H. S. Broudy

University of Illinois

Everybody would like to get his hands on a good definition of good teaching. Despite the efforts of some educational entrepreneurs to produce teacher-proof materials, the teacher is still the key to schooling; with good teaching, almost any curriculum, school organization, and administrative invention seems to succeed. But if good teaching is needed to make an educational scheme go, it is even more necessary to have poor teaching around on which to place the blame for the failure of any and all educational ventures.

Among those who thirst after a definition of good teaching are administrators who would like to rate their teachers on merit and need some sort of objective support for doing so; teacher training institutions, accrediting and certification agencies, and, of course, teachers of teachers and various supervisors who have to make judgments about the quality of teaching. Nor should we omit the teacher himself, who both as a student and practitioner would like to know how well he is doing.

Why is a definition of good teaching so elusive? In one sense it is not elusive at all. You can define good teaching any way you like. Simply take any outcome, process, or quality that seems desirable, and then define good teaching as whatever something called a teacher does to bring it about efficiently. Even a cursory fishing in the literature will net such definitions by the dozen. Good teaching has been defined as what the "teacher" does to produce inspired pupils, excited pupils, interested pupils, creative pupils; pupils who are good citizens, who can read, do arithmetic problems and write grammatical English essays. Among other desiderata used to define good teaching are critical thinking, subject matter mastery, ideals, love of freedom, respect for law and order, universal brotherhood, various attributes of character, a love

Educators, in their sometimes desperate efforts to find models for good teaching, often end with an either/or: technology or aesthetics; didactics or encounter. Professor Broudy, editor of EDUCATIONAL FORUM and a widely known educational philosopher, here discusses the difficulties of definition and then goes on to break through the either/or. Didactic teaching (after the model of programmed instruction), he says, is the kind of teaching for which outcomes, means, and criteria can be made explicit; and it will be the dominant mode in time to come. Encounter teaching (after the model of the humanely cultivated person) may become possible as teachers are freed by technology; but here neither outcomes, nor means, nor criteria can be specified. The problem, Dr. Broudy, concludes, is "to lure" enough people into the schools to do a kind of teaching which cannot be finally defined.

of learning, and a devotion to the arts. I am sure one can add another hatful of items to this list.

Why are such definitions unsatisfactory? For one thing, they tell us nothing about the factors which produce these results. And among the reasons for their not telling us what we would like so much to know is that (a) these fine products are not the result of teaching alone, so that it is virtually impossible to disentangle what the teacher has done from what parents, movies, television, habit, and climate have contributed. (b) Even when we have a fairly strong suspicion that teaching has achieved them, the variety of styles, personalities, and other characteristics of the successful teacher defies reduction to a formula or rule. (c) For some reason or other many teachers produce one type of outcome better than another.

The Search for Criteria Is the task hopeless?

Before answering this question, it might be useful to name a few blind alleys down which researchers for the criteria of good teaching have been led. The first of these is the search for a set of personality or behavioral traits that uniquely determine the good teacher. Despite the hundreds of variables that have been researched, we do not know how many more may be operating. Moreover, we have no way of knowing which variables are relevant until we have a notion of good teaching. The criteria that have been used have been derived from administrators' and supervisors' notions of good teaching, and so the question is begged rather than answered.

Another blind alley is the search for a process or strategy common to all good teaching. Unfortunately, the process picked as essential is also determined by the type of outcome regarded as important, and so the question is begged once more.

Some conceive of the key process as a set of interactions between a teacher and one or more pupils. Some interactions are interpreted psychologically as ways of controlling responses; some are broken down into types of discourse between pupil and teacher. Some regard the teaching act as an encounter between persons in which a drama is played out between forces of dominance and submission, strong and weak selves. Some regard teaching as analogous to an artistic performance, to be judged as a critic would judge a work of art; and some think of teaching as an input-output flow of information.

Still another confusing factor is the level at which the teacher is expected to function. If a teacher is expected to operate as a technician according to prescribed rules for the various operations she or he is to perform; if the teacher has no responsibility for choosing materials, methods, and strategies, then good teaching can be defined in one way. If, however, the teacher is to be

granted such responsibilities, then technical efficiency, albeit a necessary condition for good teaching, will not be a sufficient one.

Strange Analogies This difference in operational level not only confuses the judgment of teaching, but is responsible for many of our troubles in teacher preparation. To put it in a crude and perhaps unkind metaphor: the public, teacher training institutions, and many teachers think—or talk as if they think—that they have received the analogue of a medical education at a medical school. But the truth of the matter—by any standards of comparison—is that the vast majority of our classroom teachers have undergone something more like the training given to a nurse and perhaps closer to that of a secretary than that of a doctor. At most they are white collar craftsmen with somewhat more general education, but far less technical training, than their blue collar counterparts.

Consequently, when people set about defining good teaching, their models may not coincide—criteria for a good doctor, for example, are not the same as for a good nurse. This is simply another way of stating the point previously made about the level of occupational expectation.

Lest I be suspected of snobbishness toward craftsmen in general or nurses in particular, let it be clear that the social usefulness of the craftsman is beyond question. Indeed, it may turn out that craftsmen are what we need in teaching, and a case could be made for believing that craftsmanship is all that school administrators want. In witness whereof I note what all of us know so well, namely, that student teaching or some sort of apprenticeship is regarded in most quarters as the sum and substance of the “professional” part of teacher preparation. In this, teaching differs from plumbing only in the amount of time required for the apprenticeship.

Still another, and perhaps the most confusing, blind alley is the notion that one can set down in verbal form a definition or description of good teaching, such that a layman could use to identify and judge teaching performance.

Many of our difficulties with evaluation, I believe, lie with our inveterate faith that observational schedules can take the place of expertise. It is as if vintage wines were to be judged by a jury of citizens armed with a handbook on viticulture. But we know that this is somehow wrong; the wine expert does not need the book, although he may have written it; and it does the neophyte little good.

So perhaps the case is not hopeless if we think of a definition that could be used by experts.

Achieving Expertise Can there be experts in so amorphous and complex an enterprise? I submit that expertise here comes

about as it does in any field. First, one specializes within a limited domain; second, he and his peers arrive in time at certain agreed-upon distinctions within the domain; third, they build up models of "good" within each domain; fourth, they are familiar with virtually the whole range of samples within the domain; fifth, they know the rules for applying their criteria; and finally, they often share with their peers a theory or theories as to why the rules are applicable. Please consider that complete agreement among experts is not a necessary condition for expertise, but the possibility of distinguishing an expert from the layman is.

Even naive observers can, I believe, grasp directly the meaning of what is going on and distinguish the pervasive qualities in such diverse classrooms as the following:

1. The efficient classroom, in which the most noticeable feature is order: the action moves along smoothly on a predetermined pattern; the teacher is flexible but has genuine and unmistakable authority at all times; children know what is expected of them.
2. The creative classroom in which permissiveness, excitement, improvisation, creativity are the most prominent features. Teacher and pupils act like players in a game or participants in an adventure. There is little predetermined routine. Originality, liveliness, and freedom pervade the situation.
3. The cooperative classroom, in which the pupils attack all learning tasks together; there is a group planning, a group participation, group evaluation. With respect to predetermined structure, it lies somewhere between the other two. The teacher is a committee chairman.

These naive judgments are gross, yet they are the raw experiences out of which more refined judgments emerge. That a teacher knows what she or he is about; that the activity is regulated by method; that the teacher is not a robot; that she is in control of the situation—these are the basic bone-felt qualities that can be perceived even by naive observers as features of the total classroom atmosphere. However, this kind of intuitive report just about exhausts the evaluational potential of the average naive observer.

The refinement of these global judgments by the expert comes about, or can come about, by making significant distinctions within the holistic judgments.¹

I have indicated that one of the approaches to defining good teaching is in

1 For a more detailed discussion, see my "The Continuing Search for Criteria," *AACTE, Evaluative Criteria Reference Paper No. 3*, 1967.

terms of some process that is thought to be a necessary and sufficient condition of it. For example, one might think of teaching on the model of therapy with its diagnosis, prescription, and test. Or one might regard communications as the essential process, so that if pupil and teacher really understand each other, by virtue of input, output, feedback, etc., teaching will be successful. Thus far, no single model seems to cover all phases of a teacher's role in instruction, classroom management, and personal relations, not even the model of the teacher as a guide for a group engaged in solving a group problem.

In recent years two developments in education have made it advisable to look at our problem from a somewhat different point of view; not a new point of view, but rather an old one with which the times seem to have caught up. I refer first to the development of educational technology, especially in computer-based programmed instruction, and second to the emphasis on the affective or noncognitive factors in teaching the disadvantaged child. The disaffection of college students with some of their courses also underlines this latter development. These turns of events make it clear that we have to distinguish more sharply than we have between didactic and encounter teaching.

Didactic teaching One type of teaching is associated with those products of instruction that can be made explicit: psychomotor skills (such as handwriting and reading), conceptual skills (such as using language in thought and expression according to rules of rhetoric and logic), knowledge of subject matter (such as chemistry, history, etc.). In these areas the means and goals of instruction can be specified and the results more or less objectively tested. So far as these outcomes are concerned, the sole criterion is efficiency, viz., the ratio of results to time and effort invested. As B. F. Skinner aptly remarked, most of the customary signs of good teaching—discussion, handwaving, discovery, excitement—are less criteria of efficient teaching than short-term gratifications to the teacher who interprets them as signs of her success. But success in teaching or learning arithmetic or reading or history is not to be equated with the amount of discussion, discovery, or excitement in the classroom. It is rather the amount of arithmetic or history learned. For this kind of learning Skinner would seem to be right when he says that prime method is selective reinforcement.²

Further, for this kind of teaching and learning, it may be predicted, programmed, computer-based instruction will be the decisive model. It can do the reinforcing more systematically and more efficiently and with more constant

2 "Teaching Science in the High School—What is Wrong?" *Science*, 159, February, 1968, pp. 704-10.

concern for the individual pupil's abilities than can any live teacher. In other words, good teaching for this type of product—and it includes everything that can be formalized into items of information, rules, principles, and problems—is measured by how closely the teacher approximates the methods and efficiency of the most sophisticated computer-based instruction on the market. This type of outcome we may call for convenience and because of customary usage "didactics," or if one can forgive a bit of tautology, didactic teaching.

For this type of teaching it is quite possible to devise steps or stages; indeed, programmed instruction necessarily does so. The following steps are typical of many such sets and the scheme is certainly no younger than the Sophists:

- I. Preparation or motivation or setting the stage for instruction. There are dozens of ways of doing this, but the crucial point is whether what Herbart called the apperceptive mass of the pupils is marshalled for instruction.
- II. Proposing the learning task. This means that the teacher asks the class to do something and makes clear just what this is with appropriate cues as to how it is to be done, when, etc. This may be accomplished by telling, but there are other ways. The important criterion here is whether or not the learner has a sufficient awareness of what is expected so that he can go ahead with some confidence.
- III. Eliciting a trial response. At some time during the teaching act, one samples the efforts of the learner to make sure that all is going well or to find out what is going wrong. This means that the pupil must have done something as a response. Otherwise there is nothing to reinforce or to correct.
- IV. Correction of the trial response. This needs no emphasis save to note once more that the techniques for doing it are numerous, and that the machines will probably do it very well once they are fully developed. It is at this stage that the teacher makes a guess as to what is wrong, if there is anything wrong, and adjusts the task to what is thought to be the cause of the difficulty.
- V. The test response. This is like tasting the stew to be sure it is done properly.
- VI. Fixing the response for the kind of retention desired.³

This schema with suitable adaptations will fit any instance of didactic teaching: imparting knowledge, developing a skill, learning and applying rules

³ See also the last chapter in my *Building a Philosophy of Education*, 2nd edition. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1961.

and principles, doing problems that involve manipulation of existing and identified elements.

*Encounter teaching*⁴ However, not all the desirable outcomes of schooling are of this didactic sort. Being creative, being critical, being intelligent, being uninhibited, being friendly, being socially acceptable are not outcomes that can be defined behaviorally or explicitly in any really useful way. They are dispositions and attitudes that involve the total self of the pupil as he interacts with other selves, including the self of the teacher. In the nature of the case, the differences among these persons have to be accepted and respected, and the course of their development cannot be made an explicit goal toward which the teacher systematically undertakes this or that course of instruction. I realize that some educational literature talks as if they could and should, but not even trained psychiatrists would be so bold.

Inescapably the teacher has to play the role of a person, and insofar as this does something to or for the personality of the pupil, we might call it encounter-teaching. I am sure that some of the work on interaction analysis will throw light on encounter teaching, and perhaps we can derive from them some definition of good encounter teaching.

Obviously, one would wish a given teacher to get high scores on both types of teaching, but unfortunately they do not necessarily coalesce in a seamless web. For example, the moment the teacher grades a pupil the relationship changes from person-to-person to judge-to-judged. It must be traumatic for a young child to learn that a loving friend has inflicted the punishment of a poor grade. Even college students cannot always be objective about these matters. Indeed, if I had to nominate the arch villainy of education it would be assigning instruction and evaluation to the same person.

It is difficult to overvalue the importance of encounter teaching. At the early stages of schooling, it is the key to motivation and discipline. Later it is the intangible component of wisdom and intellectual stimulation that under favorable circumstances are generated by teacher in the pupil. It is what Socrates called *maieutic* or the midwifery by which the teacher helps the pupil bring forth his own conceptual creations. It is what college students seek in the teach-ins, the free university, and in a wide variety of bull sessions to which now and then young professors are lured. But while history has celebrated with justice Socrates, Jesus, and other great inspirational teachers, the schools were manned by the descendants of the Sophists who developed

4 Cf. Maxine Greene, Ed. *Existential Encounters for Teachers*. New York: Random House, 1967.

the methods that to this day are the methods of didactic teaching. The former created wisdom; the latter preserved and transmitted knowledge and knowledge about wisdom.

So long as the body of knowledge to be taught remained fairly small and tightly organized, so long as a culture was of one mind about values, and so long as personality was developed outside rather than inside the school, the classroom teacher could do both didactic and encounter teaching. More correctly he would concentrate on didactics formally and do the other informally. Today's conditions of crowded classrooms, the knowledge explosion, the plurality of values that compete for attention and priority, the diversity of background of the pupils make it virtually impossible for one teacher to do both types of teaching at the same time in the same classroom, or even alternately in the same classroom. A friendly divorce now seems not only advisable but feasible.

The Advisability of Divorce

This divorce is especially advisable now when it has become clear that the psychosocial factors are dominant both in the teaching of the disadvantaged child and of his over-disadvantaged counterpart in college. It is feasible because at all levels the potential of educational technology for didactic teaching is impressive.

If the divorce should come to pass, we can anticipate a class of teachers devoted to didactics. These would be instructional technicians who operate the machines that feed the programs to the pupil, direct his learning, grade his achievement, and unerringly and without delay record his progress. Their training would approximate that of an X-ray technician in a hospital, about two years beyond high school. At a higher level, program developers and researchers would work either at the universities or at the educational industries. Supervising the choice of programs and making appropriate educational decisions would be instructional managers not unlike the school principal or curriculum director.⁵

What will be the characteristics of the encounter teacher and what will constitute good encounter teaching? Aristotle, Plato, Socrates, Jesus and Moses were all great encounter teachers. So was my sophomore high school English teacher on one occasion. But I would be at a loss to find any personality or teaching style common to all of them. A wide, an extraordinarily wide, variety of social workers, therapists, mental hygienists, counselors, Peace Corps and Vista members, not to speak of socially sensitive members of the League

5 Cf. "Some Hazards and Potentials of Educational Technology," in E. L. Morphet and D. L. Jessor, Eds. *Planning for Effective Utilization of Technology in Education*. Denver: Designing Education for the Future Project, 1968.

of Women Voters and the PTA, might be competent to do encounter teaching—if one wishes to confine it to personal interactions. One can think of so many possible combinations of traits and styles and backgrounds that the mind boggles at any attempt at generalization.

I suppose a strong interest in the personality and the growth of others is a good prognosis. Being a developing person oneself is another; good encounter teachers grow through teaching; they are greedy takers as well as generous givers. A certain plasticity—even to the point of delayed maturity—is another favorable sign, because it provides for tolerance of divergence and postpones the formation of stereotypes of thought and feeling. However, these are all promising signs but no guarantee of success. Since it is the total personality that operates in encounter teaching, it is the total pattern of traits that counts, and not even the most sophisticated computer can figure out all the possible benign combinations of traits that constitute the good encounter teacher.

Exhibitions of Encounters Although the arts and the humanities in general can be taught didactically, they are primarily exhibitions in vivid form of the human encounter. One might wish that the school could utilize these forms of feeling in encounter teaching, i.e., establish encounters between the pupil and the personalities created by the arts. If this should be a requirement of encounter teaching, and I am not sure that there is agreement on this point, then the preparation of the encounter teacher would probably have to go well beyond the level of a craftsman applying rules.

Relieved of the need to do didactical work, the encounter teacher could: (1) teach the arts as modes of experience rather than as bodies of subject matter; (2) foster creative work by the pupil in a wide variety of fields; (3) diagnose the emotional and social blocks to learning; (4) participate in the kind of community activities needed to play the role of an encounter teacher; and (5) be the kind of person the mental hygiene experts say he or she ought to be.

However, in this realm the outcomes and the means are not explicit; they cannot unambiguously be translated into behavioral objectives, and the criteria for learning and teaching are therefore neither explicit nor objective.

One may wonder whether the efficiency made possible in didactic teaching by technology will be used to release resources for more and better encounter teaching. There is no reason to believe that it necessarily would; on the contrary, it will take some educational statesmanship to prevent it from being ousted from the school altogether in the name of economy. The unwillingness to pay the price for training teachers to a professional level, and the belief among teacher trainers themselves that technical apprenticeship is all that is

really necessary do not provide a hopeful prognosis. The virtual impossibility of defining good encounter teaching will not help either.

On the hopeful side is the fact that America in the next 25 years will not be able to afford shoddy schooling for even a considerable minority of its members. Economic, political, and military health and the sanity of the social order will depend increasingly on a population whose thought and feeling are shaped by the categories of both the sciences and the humanities. As we all know, the hearts of the American people are in the right place, and their minds, for the most part, dwell among noble ideals. All it takes to galvanize these into action is the fear of a decline in the Gross National Product and the prospect of profit. Education has both of these motivations working for it. It promises to be the great growth industry of the future and the indispensable ingredient to growth in every other sector of our economy.

Good teaching can be defined well enough for experts to use in evaluation, but our chances of reaching agreement is far greater in didactic than in encounter teaching. The machine is the norm for didactic efficiency; the high-grade, humanely cultivated person is the model for the latter. However, there is an endless variation of this model, and the problem for the schools is to lure enough of them to do the necessary encounter teaching, a task that is more important than defining our preferred variety of it.

Instructional Guidelines for Teachers of the Disadvantaged

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Much has been written about the difficulties faced by children of the disadvantaged in the schools. But the schools have not as yet confronted either the complex causes of these difficulties or their own role in the perpetuation of them. Instead of effecting a confrontation with causes, we have permitted quick and easy "solutions" to be the order of the day: remedial reading, team teaching, and dividing the day into modules. Such solutions are hopefully but erroneously intended to fill the tremendous gaps in learning as well as the gaps in learning power with which the children come to school.

The teaching strategies which the school devises must be founded in an intensive examination of those causes for gaps and not on the behaviors which are merely symptomatic. This we have never seriously undertaken. Inability to read, for example, is a symptom, not a cause. To fill the sixth-grade non-reader's day with drill in skills is to attack the symptom and not the causes. While the school did not cause and cannot cure the extensive social ills with which the child must contend, it can do much to counteract those ills. Certainly the school can do more than it has been doing; certainly the knowledge of what to do and how to do it is greater than that which is being put to use.

Psycho-Social Factors Social conditions affect the school and dictate new models and strategies for teaching. A homogeneous group of academically able and highly motivated students has been characteristic of the population in the typical school of the past. Now it includes all the children of all the people and therefore encompasses great heterogeneity. This heterogeneity must be kept constantly in focus because it affects the strategies we must invent. The heterogeneous group includes alienated chil-

Professor Elkins, who is well known for the work she has done with the late Hilda Taba as well as for the work she has done independently, here offers some concrete, exciting suggestions for teachers willing to look again at the problem of teaching the children of the poor. The voice of an experienced and committed educator is audible here. We hope our readers will heed it. If they do, many more disadvantaged young people will begin to learn.

dren. With the speeding up of migration from rural areas to great industrial urban centers—Negroes from the rural South, Puerto Ricans from rural island communities, Mexicans and Indians in the Southwest—people have been catapulted from a simple, personal face-to-face culture into a highly complex, impersonal living pattern almost overnight. The resulting feeling of alienation is clear. Children describe this feeling in such terms as "I like my old place better," "We had enough to eat there," "There were places to swim and go fishing." They miss the personal contents that were a part of the simpler culture; here they are lost, children and adults alike.

Alienation is further accentuated by life in encapsulated communities; the symptoms of alienation are apparent in the hostility to school. The goals of the school are baffling; the content selected for learning is meaningless; and the practices, totally inappropriate. The goals, the content, the practices must be reexamined; for they, too, dictate new strategies. These strategies must be built with full awareness of the alienation and the heterogeneity involved. Uprooted children, those who are cut off from the mainstream of society which has created the school's goals, cannot learn from that society and cannot but be perplexed by these goals.

Alienation puts into motion a vicious cycle.¹ For one thing, it affects language facility so necessary for success in schools. Since children who live in segregated communities and who are cut off from larger culture cannot learn from it, they also cannot meet the school's expectations with respect to language facility. So begins the cycle of failure. Add to this the broken homes, and the large families which make it impossible for the remaining responsible adult to give the necessary personal attention needed for optimum growth, and the problem is compounded by deficit in cognitive functioning. The child of necessity is left on his own to explore his world with little interpretation or mediation by adults. It is that interpretation which helps him to develop not only language but also patterns of conceptualization. Adult mediation helps him make order out of his world and build concepts for understanding it. Cognitive functioning includes such processes as naming objects, identifying common elements in concrete objects and events, formulating concepts, and seeing relationships between cause and consequence, processes with which middle-class children grow up as a part of daily life, for their experiences include exploration of their daily environment which is accompanied by the interpretation of adults.

Not only does the disadvantaged child thus fail to learn concepts which are

1 Robert J. Havighurst and Lindley J. Stiles, "National Policy for Alienated Youth," in A. Harry Passow, Miriam Goldberg, and Abraham J. Tannenbaum, Eds. *Education of the Disadvantaged*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1967.

crucial for learning other things, but lack of attention from adults results in failure to develop the ego strength necessary to energize learning. There is no one to praise him for the tasks he does well, and the lack of ego strength creates the motivation and aspiration deficit. The label "lazy" or "apathetic" becomes attached to him and he is drawn deeper into the vortex of failure.

Cumulative Deficits Because of these related language, cognitive and motivational deficits, the problems multiply. Teachers tend to consider the students natively unintelligent, even though the basic causes of the deficits in all of these areas are environmental. It is known that environment plays a tremendous role in the capacity to learn and in the development of intelligence. Piaget and his disciples make it clear that intelligence depends on a wealth of experience with manipulating concrete operations and that the experience must include adult help in interpretation of what is happening. Variety of stimulation is necessary for the development of flexible cognitive functioning as against rigidity of cognitive functioning. Further, variety of stimulation is closely associated with creating motivation: the more the child sees and hears and is helped to interpret, the more he will want to see and hear and interpret. Once he is motivated to do these things, once he wants to do them, he has energy to learn.

But the environment of the disadvantaged is limited. Systematic interpretation is lacking; rigid responses to situations are developed and motivation is restricted. A deficient development of flexible intellectual functioning must result. Children become accustomed to plunging from activity to activity with little organized attention given to any one thing. They survive with a bare minimum of experience with abstractions. When we consider that success in school depends on these very things—motivation, attention of an organized nature, ability to abstract, and facility with language—then the inevitability of failure for children with deficits in these areas is clear.

Nor does the cycle stop here. Deficits in the ingredients for success create a syndrome of behaviors which further retard the child's progress as he moves along in school. Low self-concept causes him to avoid uncomfortable competitive situations. Rather than confront the challenge which holds great possibility of more failure, he withdraws or becomes hostile. It is better to refuse to become involved than to appear "stupid" on yet another occasion; it is more comfortable to meet the challenging situation with hostility than to be on the losing side once more.

Nor are things improving. The problems of the children are multiplying far faster than the possible solutions. In New York City, for example, for the first time, the number of minority children who tend to live in encapsulated

communities has passed the fifty percent mark.² The curriculum and teaching strategies which once suited the academically able minority are totally useless for the new majority of children entering the portals of our schools. Even the so-called experimental curricula with which we have been plaguing them are still founded on the principles appropriate for school populations of the 1920's and not for them. For example, in an effort to "upgrade" learning, one city's sixth-grade experimental curriculum includes knowledge of the work of Heinrich Schliemann, Arthur Evans, J. H. Breasted, Nelson Glueck, or "any other noted archaeologist of the teacher's choice."

The School's Share in Failure As was pointed out above, the source of motivation for learning lies in the adult mediator. An adult has difficulty performing this function unless he can establish positive relationships with children. Who can deny that, all too often, the way teachers regard children has blocked the road to these positive relationships and thus deprived them of this source of motivation? The way teachers respond to what children say and write, even the way they correct or fail to correct a composition, has a crucial effect upon the relationship. An example is the composition of thirteen-year-old Maria who lives in East Harlem and her teacher's reaction to that composition.

"Stop, don't do it! Please stop them. Help." She screamed.

That was the words she pronounce when I was coming from the store. When I was coming up the stairs I saw blood down the stair and I look up I saw three policeman and two detective and I said what's wrong, were does blood come from? The detective said in a deep voice this blood come from the second floor two neighbors had a fight, and we are waiting for the ambulance. My heart stop for one second, and then I ran up the stairs and I said, "That is where I live." When I came up and saw Mr. Lopez with blood all over his shirt and I kneel down and said "Mr. Lopez what happen" and he said "That no good Luis he" he stop and then I said go on, but the policeman interb and said please young girl don't try to make him talk, then a policeman and a fat lady the lady was the nurse and she said take this man immediately! to the ambulance he is bleeding to much. The policeman took him to the ambulance. The other she put some bandage around his shoulders and then she said go to your home and report tomorrow at the hospital. Then the nurse call me over and said do you know the man

2 Fred M. Hechinger, "Negro and Puerto Rican Pupils in Majority Here for First Time," *The New York Times*, March 15, 1967.

that I sent in the ambulance? Yes nurse. "Then will you answer some questions." Yes. Will you please companion me to the hospital. Yes nurse.

Mr. Lopez die in the ambulance, I call Mrs. Lopez and gave her the bad news. She started to scream and cry. I came back from the hospital after I answer the question. The first thing that came in my mine was "why" "why" two neighbors fight. "Why" because they maybe don't understand each other or maybe one ask for a advice and the other said why come to me why don't you go to your family.

To be a neighbor is not necessary to be in the neighborhood, it can be country or city or the town anything. For example if you go to a country that you never gone before. All during your travels you would see people staring at your odd clothing, people who would not understand the language you spoke.

Then you would land in a strange country. Everything would be different. You would have to learn a strange language learn a new trade. Then you try to be kindful and helpful with people. The people will adore you truly. "Why" because you been not only a good neighbor but helpful and friendly with them. This is one of the simple ways to be kind with people, by helping them in anything they need your help today and tomorrow they help you. This composition is for the adolescent to give them an ideal to understand other persons. When a boy or girl comes into a classroom for the first time you try to make a conversation with him or her. Show the boy or girl around the school introduct the boy or girl to your friends so she don't feel lonely. In a way you are helping the boy or girl getting around.³

What was the teacher's reaction to Maria's composition? Maria knew only what she wrote at the end of it: "Too long!"

Secondly, teachers fail in their role as educators of disadvantaged children because they "teach" through the use of long verbal explanations. When such explanations are the process through which teaching is done, slum children "tune out."⁴ They cannot attend to long explanations, for disordered home lives with choppy sequences of events have built in a short attention span. Let it not be denied that teaching is still done largely through verbal explanations; the research indicates this and a walk through the corridor of any school with

3 Leonard Kornberg, Ed. *Bridges to Slum Ghetto Children*, The Bridge Project, Publication No. 3. New York: Queens College, Department of Education, November, 1962.

4 Helen F. Storen *The First Semester: Beginning Teachers in Urban School*. New York: Project TRUE, Hunter College, 1965.

classes above the third grade reinforces research findings through a simple but repeated count of who happens to be talking in each classroom at the moment the observer passes.⁵

Furthermore, the conventional type of school work gives habits of inattention a chance to gain a stranglehold. The content is too often meaningless, having little to do with the lives of the children. An excerpt from almost any social studies textbook illustrates this.

Some Southern Neighbors

Because this is a history of the United States, we are most interested in the Indians of this area. The most civilized Indians in the Americas, however, lived south of what is now the United States. The Aztec and Mayan Indians lived in what is now Mexico, while the Incas lived in what is now Peru. By the time the Europeans discovered America, the Aztecs had conquered the Mayans and borrowed much of the Mayan culture for their own use.

City-dwelling Indians. The Aztec-Mayan culture in Mexico and the Inca culture in Peru were similar in several ways. In each case there was a large city surrounded by land controlled by the tribe. The Aztecs had a calendar—a system for counting days and years. In some respects the Aztec calendar was more accurate than the European calendar of that time. The Aztecs also had a form of picture writing and a system of numbers.⁶

To this kind of alien content we add new skills and thus further complicate their learning problems. For example, when a child can't read he is sent to the library to get a book. One of two things tends to happen. He wants so desperately to read what others can do that he secures a book far beyond his ability and refuses to give it up; or, he simply returns to school next day without having ever gone near that library. To strange content and new skills we add meaningless goals: committing facts to memory in order to pass the test. When all of these hurdles are piled on top of the language problem, it becomes impossible for him to function. So he stops. His behavior baffles the teacher who has not been able to analyze the school's role in causing the child's behavior. Frustration on the part of the teacher causes him to attach labels to the child which he regards as causes rather than as symptoms. There is little realization that for him to respond is to meet more failure and he has

5 Arno Bellack, et al. *The Language of the Classroom*. New York: Teachers College Press, 1963.

6 R. W. Patrick, J. K. Bettersworth, and R. W. Steen. *This Country of Ours*. Austin, Texas: The Steck Company, 1965.

had enough of that; there is little realization that the school system, including the teacher training institution, has played its role in that failure.

Consistently, educators have avoided a confrontation of the school with its failure to help the child learn. With the passing of years in school, the deficits multiply so that by the time the child reaches grade six, his self-image has been shattered to such an extent that hostility toward school is no longer hidden, and the general hopelessness is all-pervasive. The school has done little to eliminate the deficits with which children came to school, and yet it is in a uniquely favorable position to do something about those deficits. Fragmented solutions like remediation have been tried long enough and have been found wanting, for this is a negative approach to teaching and has proved itself unable to serve a positive function. Now we need curriculum and teaching strategies that have new and fresh vigor, untainted by such retarding factors as coverage of meaningless content.

In this task, the school has a powerful ally. As mentioned before, intellectual growth depends on the child's exploration of his environment and that exploration must include interpretation and variety of ingredients. It happens that the school is in a position to create such an environment, one with the quality necessary for mental growth. This is the clarion call to the schools; this is where we must concentrate our efforts: on the creation of the environment which nourishes the development of intelligence.

Charting the Course for Instructional Strategies

If schools are to adopt as one of their major goals the development of intelligence, there must be an acute awareness that acquiring knowledge and mastering skills, though important goals, are simply not enough. By placing the accent on acquiring information, we have deprived our pupils of the more important mental process of converting that information to ideas. By placing the emphasis on passive absorption, we have deprived them of needed mental growth that accompanies questioning, searching and discovering. By concerning ourselves with giving them the generalizations which they are forced to regurgitate on demand, we have deprived them of the power to make those generalizations themselves from the given data. By telling them which facts to study, we have deprived them of the power to select relevant facts and to discard the irrelevant. These are all thinking processes, and the children are the ones who need to engage in them if the school is to emphasize mental growth as a prime goal.

The school needs to create an environment in which searching, questioning and discovering are not only permitted but encouraged. Otherwise, the severe deficit in ability to abstract causes disaster to the child as he tries to function

in school. He finds difficulty seeing relationships and performing other cognitive processes. He needs systematic help in developing the ability to perform such tasks as categorization. Since he has no model for seeing consequence as related to cause, the environment must be conducive to learning this through such means as making hypotheses from given clues. Inability to see relationships and inability to abstract are key deficits and deter his progress in other kinds of learning tasks such as reading comprehension. But he can learn these cognitive skills⁷ and the task of the school is to devise instructional strategies that will permit and encourage him to do so.

Sensitivity Training One area which encourages the learning of cognitive skills because it creates the environment which motivates learning is sensitivity training. It has the advantage of being a content area as well as one rich in potential for learning all kinds of skills, new attitudes, and important thinking processes simultaneously. Diagnostic devices used with students who are disadvantaged render undeniable evidence that sensitivity training is a needed and fruitful focus of study. In a number of situations answers to open-ended questions have been used as a diagnostic device. Students talked or wrote about "What makes me mad," "My wishes," "My worries," and revealed much about their feelings of loneliness and alienation, their constant and usually fruitless search for attention and affection, the lack of something as "common" as someone to talk to, the deep wounds caused by name-calling, especially in derogatory terms directed against mothers or racial and ethnic origins.

Sensitivity training must include attitudes toward oneself as well as others; diagnostic devices of more than one variety gave evidence of the need for development of such attitudes. Peers must be placed in situations where offering ego fulfillment in turn gives a feeling of satisfaction; insights into and solutions to interpersonal conflicts constitute important emphases; skills for coping with rebuff and criticism are necessary for ego development. Measures for preventing a sense of failure are of prime importance, and these must be an intrinsic part of the curriculum. All of these factors are included in the idea of sensitivity training.

However, if information gathering is the major objective, then sensitivity training tends to fall by the wayside. Thinking and attitudes are developed from an active process which is in no way the same type of learning experience as is used for acquiring facts. The learning of attitudes requires experiences

7 Hilda Taba and Deborah Elkins. *Teaching Strategies for the Culturally Disadvantaged*. Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1966.

which make an impact on emotions. These can be planned simultaneously with cognitive experiences as when the school helps students understand motivations of people, helps them gain insights into their own behavior including cause and effect, and concentrates on the development of human relations skills which energize other learnings because of the motivational power inherent in the mastery of those skills and insights. The motivational power is reinforced by the fact that students regard emphasis on "sensitivity content" and on preliminary diagnostic procedures which attend it as a personal concern for them and their welfare on the part of their teacher and the school. This is true only under one condition: that the rapport between teacher and students is a positive one. The teacher thus builds the first steps toward creating a climate for mediation as well as for motivation to learn. When results of the open-ended questions are tallied and given anonymously to the students under a heading such as "What our class thinks about punishments," this is a second step in the mediation process as well as in the motivational. Thus, multiple objectives are planned simultaneously.

Depth Study Stress on coverage has been found wanting not only with respect to shortchanging students in sensitivity training and the development of thinking processes. Also it prevents the depth study which students need desperately for building significant concepts. This is attained if the student examines a few instances in depth rather than brushing by many instances ever so lightly. From careful analysis of a few instances illustrating an idea, the idea itself is more clearly and distinctly perceived. Enduring knowledge results from concentration on analysis of a small number of examples of an idea because such concentration permits time and energy for significant intellectual and social learnings. A limited number of details suffice to understand a complete idea if the illustrations are contrasting ones and are considered in depth. Contrast is important for perspective; perception becomes more precise, and cognitive functioning is thereby heightened.

The contrasting instances studied are the means to the end. Depth study is focused on the concept and thrusts the student into highly complex thinking processes such as hypothesizing, making inferences and perceiving relationships. For example, students can use information to hypothesize about why in one geographic area the animal served man in one capacity while in another the situation was altogether different. In such a study of the role of animals in the life of man, students need to see sharp effects, such as animals causing man to keep on the move, following the herd; but animals also helped man to settle the land and lead an entirely different kind of life. The concept that the same need—the drive for food—was met so differently by man because of one of a

number of conditions gives an opportunity for studying a variety of contrasting situations. In this case the role of animals was one of the conditions. When students examine specific illustrations of men who follow the herd and relate their findings to the larger idea, they can make inferences about the kind of life that is led by families who follow the herd and contrast these with families who settle the land. Thus, they have opportunities for developing cognitive abilities with which the school must be concerned.

In all cases, learning must be initiated with concrete instances which are closely related to the experiences of the students. If the concept is "Animals affect the history of men," they must first pool ideas of what they already know about the roles animals play and in this way give to each other the beginnings of some perspective through their different experiences. Then they have something to which they can tie what they learn—when they see movies about the work animals do in helping men raise food in different parts of the world, when they read about scientific experiments performed through the use of animals, when they interview someone from the ASPCA, when they learn about laws regarding the keeping of certain animals as pets in a big city, and when they make systematic observation of the relationship between people they know and the animals they own. From all of these varied activities they gain an understanding of the idea that animals propel certain adjustments in the life of man; they have an opportunity to arrive at the same idea from several different perspectives.

Centering the study on concepts also permits the use of multiple skills including new cognitive skills. But to be effective, these must be natural parts of each learning experience. In other words, they must be needed in order to carry on a particular activity. For example, when students are composing a booklet on Animals in The Life of Man, it must be carried on in such a way that to achieve it requires language arts—skills of listening, reading and writing, the use of new models of thinking, and a feeling for the very real contribution of peers.

Providing for Heterogeneity Plans for teaching strategies must give high priority to provisions for heterogeneity. It is necessary to do away with uniform materials, rigidly set pacing for everyone, and standards that leave little room for individuality. Too often individualization of instruction has been interpreted as individual pacing of coverage of the same material or topic. Individualization means not only more than this but something far different. It means that with respect to any one given topic, different students do different things.⁸ It means a wide range of activities and

8 Deborah Elkins. *Reading Improvement in the Junior High School*. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1963.

materials through which children can learn. One set of books cannot answer the need; reading alone cannot insure equal learning opportunity for everyone. A wide variety of books on different levels and for different interests can be found around given topics and can be read to find answers to common sets of questions. Observation, interview, experimentation offer still largely untapped resources for learning. Heterogeneity demands elimination of some old practices and substitution of as yet inadequately explored, but potentially fruitful ones. For example, tasks which encourage different ways of responding are in order. Questions which demand only one right answer must be eliminated. Rather, questions like, "What do you think causes people to want to own animals?" permit a variety of responses on many levels. Thus, children who are ordinarily cut off from responding in a group learning situation now can become participants.

The Need for Participation Participation is a critical factor in providing for motivation so necessary in children's learning. Rewards are often foreign to the experience of many disadvantaged children. Even simple compliments are all but unknown. One eighth-grade boy who was complimented by his teacher for a piece of work which showed genuine effort looked in wonderment at her and softly answered, "Once when I was in the second grade my teacher said, 'Good for you!'" It took six long years for another scrap of praise to be forthcoming. In the light of this, other devices must be used as motivation to supplement this kind of reward. One such device is to offer experiences which have strong emotional impact. Such experiences mobilize attention and energize learning. For example, a story which arouses feelings has the power to command attention and to supply energy for learning. The sheer drama of the sea of grasshoppers attacking the crops and animals and people in *Let The Hurricane Roar* by Lane is captivating, especially when read by the teacher to the class. The use of the familiar is also motivating; in this case, the children had all had unpleasant if not terrifying experiences with insects. The use of the novel and the unexpected has power to motivate: watching the behavior of live locusts in captivity if only to see how much they can consume; listening to a story recorded on tape and read to a background of music at a time when reading by themselves is resisted; seeing a real movie of themselves as they perform some group-learning activity. These introductory experiences must be close to their own concerns. Discussing what they do which makes parents angry or happy can serve to initiate a study of values we hold, how we learn them, and what effects they have on us and others. Such a discussion serves to catch attention. Once attention is captured and learning is energized, other devices are

needed to continue the energizing of learning. Introductory activities are necessary, but they will not sustain learning over long periods of time. Too often teachers rely on these introductory activities to do more than they are meant to do, to achieve more than their character enables them to achieve. The sustaining devices must be concrete, overt activities which keep curiosity alive and thus overcome the short attention span. Dramatizing, role-playing, and being authors of a "book" are examples of overt activities which have inherent in them motivating power for learning. Another important factor is the experience must allow for immediate success; this means success for everyone, not just a select few. A situation which is competitive and sets one student against the other is untenable in the early stages of overcoming short attention span; it serves merely to disrupt at a time when students need to learn to support each other. The result of overt activity must be tangibly rewarding. For example, a class booklet which they create, which they can see and touch, and which includes a contribution from every member of the class is a tangibly rewarding outcome. Ultimately, however, intrinsic motivation must take over. This lies in the feeling of mastery. Children do want that feeling; they can be intrigued with many intellectual processes such as making hypotheses from given clues and finding out how good a detective they'd make. Eventually the motivation must have its origins in the task itself and in the satisfaction that comes from mastery, from being able to cope with something one was not able to handle previously.

Literary Resources Literature was mentioned

earlier. It needs to be discussed again, for it is a powerful resource for creating a learning environment.⁹ It is a motivating device to focus attention initially, but it also is equally useful for involving students in the study of intellectual problems, and for sustaining learning energy. It provides material that addresses the feelings and from this point on gives energy for learning difficult skills like reading and writing. Through it, knowledge can be gained for it can effectively build concepts like time and space which are difficult to learn. "Tuning up" feelings for differences in time and place is necessary before facts about them take on meaning, just as "tuning up the ear" is necessary for building a "sentence sense" before technical aspects of structure take on any meaning. These are long-term goals and take more than a month or a year. If students read about the roles of animals in *The Road to Agra* by Sommerfelt, *Old Yeller* by Gipson, and *Skip* by Aileen Fisher, they acquire a feeling for

9 D. Elkins, "Teaching and Learning Strategies for Educationally Disadvantaged Children and Youth," in A. Harry Passow, Ed. *Curriculum and Teaching in Urban Depressed Areas*. New York: Teachers College Press, 1968.

time and place because the same topic is dealt with in different times and different places and the contrasts in events due to these differences are sharp. Yet, they gain a feeling for the continuity of time and place in the affairs of men. Therefore, literature introduces new ideas and provides material for analysis, so that new concepts can emerge from analysis. It does these things even while it offers sensitivity training because it extends experience with human behavior beyond what everyday living can offer. Since social isolation of disadvantaged children is critical, since their concern about this is deep, literature offers the school an inexhaustible source of motivation for learning. It offers the school a means of achieving an important part of its task of acculturation, for it helps internalize values and identify with others. It gives perspective about their own problems and feelings as well as a sense of the universality of emotions and their causes and consequences.

All of this does not take place by the mere reading of a story. Activities surrounding the use of literature must be "balanced" for intake and output, as must all activities through which learning is intended to occur. Conventional school work was too concerned with intake of new information. Literature offers opportunities for expressive or output activities. When students dramatize a story, they practice tirelessly, because the play's the thing. Meantime, there is incentive for acquiring reading skills far more efficiently and in only a small portion of the time that it takes to achieve the same thing in a remedial reading session. Role-playing the ending of a story is an output activity which provides food for discussing the logic of events and of human motives. These very discussions held around the role-playing or the literature can be another output activity while achieving the discovery of the central idea of a story which in turn leads children to read with deeper insight and understanding. Output discussions are needed before and after the reading, each discussion serving its own specific purpose.

Other output activities are observation, interviewing, and scientific treatment of findings. Of course, in each of these there is a measure of intake of new information. But this is a secondary goal here. Systematic observation brings order to everyday events in the chaotic environment so often characteristic of the disadvantaged child. It focuses attention on important elements which are overlooked otherwise. Systematic observation produces content which lends itself to scientific treatment involved in tallying information to uncover patterns, comparing and contrasting various factors, formulating hypotheses and then testing them through further observation or other pertinent activities. For example, students observe things families do to teach their children; they compare findings, and draw conclusions. All families do some things which teach, but different members may assume the same roles

in different families. Students who return to school with the conclusion that their families don't do anything that educates soon change their minds and appreciate the opportunity to have a new look at their "hypothesis." Observation has still another function: it helps students see the relationship between school and out-of-school life. The latter is brought into the schoolroom systematically as the school itself reaches out to make more meaningful what goes on elsewhere. Observing younger siblings makes them take on an aura of something genuinely interesting; interviewing adults gives to those adults a significance they did not have before, as when children ask about tales that were told to them "when they were young" in order to discover universal emotions even in tales that are handed down from generation to generation, so enduring are they. Emotions, whether expressed by adults or adolescents, take on more meaning and thus become more tolerable. Further, observation brings to stories the meaning of everyday life so that while literature helps interpret life, daily experiences in turn help interpret literature. Finally, observations and interviews can be written up and tallied and used for purposes of comparison as the study progresses, thus putting into focus new and less concrete experiences that are offered.

Model of A Learning Sequence: Human Hands

The above guidelines cannot be put to use without diagnosis of specific needs which dictate how they shall be used. Open-ended questions were mentioned as one diagnostic device. Role-playing, sociograms, sociometric interviews, diaries, systematic observation of children all bear fruit in furnishing details which are needed to decide on concepts, content, learning activities and learning sequences. For example, with one group of students it was discovered that they needed a feeling of self-worth, that they were intensely interested in anything to do with the physical aspects of the human being, that they had few notions of what results teamwork could produce, were unable to listen to each other, were unable to express themselves adequately or to conceptualize about many everyday events around them, and had developed inadequate relationships with people around them. These findings gave helpful direction to the planning. On occasion a paradox was uncovered which dictated certain characteristics of teaching models. For example, disadvantaged children need time for depth study, but their short attention span demands short sequences. This meant that teachers had to do long-term planning for a theme and, within it, a series of short sequences that were vital parts of it and that provided for the study in depth.

The Family of Man was chosen as a long-term theme because it is the kind of topic which is important for understanding of self as well as of the larger

society. It permits a study of concepts such as human beings everywhere have the same basic needs and emotions, and all human beings aim for something important to them. It permits a variety of activities that are productive and that are needed to achieve multiple goals such as development of cognitive powers and mastery of skills. It was the kind of topic that lent itself to several shorter sequences, each closely related to the other and each contributing to the larger one. Inherent in it were many concrete topics, intimately related to children's previous experiences. These topics were also inherently true illustrations of the concepts planned for the long-term unit. The central value of each of these topics was significant enough to bear rather thorough exploration.

Human Hands was chosen as the first sequence and proved to be a good one because children were concerned with the physical, because it lent itself to needed experiences, permitted movement from the concrete to the abstract, and helped build concepts outlined for the unit. Not all teachers chose the same initial sequence because the needs of their students were different. Some chose *Sound in Our Lives*; others preferred *Growing Up* while a fourth group selected *Who's Afraid*?

Those who studied Human Hands began by having the children draw an outline of their own hands on a piece of paper. This involved them immediately in an overt, concrete, engaging activity. When later the drawings of all students were posted with stories which accompanied them written right in the outline of the hands themselves, peers were observed time after time trying to measure their own hands against the outline of others. There was quiet talk around that bulletin board for days to follow. Then, with the teacher, they discussed the beauty of human hands and the similarity. Three things were achieved here: the beginnings of the concept of a common humanity, the beginnings of a conversation in which at least one or two children actually responded to each other, and the initiation of new attitudes about their own persons. When they next wrote about "Important Things My Hands Can Do," they offered none of the usual resistance to writing because they now had something to say, because they enjoyed the novelty of entering their story within the outline of their own hands, and they took readily to the notion that even their hands were worthy of note. Typically they mentioned eating and dressing, but there were always implications for the teacher to ponder. Hands pray, they said; and hands give people things.

As they talked about what they wrote, the teacher quickly listed the categories "work" and "play" on the board, so that each child's offering was listed under at least one of these. This was their first experience with categorization, a crucial thinking process. The "simple" act of deciding in which cate-

gory certain events fell offered an opportunity to introduce the notion that not all events can be rigidly pigeonholed. The tally was completed by a committee to save time and to initiate them into the experience of a few working in the service of the many. The tally was rexographed and distributed to everyone for immediate use next day. This served two functions: early gratification and building the notion that what they do has purpose. The tally of their own experiences was to be used to compare with experiences of people outside their own lives, people in books.

They listened to a chapter from *Big Doc's Girl* about punishment of a child by an older sibling. The experience was close to them and therefore emotionally involving, but it was not theirs. It was one step removed. Because it was involving and yet not their own, they could gain perspective that would not otherwise be possible. During the discussion which followed the reading, they compared their findings with their own original tally and added items, thus making use of the work they had done the previous day and building upon it. Discussion centered around sharp emotional reactions: Did Sis have the right to spank the children? The issues must be sharp in order to force attention to what peers have to say, to sustain involvement, and to learn to resolve issues verbally rather than with the fists. Discussions were very brief at the outset, and increased in length as children were able to handle longer conversations. Even while this was slowly being achieved, other goals were being attained as teachers became aware of them. Once children became involved, they all wanted to talk, yet they were unable to sustain a conversation. So the teacher used this occasion to begin to build faith that tomorrow will bring new opportunities. She did this by listing names of those who still wanted to talk, gave them time to jot down what they wanted to say so they would not forget, and promised that tomorrow the discussion would be continued. A third goal was being achieved too: slowly the teacher was moving their attention from student-centered issues to less personal ones.

Then they observed for one-half hour what adults or babies or adolescents do with their hands, and they took notes on observations. Note-taking for this purpose needed previous preparation which was achieved through role-playing. Not only did the children learn how to take notes, but the teacher learned a great deal about the soul-saving sense of humor they possessed, the wit and the sarcasm and the very real insights that were revealed through their mimicry.

The results of their observations were shared in class next day. They found that adults shook their index fingers at others, while teenagers did not; mothers cuddled babies but fathers did not. This time, when categories were selected for tallying, the students supplied one or two. Again, they wrote about their

observations and did so willingly because their productions were to constitute a rexographed book of which they would be the authors, and because they discovered that the teacher gave ready help. The paragraphs were corrected, rewritten over and over again to be rexographed and bound the very next day. Once more, gratification must be within a very short time.

The next day they insisted on hearing every single person's creation, even though the teacher was ready to settle for five or six. The earlier tally became the summary sheet, thus putting their own previous work to good use again. Now came their first genuine acquaintance with a table of contents. After all, a book needs a table of contents. Here, the set of textbooks came in handy for the first time; children examined the format of the table of contents and set up their own. Seeing their names there, seeing others turn to the page to find a particular story, they enriched their self-images. Adults at home added to the good feeling, as in wonderment they regarded the accomplishments of the child. Not in all homes did this happen, however. Some children did not share life with such adults. These could experience the feeling of a boosted ego when the class decided that one copy of their book should be placed in their church so that others could have something to read and could see what they had to say.

Findings needed further interpretation in order that more perspective be gained. "What is the relationship between emotions and what hands do?" The teacher read a chapter from *Caddie Woodlawn* about the punishment meted out to her. Students had to infer the function of hands, their first experience in formally and consciously making inferences. This activity involved going from the concrete to the abstract. Inferential thinking could be introduced because students identified with the characters. Hands showed anger and pleaded forgiveness. They cried out in loneliness as when Ruth drew the picture of her mother on the wall of her room.

A variety of "Help Wanted" ads which the teacher rexographed was examined to see the jobs that needed hands most, from clerk typist to floor-walker. At first they rejected all but the obvious ones, but closer examination through discussion pushed forward the inference-making. They attempted rank-order of jobs using the criterion of importance of hands, and concluded that it was possible to rank them only if quantity alone and not type of use were considered. It is this kind of high level conclusion which offers significant evidence that children can learn to make abstractions even when they begin with a deficiency in this ability.

Pictures offered another aid to moving them outside of their own environment. They discussed a soldier in Vietnam holding a baby in one arm and a gun in another, and talked of what he was doing, and what we were doing

there, good and bad. Magazines were distributed to find pictures of good things and bad which we were doing in other parts of the world. Children worked together in pairs for moral support on a new task requiring that they defend the category in which they placed their picture. The defense again gave very important evidence of the school's ability to teach children to make generalizations, and of the children's ability to learn this important thinking process. They concluded that few things we did with other people were all good or all bad. This discussion also demonstrated their ability to make the transition from what people do to their motivations for doing these things. The ability to perform these thinking processes can be developed if the curriculum provides step by step procedures through which this learning can take place. Not all students made these strides at this moment. Many more experiences, and many varied experiences, all consciously planned, would be needed before this could happen. The abstractions which pictures encouraged were on a relatively low level, but they were abstractions nevertheless.

From low-level abstractions using pictures, students moved to an examination of news items of "human interest" and made inferences about the roles of hands. The consequences of floods, forest fires and crime to millions of people could be inferred from such materials for they were on a level at which children could operate. Some students could even extract from these materials the notion that people must help each other build a new life when disaster strikes.

They examined what happened in history, moving still farther away in time and space but building on what had been learned previously. What did people do to make these historic events occur? How do these acts affect us now? Social studies textbooks were not used; rather biographies told about people and what they did. Each student selected his own biography and read it to discover answers to the three questions. During the discussions which followed they compared these three ideas as they occurred in different times and places. This procedure helped them "tune up" their sense of time and place as well as develop concepts about particular human activities. They also read fiction, with school time allotted for reading until they became emotionally involved in their book and then "reported" by conversing informally about what people were doing, how hands helped, and how the acts affected other people or how they showed emotions. Many children finished "skinny" books in two days and begged for more. Most important of all, the kinds of conclusions children drew from their independent reading showed the results of the previous step-by-step learning experiences through which students gained power to see relationships, draw inferences, make generalizations and abstractions.

The following outline of the learning sequence described above will serve to pinpoint a number of critical guideposts: the importance of planning activities, each of which builds on the learnings provided by the previous ones; the way in which multiple objectives are achieved simultaneously; the variety of activities that must be used around one large idea in order to achieve depth study, provide for heterogeneity, and permit balance of input and output. It takes all of these things, and more, to help children feel free to learn, to help them achieve over and over again until they gain the emotional energy to keep on learning.

MODEL OF A SEQUENCE THE FAMILY OF MAN: HUMAN HANDS

ACTIVITY	SOME PSYCHOLOGICAL AND INSTRUCTIONAL CHARACTERISTICS AND FUNCTIONS
<i>Draw outline of hands</i>	Overt, concrete activity Offers motivation through involvement Recognizes student concern about the physical
<i>Discuss similarities and beauty of hands</i>	Beginnings of concept of universality Builds self-image Beginnings of conversation; listening to each other
<i>Write "Important Things My Hands Can Do"</i>	Development of skills Builds self-image Opportunity for diagnosis of values by teacher
<i>Categorize students' contributions</i>	Development of thinking processes: discrimination, finding common elements
<i>Rexograph copy of tally for all</i>	Pooling ideas and gaining perspective Introduces notion of small group in the service of the large (Committee completes tally begun by class) Seeing "immediate" results of work achieved Making early use of work previously done

*Discuss observations
about final tally*

*Listen to story: chapter
from Big Doc's Girl*

*Discuss issue of
punishment*

*Observe adult, child, or
adolescent
Take notes on observation*

Share observations

*Select categories and
tally*

Development of thinking process:
making generalizations

Emotional involvement

Beginnings of concept development
through concrete instance

Movement from student-centered issue
to less personal aspect

Seeing relationships between cause and
consequence

Sensitivity training: understanding hu-
man behavior

Involvement in concept development
through issue of close concern evok-
ing sharp emotional reaction

Rudiments of conversation; listening
to others' opinions

Examination of values in story and ex-
pressed by peers

Open-ended issue to permit all levels
of response

Develop notion of order within a cha-
otic environment

Introduce new quality of interest in
people around them rather than mere
emotional reaction

Relate school to out-of-school life to
enrich meaning of both

Skill development

Sensitivity training

Engage in learning process of question-
ing, searching, discovering

Offers new perspective as findings are
pooled

Opportunity for concept development
and drawing of generalizations

Students themselves select at least one
or two categories: thinking processes

Write observations—to be
rexographed as booklet

Read peer stories
in booklet

Discuss and use tally above
as summary sheet in
booklet

Making table of contents
for booklet

Read chapter from
Caddie Woodlawn
Compare with *Big*
Doc's Girl

Discuss relationship
between emotions and
what hands do

Examine "Help Wanted"
ads for occupations in

of deciding common elements and
making discriminations
Participation by all; involvement of all

Building self-concept through pride in
achievement and taking a task ser-
iously

Mastery; skill development

Early gratification

Give meaning to student effort since
product is useful and enjoyable

Self-image development through ap-
preciation of peer effort and contri-
butions

Skill building

Previous work serves new function

Giving meaning to school work

Re-examination of conclusions pre-
viously made

Use of textbooks available to seek
model for table of contents

Gaining information

Skill development

Self-image: seeing own name and work
listed in table of contents

Discovering sequence of events and
rationale for sequence

Thinking processes of comparing and
contrasting

Skill development

Introduction of inferential thinking at
a higher level made possible through
identification with situation and
characters

Moving from concrete to abstract

Offers concrete "handle" for making
inferences

which hands are
important

Rank order jobs
advertised

Select pictures of work
of hands

Defend selection

Select news items

Read historical events
through biography

Discuss findings;
Compare

Read self-selected
fiction; Discuss

Opportunity to evaluate, discriminate,
compare, and contrast

Movement to the more impersonal

Thinking processes of evaluation, mak-
ing differentiations, drawing conclu-
sions, generalizing

Thinking process of evaluation, mak-
ing inferences, finding common ele-
ments

Moving from concrete to abstract

Moving outside own environment

Working in pairs to give energy for
new task

Moving from concrete to abstract,
from what people do to motivation
for doing

Assuming responsibility for decisions
made

Thinking processes of making infer-
ences, relating cause and conse-
quence, generalizing

Developing attitudes and values in sen-
sitivity training: roles of people in
helping each other during periods of
disaster such as floods, war, crime

Gaining information

Skill in seeking and finding answers to
specific questions

Compare, contrast same ideas in differ-
ent times and places

Providing for heterogeneity

Making use of new concepts gained

Sharing and pooling ideas to gain per-
spective

Skill development

Providing for emotional involvement
to sustain interest in mastery

Examining values and attitudes: sensitivity training
Listening to each other
Searching and discovering through reading

The type of strategy described here has no semblance of what is usually regarded as "compensatory education." What is called for now is a complete overhauling of the curriculum so that the school can perform its function of increasing the ability to learn.

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Poverty and Acculturation in a Migrant Puerto Rican Family

Sophie L. Elam
*The City College of the City University of
New York*

The Puerto Ricans who have flocked to our land in this past decade or more have not easily found their way into our society. How long does assimilation take? What are the stages in this process? Will it come in the present generation? Do we aid the adults? How? Or do we put our emphasis on the children with the hope that they will carry American values into their homes? What part does sheer poverty play? Or do ethnic and cultural differences affect the rate of acculturation?

For some years the Group Work Program of the City College of New York has worked with immigrant Puerto Rican families at the time their children have first reached the schools and only begun the process of adjustment. The Mendoza family exemplifies in many ways the problems such families face. The Mendozas have always been a completely united and integrated family. There is no history of social disorganization, although there have been problems. In the past eight years, the children have grown up and followed each other through the school and the club program. There have been frequent visits to the home to help in crises of illness and poverty. Changes that might indicate adjustment and acculturation have been looked for. Such changes are not rapid or spectacular, but slow and fraught with much strain, tension, and insecurity. And they are always plagued by the many problems of poverty and illness.

The parents were both reared in a rural area in Puerto Rico, where the father worked in the cane fields. They had a little house and raised some food, but always lived in poverty. In 1950, the father migrated to the Mainland. It took him two years to save enough from his job as a dishwasher to send for

Professor Elam here describes the cultural roles and values of a Puerto Rican family in New York. Stressing the difficulties involved in the acculturation of a family trapped by poverty, she suggests that only a minimal transition to mainland ways can be expected. The material presented in this article was obtained from observation, home visits, and the diagnostic records of a Group Work and Child Study Program for City College field work students who serve as club leaders and big brothers to many children like Iris, Elio, Celia, and Juan.

the mother. Bethzaida¹ came to New York to join her husband, leaving her four children; Iris (five years old), Elio (four years old), Celia (three years old), and Juan (two years old) in the care of relatives. After some months' work in a pocketbook factory, she and her husband had enough to send for Iris and Elio; but, when they arrived, the mother was still working. The children were cared for during the day by Bethzaida's sister. In 1953, Celia and Juan were sent for. Now Bethzaida had to give up her job and care for her family. The father, Raul, continued as a dishwasher; but his earnings were insufficient for the family, and a supplementary budget was allotted to them by the Department of Public Welfare. The first two children born in New York were Viola (1954) and Raul Jr. (1956). Later, two more children were born: Migdalia (1961) and Elena (1963).

In 1958, the father earned forty-nine dollars weekly. The supplementary allowance was sixty dollars and forty cents bi-weekly. The Mendozas paid \$114.00 monthly for a six-room apartment. It was partly furnished, since the Mendozas had only been able to acquire one bedroom set. There was inadequate clothing for the children; and, in the winter, the thin cotton clothes and thin coats were little protection against cold weather. All the children had records of poor nutrition and suffered frequently from colds. Special requests had to be made for items other than foods and clothes. Often the family waited weeks for these requests to be filled.

Living in the Barrio The Mendozas live on a street where everyone speaks Spanish; all are recent arrivals from the island. It is a dingy street with houses built at the beginning of the century. Almost from the start, varying waves of immigrants lived there, so that at no time were demands made for decent repair and upkeep. It is a street like many in the "barrio," conserving the language, traditions, and relationships of the people. Nearly all are low income families on public welfare and employed at the least skilled jobs in restaurants and factories. Rarely, if ever, do these people encounter "outsiders," either in the neighborhood or on the job. These are the minority people, "the rejects of society and the economy"² whom Harrington and others have identified, who live not only their own ethnic culture, but also the "culture of poverty."

¹ The College of the City of New York has for some years conducted a practicum for students directly related to course work in Child and Adolescent Development. Students serve as club leaders for school-age children. Detailed reports of their work with children and families are part of the course requirement. It is these records which form the source of this paper. All the names are entirely fictitious.

² Michael Harrington. *The Other America*. Baltimore, Md.: Penguin Books, 1963.

As a result, neither parent speaks English. They understand it a little, but rarely dare to speak it. The children are, of course, exposed constantly; but the intricacies of the language create difficulties for them. They use English in a limited manner to express simple and concrete things. Their speech is accented and they slur the sounds, since their ears are not attuned to English pronunciation. They have limited vocabularies and frequently make grammatical errors. Their Spanish, though it appears fluent, is also limited. Each language is used in a special and differentiated environment: English only in school, and Spanish at home—the separated elements of their daily life.³

A Sequestered People Economically, politically, and socially, the Mendoza family has been shunted off to a siding, away from the mainstream of American life. We have allowed the sequestration of a people, so that the exchanges and contacts between them and the majority culture are strictly delimited. Some of the acculturation process is aided by the acquisition of the new language, which then becomes a tool for the development of new concepts and values. "They, the immigrants, need to become a part of the *whole* social process—which rests basically upon free and adequate communication and upon the ability and incentive to communicate"⁴ The language learning of the children does not carry into the home, where the old language remains the major mode of communication between the parents and their children. Even the children use Spanish among themselves in the home, on the street, and also in the school. This is true even for the four younger American-born Mendoza children, since their linguistic environment is still Spanish. They, too, are plagued by the same language retardation that the island-born Mendoza children manifest.

The enclaves in which the Mendozas live and function are supportive in the strange land. They need hardly learn any English for interchange with others. This tends to delay the acculturation of all, especially the women, who are housebound by their family duties and by their traditions. Only the children live a "half-life" in the schools and are captive to the Puerto Rican world and fearful of the American world. They move between these two mutually exclusive worlds.

The family transmits the culture of the society to the child and socializes the young, so that they will be readied to take their place in society. In the Mendoza family, the father is primarily the economic support despite the in-

3 Anne Anastasi and Fernando A. Cordova, "Some Effects of Bilingualism Upon the Intelligence Test Performance of Puerto Rican Children in New York City," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, Vol. 44, pp. 1-19.

4 Joycel O. Hertzler. *A Sociology of Language*. New York: Random House, 1965.

adequacy of his earnings. He plays no part in child rearing. Often he goes off to visit with his friends, though there may be illness at home. The father is dominant in Puerto Rican society, but this is often in name only. He is the source of final authority and his opinion is law, but it is the mother who runs the household. She may refer problems of obedience to him when stronger action is needed. Actually, through all the years when the Mendoza children were in the club program, Raul remained a shadowy figure, rarely mentioned by the children.

Transmitting a Culture Bethzaida, alone, must in some way achieve this transmission to the children. As an agent of culture transmission, she can only transmit the culture to which she is heir. She has no other, and we do not provide the means for her to acquire a new one; since we separate her and her family from everything that might assist her to gain a new way of life. Actually, then, the Mendozas transmit their own past culture in a land with an alien culture. What of the new behavior patterns, the new sex roles, and the new values that will be needed? How can they be perceived and internalized?

Bethzaida is a tall, dignified, and handsome woman. At forty-four she has borne eight children, and her eldest daughter, Iris, has already borne her first child. Her task has been no easy one in a foreign land with unending poverty. She has been hospitalized frequently as a result of miscarriages. After her sixth child, it was suggested that she should have surgery. She refused stubbornly. This would prevent her from bearing children. Her husband might reject her. She saw herself, primarily, as serving the "machismo" of her husband, the prestige of fathering a large family, "affirming his sexual power and fertility."⁵ This was a priority, overriding even her own health and the wellbeing of her family. There may have been some concern for the Church also, for, although she is quite secular, her children have all been confirmed. However, after she had borne her eighth child, she voluntarily submitted to surgery.

She has an absolute faith in managing to get along. "When you're *los pobres*, you get used to things and it is all in the hands of God." She does not expect more, but makes complete use of all facilities open to her. She maintains her family at all costs. She is energetic and moves directly to forestall what she perceives to be a danger. When Elio and Juan became friendly with the Lopez boy (an older son had been implicated in a gang murder), she hurriedly transferred Elio to the parochial school, where "they are stricter and don't

⁵ John M. Stycos. *Family and Fertility in Puerto Rico*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1955.

keep bad boys." During that period she ruled her boys with an iron hand. She checked their whereabouts and demanded strict adherence to curfews. Raul administered a beating to support Bethzaida's restrictions. Little Raul was attached to the older boys whenever they went out as a strategy to restrain their movements.

Although, for the most part, she has been housebound with the younger children, she has made and faithfully kept appointments with a host of medical and social agencies. She takes Iris to the Seizure Clinic; Juan to the Tropical Disease Unit; Raul Jr. for intestinal disorders, and her own medical needs are looked after also. The younger children are taken to the Child Health Stations regularly. There are also the visits to Public Welfare for requests for additional allowances for medications, vitamins and special foods. She accepted referral for Iris and initiated the contact with the Catholic Big Sisters. The older children have for years participated in the Friendly Towns program, which in some way she found. She has also arranged for camp vacations for the children. Despite her inability to speak English (she takes one of the older girls to translate) and her failure to understand fully, she follows directions and is cooperative, so that she is looked upon as a most responsive client. Sometimes, she may have several appointments in one week in various parts of the city. She keeps a special wallet with all the appointment cards and case numbers.

Otherwise, she is rarely, if ever, on the street. She does not linger in the school yard to chat with other women. Her sister comes to visit her. The younger children are not taken out till they are able to walk. They have never had outdoor winter garments. There has never been a baby carriage for any of the Mendozas. Even the older girls are limited. They only go back and forth to school. They never play on the street. The boys, however, are always out.

The Traditional Mother It would appear that Bethzaida sees her role in the traditional manner of the Puerto Rican mother, bound up in child bearing and rearing.⁶ She transmits this to her daughters. She is utterly impervious to the newer trends of those who are seeking to become Americanized. She wears only housedresses and uses no makeup or special hair styles. Her excursions into the outer world are solely for the purpose of caring for her family. All her effort is expended in the physical care of her children and preventing any kind of delinquency on the part of the boys. This is what she knows and understands and is able to do.

6 *Ibid.*, Chapt. 6.

She has little or no awareness of how her children feel about themselves. She tends to be nurturant, but this is coterminous with the children reaching walking age. From that time onward, they are rarely dealt with affectionately. Little Raul, at two, took it for granted that there was no affection for him. By the time they are three, they have become detached from the mother and neither ask for nor are given affection.⁷ This, according to Landy, produces the "security gap"; and the child, "especially the male is characterized by strong 'affect hunger.'"

At one time there was difficulty with Juan, who had begun to stay away from home and disappeared for one night at the age of ten. It was suggested to Bethzaida that he might be seeking affection. She was very much embarrassed by this, especially when a demonstration of how to be affectionate with him was attempted. She covered her mouth shyly, as though one were, somehow, asking her to do something that was not quite proper by her standards. Even the suggestion that he might have feelings or a need for love seemed to her out of place and out of the context of her own way of life.

Iris and Celia carry a considerable share of household responsibilities and are often absent from school because of this. They care for the younger children. They are never praised or rewarded. This troubled Iris and she complained of punishment at home. Celia was also unhappy and it was reported once by Iris that Celia got "so sad that she wanted to die." The boys have none of this responsibility. The male role does not require this kind of training. They may do an errand or take little Raul with them. Male children are expected to associate with their brothers, rather than with their sisters.

Educational Problems

None of the children has yet shown any success in school. Every one of them in turn has manifested depressed intelligence scores and from two to four years retardation in reading and mathematics. Tutoring and remedial programs did little to raise their scholastic level. Over the years, their reading levels rose, but still remained two years below the norms.

Bethzaida has little or no comprehension of the educational process. She herself is completely illiterate, not able even to sign her name. She has visited the school, when asked, and shown concern. She cannot comprehend the learning problems of her children and sees them only as aspects of behavior. Her concrete and functional thinking cannot encompass such a thing as learning disabilities. There is nothing in her background or experience which pre-

7 David Landy. *Tropical Childhood*. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: 1959.

parens her for this aspect of her role as a mother. She does not know what she can do to help them learn.

There is a striking similarity in the school reports of all the children. Many different teachers have observed the same traits in each child. The girls are noted as being, "shy, withdrawn, in need of encouragement, unassertive, passive, lacking in energy, and lethargic." The boys' records are replete with "does not get along well with others, resents control, temper outbursts, requires much attention, fights and hits others, evades responsibility, shy, withdrawn, does not participate, rarely attends to work, restless, nervous, indifferent, unmotivated." The boys allow themselves to act out their feelings. They become difficult for the teacher to manage. It is characteristic, Landy points out, of the Puerto Rican male, "who must constantly appear '*macho*' and whose *machismo* must from time to time be reaffirmed by acts of negation and aggression." In contrast, according to Stycos, the female "should be submissive and weak."

In the Group Work Program, the girls are "quiet, withdrawn, and unassertive." They are apt to remain on the periphery of the group. The boys, in their clubs, tended also to be fringe members and did not evidence interest and skill in athletics. The boys sought out their male club leaders in preference to their age mates. It was as though they needed a father surrogate.

In the home, there has been little evidence of rivalry among the children. Perhaps their passivity has extended itself to their own interaction. There is, in addition, a hierarchy of age, and each defers to an elder sibling. If Iris is present, Celia will not speak unless asked. And the younger ones remain completely silent, standing or sitting quietly beside an older sibling.

Psychological reports obtained for the Mendoza children⁸ confirm the observations in the school and club program. They add a fuller picture of the inner life, revealing the "emotional malaise, the rarity among them of happiness and contentment, the rarity of affection."⁹ "Anxious, withdrawn, and isolated (Iris); constrained, impoverished emotions, depressed, with feelings of inadequacy (Celia); role confusion, conflict between aggression and compliance, a need to be mothered and anger that this is unavailable (Juan); extremely insecure, inability to involve himself effectively with others (Raul)."

Mainland Dislocations

It is possible to assign these problems to something inherent in the parent-child relationship. Yet

- 8 Children who evidence problems in adjustment are selected for individualized programs with students who serve as Big Brothers. The Educational Clinic of the School of Education provides diagnostic testing for these children.
- 9 Oliver La Farge. Preface to *Five Families* by Oscar Lewis. New York: Basic Books, 1959.

this traditional child rearing does not create all the conflicts and incongruities in a small, stable, community on the island, where the whole texture of the social and economic interaction revolved around an agrarian economy. The cultural lag which has developed is that the psychic outcomes of these interactions are enormously inadequate in a changed economy. The stability which a simple though impoverished economy in Puerto Rico offered the individual was a secure matrix for the modal person. The conflicts and discontinuities that they experienced in their own land characterized a way of life shared with all others. On the mainland, the Puerto Rican becomes aware of his own isolation, his separateness from the larger community, "disinherited by society, they are also disinherited culturally."¹⁰ In our middle-class society, even our own children are not often sustained, although they have had the security of family living untouched by poverty. How much more, then, is the withdrawal of affection, the absence of rewards, a hindrance to the Puerto Rican child in this society?

The immigrant Puerto Rican brings with him his "culture of poverty with its own modalities and distinctive social and psychological consequences. Poverty becomes a dynamic factor which affects participation in the larger culture and creates a subculture of its own."¹¹ There is no place for him here other than the lowest low rung on the ladder. The problems which caused his migration are increased a hundredfold on the mainland. Without the means of communication, without job skills, he enters as a beggar and is relegated to the backwaters of our cities, where only others like himself share the rotten houses and the ill paid jobs.

In the eight years since the father's migration to the mainland the Mendozas had acquired very little. The first home visit revealed a house utterly barren of all but the barest essentials. There were uncovered, splintery floors, cracked walls, uncurtained windows, insufficient sheets and blankets. There were not enough chairs to sit on. It was the small village hut of the island with all its nakedness transported to the Manhattan slum. Two years later there were a few acquisitions: some knick-knacks from the Five and Ten, curtains at the windows, and an extra chair. Gradually, with pressure on the landlord, a rickety couch and club chair were added. Somewhere a low table had been obtained with a little vase on it. Eleven years after the arrival of Mr. Mendoza, this was all he was able to achieve in external goods and acculturation.

As Iris and Elio grew older and found jobs, they made gifts to the family so that now, after fifteen years, there is a television set and a radio (the Mendozas

10 Eric Wolf. *Sons of the Shaking Earth*. Chicago, Ill.: Phoenix Books, The University of Chicago Press, 1959.

11 Oscar Lewis. *Five Families*. New York: Basic Books, 1959, Introduction.

were one of the very few families without a set), a brand new set of living room furniture, and linoleum covering on the floor (all on time purchases). The Mendozas have made it now in a limited way. But the family still needs a rent subsidy. They are now better furnished, but not better housed. There are more and better clothes for the family. Truly, they are now, more than before, those Michael Harrington calls "the invisible poor—America has the best dressed poverty the world has ever known." Celia is completing a course in beauty care. Her hair is tinted and worn in the prevailing fashion. She is smartly dressed. Iris is more conservative. One could not tell from their dress that they come from an impoverished family.

New Generations Iris is twenty-one now and married, with a month-old child. How has she moved into the stream of American life? Her husband is a third cousin and is employed in the same restaurant as her father. Adrian Ramirez is a younger version of Raul Mendoza. He resembles his father-in-law so closely physically that he looks like his son. Iris and Adrian have their own four-room apartment on the next street, identically like that of the Mendozas. It is newly furnished, but all their possessions were bought on the instalment plan. Iris is planning to return to work in order to assist in the payments. Bethzaida will look after the baby.

Iris, now that she is an adult and a mother, has a new note of assurance in her voice and bearing. The shy, reticent girl seems sturdier, as though, having gained adulthood, she has moved into the world on an equal basis with other adults. The hierarchy of age makes her acceptable now, whereas before, as a child, she had no status and almost no self. She had no difficulty bearing her child. She plans to have many children. "It is easy. I'll be just like my mother," she says.

In telling about the wedding, she complained that it was not big enough: "only four bridesmaids." The photographs which she showed revealed a rather elaborate affair with all the trappings that are customary in middle-class society.

Iris named her baby Anthony. "That is not like the name of anyone in my family." She nursed her baby only a few weeks before putting the child on the bottle. She sat on a chair with Anthony on her knees. She lifted him up and down to quiet him. She held him out and away from her body. There was neither fondling, nor cuddling, nor cooing to him.

Iris had tried to cut a path for herself, above the menial jobs of the ghetto. With money from a relative, she had gone to a business school after Junior High School. She worked hard at her studies and then had tried for a secre-

tial position. Her reading level was too low. After a month of job hunting she gave up and went into factory work.

Both Iris and her husband continue in a close relationship to the Mendozas. The new husband is like a son in the family, raising pigeons with Juan, and spending nearly every evening in the Mendoza household. On weekends, Celia and the younger children spend their time in the home of Iris.

The Mendozas and the young Ramirez family are still apart from the prevailing culture and continue more intensively the extended kinship relationships. These close ties protect them from the sense of alienation that they must feel when they leave the "barrio" to go into the outer world. They have adopted many of the externals: furniture and dress. They have learned, too, perhaps to their distress, instalment buying. Their values have been invaded, somewhat, by the social forms of the middle class. The children speak more easily now and the heavily accented lilt of their voices has vanished. But they have not yet, any of them, achieved the norms which would make them adequately literate.

There is still the whole range of economic, social, and political activity from which they are separated and which has little or no impact on their daily lives. For them these things exist outside, beyond their reach. Emotionally, they still bear the scars of their poorly lived, impoverished childhoods. Iris, to whom we look for signs of the development of a new way of life, already evidences a reversion to the ways of her family. The Ramirez children will probably be better dressed; but they, too, will be devoid of that security and interchange with their mother which characterized the Mendoza children. They may be a little less defeated in school. Their reading scores may be higher, but will they reach a fuller potential? A more highly organized technology will require even greater skills than now. Will the Ramirez children succeed in learning? Will they achieve economic stability? Will Anthony Ramirez inherit the insecurity of his mother and fail as a father to his sons?

In a society which does not integrate all its members, the continuation of problems of alienation may be expected. We have seen what this has meant in the lives of the Mendoza children. And, if there is no remediation, Anthony Ramirez may be expected to remain on the outskirts of the society into which he was born.

"In short," says Michael Harrington, "being poor is not one aspect of a person's life, it is his life. . . . Each disability is the more intense because it exists within a web of disabilities. And if one problem is solved, and the others are left constant, there is little gain."

The Tranquil Society—or Why LSD?

Robert M. Schwieder and Richard G. Kohlan
California State Polytechnic College

It has been said that Society gets the drug it needs. Why did our society need LSD when we had so many other drugs? An estimated ten billion capsules and pills of "dangerous drugs" (the legal term applied to amphetamines, barbiturates, and other non-narcotic drugs with a potential for abuse due to their stimulant, depressant, or hallucinogenic effects¹) are manufactured each year. People take drugs to sleep, to stay awake, to reduce tension, to pep up, to alleviate psychosomatic problems, to lose weight, and to escape reality. In addition, 70,000,000 people use alcohol.

Why, then, is there a need for LSD? Attempting to find an answer, the senior author interviewed over fifty people who had taken it. When, in the fall of 1966, he announced to students in his courses and in those at a nearby private university that he was interested in such interviews, twelve individuals responded immediately and submitted to unstructured interviews, mainly about their perceptions and feelings under the influence of the drug. Interviews with eleven other individuals, generally immediately after they took LSD, soon followed. The subjects, as well as the twenty-eight subsequently interviewed, ranged in age from 18 to 25. Two thirds were male; two thirds were, by choice, college dropouts; and nearly all were living away from their parents.

The interviews were often several hours in length, and comments about subjects other than the LSD experience were often evoked. These comments, referring to contemporary society and current values, tended to be more understandable and provocative than the discussion about what the subjects were experiencing under the influence of LSD. It began to seem myopic to focus on the LSD experience itself in order to understand why the drug was being used.

Why, asked these writers, is LSD so popular when society has so many other drugs? Over 50 LSD users were interviewed to find out. The crucial factor seems to be that the society in which they were raised inhibits the development and expression of feeling. With LSD, they reported, their emotional inhibitions were overcome and their ego defenses shattered. They discovered, for the first time, intense feelings about themselves and the world; and this seemed to warrant facing the very real risks involved in the taking of "trips." Professors Schwieder and Kohlan suggest implications here for an approach to education, to child-rearing, and to the society at large.

1 Food and Drug Administration, *Fact Sheet: Drug Abuse Control Amendments of 1965*, Public Laws 89-74, 89th Congress, Washington, D.C.

The twenty-eight additional LSD users interviewed over the next nine months became quite friendly, and dialogue continued. With this group interviews focused mainly on key issues identified by the first group of subjects. General themes recurred, clustering around the need for a counter-culture characterized by an anti-establishment attitude and non-activism. All subjects severely criticized contemporary pressures to conform, to fit in, to play the game. All voiced an active contempt for alcohol and the opiates; but many had used marijuana, amphetamines, and barbiturates before their LSD experiences.

All claimed to have developed a greater awareness of feelings, which seemed to persist long after the drug experience. Many of their past activities were now felt to be pointless and meaningless; and there was frequent mention of "death of the ego." This apparently meant a shattering of the defense systems which had protected them from fears of their own death, suicide, homosexuality, and dependency, defense systems which had also barred them from affect and spontaneity. They repeatedly emphasized that LSD was not an *escape* from anything, but an aid in a *search* for something—and that they would stop using the drug when they found what they were seeking.

Growing Up in Suburbia The typical subject revealed that his parents were well-educated, actively religious suburbanites. His father was described as a responsible individual who had served (perhaps as an officer) during World War II and who held a responsible job thereafter. He was said to drink moderately, seldom to the point of intoxication, to provide a good role model and to set reasonable standards for his children. Not only did he concern himself with their whereabouts; he took the time to interest himself in what they did. He did not in any sense neglect his family: he had a harmonious relationship with his wife and spent his vacations with her and the children. His existence was described as generally "tranquil."

Sociologists have been writing about this sort of suburban life for the past twenty years;² and most have agreed that, despite a growing diversity in the older suburbs, suburbia has been a consistent producer of conformity. As has been said, the subjects interviewed all commented upon conformity with considerable feeling. It was made apparent that, if the use of LSD was to be understood, the conformity pressures distinctively characteristic of suburbia had to be understood.

Traditionally in western culture, the adolescent period has been considered the period of the greatest non-conformity. The transition to adulthood pre-

² See, e.g., N. P. Gist and S. F. Fava. *Urban Society*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1964; and W. M. Dobriner. *Class in Suburbia*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1963.

sumably presents major challenges to the individual, which permit him to test his own resources.³ This is quite different from the pattern of adolescence in certain preliterate societies, where the transition may be accomplished in one afternoon without a long period of adjustment, and where it is often accompanied by structured "rites of passage." In these societies, there are generally unitary value and belief structures, a single way of looking at the world, a well-integrated way of life. If a young individual learns his adult role properly, it is only necessary for a ceremony to be performed for him to be given the right to play that role.⁴ The rapidity of the transition can best be explained by the lack of necessity to make real personal choices. The young person, therefore, does not need a period of what Erikson calls "moratorium"⁵ for the examination of his feelings and the rehearsal of diverse roles; they are, with some degree of automatism, internalized through the action of the tribe.

It is our view that the situation created by suburbia is closer to that in the preliterate society than it is to the traditional American small town society, which presented many different role opportunities to the growing boy and *required* that personal choices be made. The adolescent was for the most part free of adult responsibility and freed from the demand for childhood dependency. There was, however, one painful aspect to this adolescent period; it was expected to come to an end as the individual assumed the adult responsibilities of job, family, etc., and this required the individual to have made decisions as to his values, attitudes, and beliefs. He had to make choices. But once the decisions were made he was committed to them; committed and involved as an active participant and not as an unthinking conformist. Adolescence meant, in the final analysis, an opportunity to discover who you were and what you really felt.⁶

But all this seems to have changed with the growth of suburbia and the "flight" of the white middle class from the cities. The suburban middle class has been frequently described as "other-directed" in their interpretations of and responses to the world.⁷ People of this sort socialize their children into a system grounded in what they consider to be a single set of values. If indi-

3 E. B. Hurlock. *Adolescent Development*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967.

4 Margaret Mead. *Male and Female*. New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1952.

5 Erik H. Erikson. *Identity, Youth and Crises*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1968.

6 See, e.g., Edgar Z. Friedenberg. *The Vanishing Adolescent*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1959.

7 A continuous stream of studies bear this out: David Riesman. *The Lonely Crowd*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950; William H. Whyte, Jr. *The Organization Man*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1956; J. R. Seeley, R. A. Sim, and E. W. Looseley. *Crestwood Heights*. New York: Basic Books, 1956; Herbert Gans. *The Urban Villagers*. New York: Free Press, 1962; Alice Miel and E. Kiester, Jr. *The Shortchanged Children of Suburbia*. New York: Institute of Human Relations Press, 1967.

viduals deviate too extremely, social pressures are put upon them to conform to the system's norms, whose validity is not open to question. Evidence for this can be found in the accounts of teachers and ministers who have been dismissed for their refusal to conform.⁸ Intentionally or unintentionally, suburban adults fashioned environments which isolated their children from the imperfect world. Reading materials were often controlled; only non-controversial and "wholesome" books were allowed.⁹ In many ways, therefore, conformity was built into the suburban system; and, if our analysis is correct, suburbia has come to resemble preliterate societies in its obliteration of the period in which the individual is permitted to choose (among diverse options) his own life role.

Higher Education and Self-Identity

Of course a rite of passage, of sorts, is needed. Perhaps instead of a physical test, we now award a college degree which entitles the individual to all rights, privileges and responsibilities of the adult world. This is not to imply that this is the single purpose of a college education. Important changes should occur in an individual during the college experience. Many may earn the degree, but only a few actually get an education.

A college degree is presented to young people mainly as a means of securing desirable jobs. As early as junior high school, they are told of the grades required for admission for college and made aware of the dangers of questioning the validity of the system. ("This will not get you into college. Keep your grades up, and don't cause trouble.") For all the current restiveness, the majority of incoming freshmen have never given any thought to the process of their own education but have merely done what they have been told to do. Too often they find themselves in large classes, fated to be evaluated by Multiple Choice or True-False tests. Meaningful discussion is rare; little is done to foster creative thought.¹⁰

In spite of what many are beginning to call the "dehumanization" of higher education, some students still hope for the sharing of ideas that results in the cognitive and conative conflict required for self-definition. But there are many casualties, as the hopeful ones give up in despair and drop out. Some realize that one way to get an education is to join with other students with similar needs and problems; and they enter the "academic underground," activist groups, the New Left, and so on. They have determined either to educate

8 Robert M. Hutchins, "Are Our Teachers Afraid to Teach?", *AAUP Bulletin*, 40, 1954.

9 F. C. Irion. *Public Opinion and Propaganda*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1950.

10 C. Taylor and F. Barron, Eds. *Scientific Creativity: Its Recognition and Development*. New York: John Wiley, 1963.

themselves outside the system or to confront the system and effect the changes that will allow them to become involved in meaningful education.¹¹

The majority of passive students feel uneasy about the system but go along with it because they know that conformity will get them the degrees, the jobs, the affluence and prestige considered "good," the suburban homes, and the opportunity to associate with other "tranquil people."¹² But they pay a heavy price: they become unable to let their feelings interpenetrate the rational behavior considered necessary if the goals of the technological society are to be secured. From their early years, they have been required to control their feelings, to remain tranquil and rational. And they have been repeatedly taught that rationality is essential if the tranquillity of the "good life" is to be achieved.

What of those who reject tranquillity and drop out in despair—who feel that the system destroys individuals by reducing them to automatons? They lose faith in anyone's ability to change the system in such a way as to enable a student to remain human and still be educated.¹³ Everywhere they look, they see the individual being prostituted by the desire for tranquillity and for the "goodies" proffered by society. The drop-outs among them are those who feel the price for tranquillity is too high because it involves giving up the right to feel, to question deeply, to defy the system.

Many of those interviewed in the present study were drop-outs who felt that society's antagonisms were driving them closer to one another, enabling them to interact at a deeply felt, highly personal level. Interacting with others in an atmosphere of honesty and permissiveness, the individual felt that he could confide his feelings without being told that they were immoral or immature.¹⁴ But it is far more difficult to learn who and why one is than it might seem, especially after the lack of a true adolescence and a meaningful education. This is why, we believe, so many find LSD such a valuable aid.

Seeking Emotion

We attribute, then, the use of LSD largely to the nature of a society which inhibits the development and expression of feeling. A high level of ego functioning is rewarded; rational

11 The developments at Berkeley remain exemplary. See the Study Commission on University Governance report, "The Culture of the University: Governance and Education." Berkeley: *University of California Daily Californian*, 1968.

12 Nevitt Sanford, "The College Student in the World Today," in Kaoru Yamamoto, Ed. *The College Student and His Culture*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1968.

13 J. L. Simmons and B. Winograd. *It's Happening: A Portrait of the Youth Scene Today*. Santa Barbara: Marc-Laird, 1966.

14 Note the resemblance between this atmosphere and that posited as essential by the non-directive therapist. Cf. Carl Rogers. *On Becoming a Person*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1961.

cognition is placed highest in the priority scale; intuition, spontaneity, passion, imagination, and esthetic experiencing are too often stifled.¹⁵ Many youths find that their inhibitions prevent them from interacting with other human beings in a deeply felt way. Trying to discover their feelings, their ego defense systems and controls prevent them from feeling much of anything. When they attempt to find stimulation in their life experiences, they say, the experiences strike them as so gutless and meaningless as to be absurd. When they seek the excitement of ideas, they find nothing to help them in their formal education.

They turn, in consequence, to folk-rock songs, ear-drum-damaging music, blinding light shows—anything that will force them to feel. They do not necessarily demand feelings of pleasure; even feelings of pain are considered valuable—because they overcome numbness and tranquillity. Often their need to feel finds an outlet in drug-induced highs: through marijuana, barbiturates, amphetamines, and LSD. Combinations of drugs are used in the effort to experience diverse sensations perceptions, variegated highs. A majority say they discover, through the use of these drugs (especially LSD), that they can finally begin to relate to other human beings in a meaningful way.¹⁶

The discovery most frequently expressed is that much is to be gained by the use of that which causes one to feel and enables one to talk about one's feelings.¹⁷ Suddenly one feels rapport with humanity, a new synthesis of intellect and emotion.¹⁸ Those interviewed reported that LSD had enabled them to overcome emotional inhibitions and to break down their ego defenses; and many said that they had discovered for the first time intense feelings about themselves, others, and the world. In most cases, relatively permanent changes in orientation seemed to have occurred, and the subjects say that they continued to relate to others on a feeling level.¹⁹

15 Kenneth Keniston. *The Uncommitted: Alienated Youth in American Society*. Harcourt, Brace and World, 1965.

16 Some, unfortunately, discover that marijuana, LSD, barbiturates, and especially amphetamines eliminate the residue of felt need to relate to others. For them, these drugs act like the traditional narcotics, and the drug experience becomes an end in itself.

17 LSD is clearly not the only way to this goal. But the goal is widely valued in our society. Witness the demand for sensitivity training and psychotherapy, as well as the surge of interest in marathon group therapy which, of all forms of psychotherapy, most closely approximates the forcibly revealing LSD experiences of our sample.

18 S. M. Jourard. *The Transparent Self*. New Jersey: Van Nostrand, 1964.

19 The conclusion of the current study is strongly substantiated by a recent study of a group of emotionally ill youth where treatment with LSD brought about sudden feelings of "warmth and compassion." See M. R. Wilson, "LSD and the Expression of Warmth," a symposium presented by the Council for the Advancement of Science Writing and by Washington University, St. Louis, November, 1967.

The youth of today involved know about the potential genetic and psychological dangers of LSD (dangers which are not to be underestimated), but they are also acutely aware of the dangers of non-feeling. They are told of chromosome damage that may be so intense as to produce malformed children; but they respond with talk about the radiation damage resulting from H bomb tests. LSD suicides are reported by the mass media—often sensationally; but these young men make the point that suicide was the second major cause of college student deaths *before* LSD was used on the campus. They have been warned that the possibility of mental illness and permanent personality disorder exists whenever someone takes an LSD trip; but they also know that college counseling and mental health centers cannot keep up with the demands for therapy by students who have never used LSD.

Now that some of the dangers are more objectively verified, the use of LSD for its "immediate effect" will decrease.²⁰ But the future of LSD use is immaterial. The real issue is the inhibition of the development and expression of feeling in contemporary society. Youth will continue to seek techniques which permit them to feel (e.g. the rise of interest in eastern mysticisms and meditation). The revolt back to the feeling level is here to stay. Today's youth are providing an alternative that is far more necessary and valuable than society realizes.

In the final analysis, man may be faced with the ultimate dilemma. If he does not become more rational he may destroy mankind; but if he does become more rational at the expense of his feelings, he will surely destroy himself.

20 It seems worthwhile to differentiate LSD use for its "immediate effect" from use for its "after effect." The high school or college youth who takes LSD on isolated occasions (in between his everyday cognitive endeavors as a student or job holder) is likely to be motivated primarily by curiosity, desire for kicks, and status. He uses LSD for its "immediate effect"—for the heightened and varied perceptual experiences, and for the affectual, emotional status changes. On the other hand there are those, like the present sample, who seem to use LSD more for its "after-effect." They are more concerned with the longer range personality changes in themselves and the quality of their interactions with people, rather than the immediate perceptions *per se*. Certainly the reasons for using LSD vary, yet all these youths have grown up in the same society and one is led to ask why is it so valuable to perceive the world differently? Why isn't life, as normally perceived and experienced, attractive enough to today's youth? Hopefully, our analysis suggests at least partial answers.

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Five Marks of an Emancipated Mind

Jerome Ashmore

Case Western Reserve University

Among educators at the college and university level, and among certain business management groups, there has been considerable concern about the enslavement of American minds by mechanical ways of thinking. Apprehension arises that the present trend forebodes a dehumanized population, capable only of literal responses to events and conditions, fit only for rote behavior, and far too vulnerable to regimentation. The garrison character of the nation today and the growing preoccupation with corruptions of scientific inquiry contribute to a radical decline in original thinking and to an increasing diminution of the individual. In the light of this threat, it might be appropriate to identify some distinctions between the free mind and the restricted mind. The differences seem mainly to be in emphasis and function. They may be represented by five dichotomies: between instrumental and intrinsic values; between doing and seeing; between a game experience and a life experience; between a particular as submerged in a class and a particular as intrinsic within a field; and between scientific and literary psychology.

Intrinsic Values

Perhaps most crucial of the dichotomies is that of instrumental and in-

trinsic values, since questions of value are central to most human experience. Valuation is a persistent attitude; and the individual engages in valuing many things he encounters in his life. This involves the kind of subject-object relation in which the subject assigns some sort of value to an object which it would not have without the action of valuing. Values may be grouped under such headings as health; economic values; recreational values; the values associated with social relationships, traits of character, intellectual activity, beauty, and objects of worship. But they may, alternatively, be categorized as instrumental and intrinsic, although a single object may be held to be of instrumental value in one light and of intrinsic value in another. Many things in the world are valuable as means for the realization of desirable ends. A field of wheat, for example, has value as a means of maintaining life; and, since it is conceived as a means to an end, it possesses instrumental value rather than being valuable in and of itself. A value is taken to be intrinsic when an object is valued as an end in itself. The very appearance of the Grand Canyon holds intrinsic value for those who look upon it; seeing it is an end in itself. A watch, on the other hand, may possess instrumental value when used as a means for telling the time and (in

another light) intrinsic value when viewed as a piece of skilled workmanship with appeal in its design.

What makes the dichotomy of instrumental and intrinsic values important? Men are preoccupied with instrumental values at this moment of time; and tendencies toward intrinsic values are likely to stagnate, leaving men's minds mired in instrumental values and, to a degree, enslaved.

Doing and Seeing

The human being is capable of doing and seeing; but today he is immersed in a round of doing that leaves him little time for seeing. Caught up in pragmatic busyness through most of his waking hours, he may reach the point of believing that doing by itself constitutes an adequate basis for knowledge. He may forget the significance of human vision and its relevance for the knowing process. Since the days of ancient Greece, the contemplative arts have been distinguished from the productive arts. The man who practices an art transcending sense perception and physical manipulation has traditionally assumed a status different from the man engaged in *praxis* relying on sense perception, selection of materials and an amount of technical dexterity.

The productive arts are concerned largely with utility and the necessities of life. The contemplative arts, instead, function to extend man's vision, to enrich his knowledge, and to increase his fund of wisdom. The contemplative arts become manifest mainly in philosophy, pure mathematics, theoretical science, the fine arts, and in some aspects of education.

"All men," said Aristotle, "have a natural desire for knowledge"; but the knowledge they desire is not nec-

essarily linked to ulterior benefit, external advantage, or even immediate doing. Paradoxically, vision—or seeing—may have made possible all the doing which has built up civilizations. Scientists realize that seeing leads to a recognition of basic determinants and principles which could never have been discovered solely by doing. This is not to say, of course, that the productive or practical arts have not stimulated the vision which has been so pivotal in scientific inquiry. Surveying, for example, helped in the advance of geometry; mechanics were helped by military operations; biology, by medicine and animal husbandry; chemistry, by metallurgy and the manufacture of synthetics.

Doing accumulates information and promotes skill in manipulation relevant to the information and to material objects, but it does not provide an explanation of the facts incorporated in the information, nor does it clarify any concepts under which the doing takes place. When making a similar point in *The Structure of Science*, Ernest Nagel cites the case of societies which have discovered the uses of the wheel, yet usually know nothing of frictional forces, nor of any reasons why goods loaded on vehicles with wheels are easier to move than goods dragged on the ground. He also suggests that, although knowledge from practice, which is stored as common sense, may be accurate, it is oblivious of the limits within which it has accuracy, and of the relations to events outside of immediate consequences. In contrast, seeing orients knowledge within the pervasive structure of systematic science, and so removes the incompleteness of the local and temporary application which is characteristic of

doing. The mind limited to concern with doing can include only familiar qualities and relations of a small number of individual objects and events, identified and differentiated as particulars for the sake of what is to be done. Unless the mind so occupied shifts its emphasis from doing to seeing, it cannot know that the particular objects and events involved in the given doing depend on the presence of other comprehensive relational or structural properties that in various ways represent an extensive class of objects and processes. Past success in doing in no way assures knowledge of the systematic abstract conceptions reached by the visions of the scientist. One is able to see much more than one is able to do; and the ideal man would have a three hundred and sixty degree perspective, in order to represent the required variety of viewpoints on any question before him. This goal is appropriate in respect to seeing; but a scope of this kind is grotesque in respect to doing.

In this dichotomy one term does not cancel the other. Men have the ability for seeing and for doing. They daily demonstrate their competence in doing. The point is that, if they augment their doing by seeing, they may fulfill one of the proposed conditions for emancipating the mind.

Game Experience

A game experience has these antecedents: man faces the external world; his fellow men and his interest in survival influence him to interpret the world in terms of things or fragments—houses, tables, trees, knives, forks. Natural science reinforces this interpretation by informing him that the universe is made up of discrete atoms and particles. He perceives an end-

less number of singular items, in consequence, which he can quantify or mathematize—thereby playing a game.

Games are characteristically rule-governed and involve the intellect far more than other elements of consciousness. Looking for rules by which he can play with the assorted objects in his environment, man transforms human experience into a technical problem. Two consequences appear: he begins to view his games as more important than other modes of expression; and he begins to allow other human beings to serve as pieces moved in accordance with the rules of the game. Some players are amused by the game; others are not.

Games have a vast scope. Newton's laws of motion may be considered to be rules associated with a game experience; so may Mendeleeff's table. "Madison Avenue" specialists in advertising and public relations are playing games with human beings. The impetus for this and the many other games presently being played was furnished by World War II. War has always been treated as a game; war games, for example, have always been played. But the military problems encountered in World War II were so difficult that they led to the development of techniques later called "operations research," which were later adapted by industry, commerce, and political administration. Direct digital control and automation are games; and contact with them in the form of understanding them or playing them has become a game experience.

A condition for liberating contemporary minds is that of diminishing the amount of energy consumed by game experiences and diverting some energy to life experiences in which

all of man's psychological equipment can be put to use, especially instinct, intuition, imagination, and intelligence. No rules interpose themselves between man and this kind of expression. He acts on his own initiative in a life experience; he does not behave like a conditioned organism. When someone is appreciating the proportion known as the "golden section," the rules of the gamemaster are of no avail. Intellectually conceived, the golden section is a non-terminating decimal, baffling formulation. An encounter with it, however, is a life experience full of refreshment and joy.

In a life experience, actions are freely undertaken and embody something original, responsible, and unpredictable. "The tree of life is green," wrote Goethe, "and all theories about it are gray." There seem to be degrees of life experience, starting with biological activity and progressing through the kinds of creative acts which culminate in works of art, scientific discoveries, political constitutions, and philosophic visions. This scale appears in Plato's *Symposium* where it is applied to the expression of Eros; but it is equally appropriate as a mode of ranking life experiences. A tendency to affirm life experience and to restrict game experience is another sign of the liberated mind.

Particulars, Classes, and Fields

The fourth dichotomy is perhaps more subtle. It relates to two ways of viewing a particular: as a member of a class of similar particulars, and as an individual unencumbered by class membership. It is commonly assumed that, if particulars are grouped on the basis of specified properties and are given a class name, no further consideration of them is required for

purposes of knowing. Aristotle's followers believed, for instance, that if particulars were placed in classifications and the concepts serving as headings for the classifications were given superordinate, subordinate, or other ranking in a manifold defined by rules, then the resulting natural science automatically achieved a universal kind of objectivity and conclusiveness.

But there are some particulars to which a preordained classification procedure will not apply. Most notably, it does not fit instances of fine art nor the particulars composing language. Any structure which might represent fine art or language would not have a prearranged place ready for occupancy by certain instances. The structuring of language and art is not determined by logical prescription; it is, rather, prelogical. In language, structuring is an ensemble of psychological acts disclosing knowledge. Among the fine arts, each distinguishes itself from the others, but they also mutually illuminate each other and, in so doing, unite in a logical way. The fine arts embody a property of being able to separate into particulars and to reintegrate into a totality without reference to taxonomy, partly, perhaps, because they are not products of an inductive generalization. In their kind of unity, what counts is not understanding but a kind of cognition found by an intuitive reason distinguishable from literal understanding. Intuitive reason acknowledges a systematic totality of conditions, but within it can recognize numerous unconditioned particulars. Understanding imposes conditions for particulars to satisfy; intuitive reason does not. The unity of concepts provided by understanding is a

kind that refers to objects solely as static data; the unity provided by intuitive reason is a kind that refers to functions instead of to bare objects. A manifold of function permits the presence of unlimited diversity without suppression, sectarianism, subordination to classification, or other impediments to the formative movement of the changing aggregate of man's knowledge. The fullness of a manifold of function is not disturbed when differentiation occurs within it. For every new particular arising within the unity of function, a new form representing knowledge may be constructed with no effect on the unity. The mind which is aware of particulars as in a functional unity is free to unite various modes and directions of man's knowledge of the world and to reach a cognitive refinement not available to a mind ridden by a logical order which leaves particulars mute.

The same point may be illustrated by consideration of the way particulars are used as a basis for a generalization. Conventionally, induction moves from a number of similar cases to a conclusion in the form of a generic concept standing for the class of these particulars. Any of the particulars is then described by the definite and fixed features included in the concept and it is taken for granted that the identification of all the particulars in any class depends on what is common to all of them.

But concepts also can be formed from particulars differing from each other and even opposing each other. Burckhardt's concept of "the man of the Renaissance" provides an example. This man finds delight in the senses, is individualistic, pagan, amoral, and receptive to a world of

forms. Yet, empirically, no one individual can be found who possesses all the characteristics of Burckhardt's image. Is Burckhardt's concept the name of a class without members? Does it designate a null class? Judged by concepts reached through the ordinary inductive process it does. But Burckhardt did not reach his concept through empirical comparison of particulars. At the same time he exhibited a vast amount of factual evidence to support it, although not in the manner of making it a unity of actualization as a given tree might be united in a group with other trees, if it fulfills the conditions which bring it under the concept, "pine." Burckhardt's individuals belong under his concept because of a unity of direction. They may not be alike through sharing preestablished properties, but they are related to each other through a specific ideal connection: each in his own way, though it be a different way, is contributing to the making of the civilization of the Renaissance. Each represents a unit of cooperation in a common task.

Then, in the relation of the particular to the universal, there are two points that merit attention: first, that there is more than one way of accommodating a particular to a concept; and second, that the clarification of concepts which integrate knowledge has significance equal to, or greater than, the mechanical assembling of a collection of factual data. The enlightened mind will see that natural science will have universals and particulars in one sort of relation, mathematics will have them in another, and historical science will have them in a third. And it will see, too, that no particular is completely and assuredly the pawn of a universal, that after

the universal has been established, some aspect of the particular remains unconquered.

Scientific and Literary Psychology

The fifth dichotomy refers to two kinds of psychology manifested by the human organism, which stresses one of them when facing and reacting to the physical bodies and the material events that compose the external world, and the other when it sees the same world, not as an abstraction of a horde of various-sized bodies in motion, but as a mass of nameable pictures and describable sentiments to acknowledge that contact with environment is accompanied by such things as qualities and feelings. In the terms of George Santayana, who long since proposed this distinction, the first kind of psychology is denoted as scientific and the second kind as literary.

Scientific psychology makes large use of the intellect and slights other functions of mind. Literary psychology represents the amorphous, generating tendency of mind and allows for relations among imaginative objects and for emotions and for dreams. Scientific psychology, in relation to other people, is a record of how they act. Literary psychology is the art of imagining how they think and feel, as the author of a novel or a drama would imagine the thoughts and feelings of his characters. It is a consequence of reflection and is composed of elements which reflection gathers, such as sensuous images, memories, lyrical effusions, and dramatic myths. These elements obviously cannot follow the flux of existence by observation and experiment, but must recreate it in the imagination. Scientific psychology can discover what peo-

ple are likely to say or do, or how physical units are likely to behave, but it cannot function solely on its mathematical categories and other intellectual restrictions; it cannot do without the images, emotions, fictions, and verbal associations arising from literary psychology. In practice scientific psychology and literary psychology appear together, because both go through the same medium, that is, man's speech or language. Any kind of logical syntax that attempts to eliminate literary psychology succeeds only by sacrificing the property of being able to refer to a particular object of any sort. When natural language is used in expressing scientific psychology, the metaphor of naming and the exercise of imitative sympathy are inevitable, and both are acts of literary psychology. Reservations about the efficacy of literary psychology are symptoms that can lead only to the confinement of mind within a domain which is empty and sterile.

Towards Emancipation

A mind may be said to be emancipated when it moves from a mechanical to a liberal level. The dichotomies suggested provide the vehicle through which this movement may be made. Their components are related as in an amalgamation, a solution, a reciprocity, or a complementarism. The relation, then, is not to be interpreted as one of opposition. Man's normal psychological endowments, in almost any given case, have the potentiality of exercising themselves in expressions representing a liberal and flexible outlook, as well as in expressions representing a mechanical and conventional outlook. As far as mind intrinsically is concerned, there is no

exclusion between the two types of expression. Mind, influenced by habit or conditioned by environment, may take one direction rather than another in expressing itself, and will allow some of its capacities to lie dormant. But, regardless of which way mind moves, there is no elimination of a native capacity to move otherwise. Potentially there are a multiplicity of viewpoints in mental expression. There may be mental habits that foster a literal, metric, and problem-solution viewpoint which may suppress, but does not forbid, an imaginative, qualitative, and instinctive expression by the same individual.

The crucial point resides in the proportion of emphasis placed on the mechanically-oriented side. If the emphasis of the individual mind is dominantly and decisively on means to an end, on doing, on manipulating a game, on regulation by bare classification, or on material events as exclusively material, then that mind is servile. But, if the same mind adjusts its emphasis to allow a generous share to the intrinsic side of given objects, to seeing, to life, to the function of particulars as not exhaustible by classification, and to the noncognitive features of consciousness exercised in a literary psychology, then it may claim to be liberal, and, to that extent, free.

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Morton A. Rauh, Antioch College. Off Press.

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The Fictions of Legitimacy

Charles V. Hamilton entitled a recent article in the *Harvard Educational Review*¹ "Race and Education: A Search for Legitimacy." He proposes a "Family-Community-School Plan" as an alternative to the existing educational system which, he says, is perceived as illegitimate by the black community. He is not alone in his use of the term 'legitimacy'; in the past year it has become part of the common coinage of controversy. The radical students at Columbia University based their demands for amnesty on the claim that the administration had lost its legitimacy; the Third World Liberation Front at San Francisco State College is similarly convinced of the illegitimacy of those who make the rules. The implications are manifold—perhaps especially for teachers, who have taken for granted the legitimacy—if not the nobility—of what they do for the young.

They tend to think of legitimacy as a function of certain contractual or legal relationships; they conceive it as conformity to rule, principle, law. But this, as Professor Hamilton makes clear, is not at all what the protesters have in mind. He quotes from Seymour Martin Lipset² to make his point: "Legitimacy involves the capacity of the system to engender and maintain

the belief that the existing political institutions are the most appropriate ones for society." 'Legitimacy,' it appears, is an evaluative term: "Groups regard a political system as legitimate or illegitimate according to the way in which its values fit with theirs." In the view of the protesters in the communities and the colleges, the same may be said about an educational system. A school board's, an administration's, an "establishment's" claims to legitimacy are rejected on the grounds that they are not providing what their constituencies want and need. Hamilton explains that black people have withdrawn their allegiance from existing school systems because those systems are dysfunctional where they are concerned. They have, in so doing, denied the systems' legitimacy. College students who demand separate institutes for black or ethnic studies (and who say their demands are "non-negotiable") are functioning in the same way.

Legitimacy, then, becomes contingent on the response of those presumed to be the beneficiaries of whatever system is involved. On the one hand, the traditional democratic principle is evoked: those affected by a policy should participate in shaping it. On the other hand, traditional notions of professional expertise and authority are challenged. The impact on professionals has been considerable; and teachers everywhere are experiencing strain. There is an implied (not always polite) demand that they

1 Volume 38, Number 4, Fall, 1968, pp. 669-684.

2 *Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics*. New York: Doubleday, 1963.

restructure not only their institutions but their professional self-images, their world-pictures, and the fictions by which they make sense of things.

The term 'fictions' in this context does not refer to illusions or untruths. We are using the term in Frank Kermode's sense:³ fictions are modes of ordering experience, modes which ought to "change as the needs of sense-making change." Fictions are ways of imposing form upon the inchoateness of experience, of creating a human order in an intrinsically formless world. Without them, history would be merely an affair of successions; schooling would "mean" not more than training young people in particular kinds of behavior. Teachers—who, after all, are charged with the responsibility for "transmitting the culture"—make sense of things with the aid of a number of fictions. Without them, they would find it nearly impossible to interpret and justify what they do.

Continuity may be one of these fictions. Sensitized to change though they may be, teachers often think of themselves as guardians of a continuing human order that is "given" and that possesses unquestioned worth. They see themselves initiating the young into certain public traditions (a permanent structure of values, beliefs, and attitudes) which presumably foster individual fulfillment, and which are as "natural" as the rights with which, according to our Declaration, Americans are endowed. They sustain themselves, too, with the belief that there exists a common "culture" which can be identified with an enduring body of commitments and embodied in curriculum. They assume

that mastery of the culture's fundamental precepts is bound to make each individual "better" than he was before he learned them and set him free to be.

One hundred and thirty years ago, when the common schools were new, and when the process of Americanization was a prime educational aim, such fictions made obvious sense. They accorded with the social realities confronted by the schools; they permitted teachers to find things out about themselves and the work they were asked to do; they functioned as agents of change. Because many immigrant children *were* inducted into what was thought to be the American "way of life," because many of them appeared to be willing to comply with the official "morality," because the common school was said to reflect the "public philosophy," public education gained a legitimacy which many thought self-evident. This legitimacy, however, was so identified with the fictions developed as "sense-making" devices, that the fictions became in many ways resistant to change.

One reason for this is that educators tended to forget that they were fictions, human orders imposed upon life. They degenerated, for numerous individuals, into myths. Myth, writes Kermode, "pre-supposes total and adequate explanations of things as they are and were." It is an agent of stability, calling for absolute assent; while a fiction, making sense of "the here and now," calls only for conditional assent.

The persistence—and the degeneration—of old fictions seem to us to account for much of the shock being experienced when legitimacy is challenged today. The educational scene afflicts many observers as a kind of

3 *The Sense of an Ending: Studies in the Theory of Fiction*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1967.

absurdist play, some phenomenon of the Theatre of the Absurd, which deliberately sets out to defy ordinary expectations and break with traditional conventions which no longer accord with life as lived. Such events as those occurring in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville school district in New York, at San Francisco State, at the University of Wisconsin, are simply not accounted for by the conventions—or the fictions—by means of which educators normally see. Just as we would like Beckett's *Waiting for Godot* to end (as a well-made play should) with the arrival of Godot, or Pinter's *The Caretaker* with the redemption of the derelict, so we want the local school board in Ocean Hill-Brownsville to come to see the advantages of centralized control, and the "insurrection" at San Francisco State to end with an administration once more *in loco parentis* and everyone contentedly back at work.

One function of the Theatre of the Absurd, it happens, is to make audiences conscious of the arbitrariness of old conventions, of such fictions as beginnings, middles, and ends. It is human expectation which makes the lack of plot in *Godot* seem so appalling; it is ancient habit which makes audiences rebel against the unpleasant arrogance of Davies in *The Caretaker*. But both plays, when effective, function to make people aware of the *process* of sense-making and, more thoughtful than they were about the kind of fictions required for dealing with the here and now.

Educators, unlike such audiences, are loath to become self-conscious in this fashion, perhaps partly because their very legitimacy will become questionable if they confront the old fictions as fictions—simply modes of

thinking about some aspects of reality.

The "needs of sense-making" are changing on all sides, however, and so must educators' fictions change. Professor Hamilton talks about the wide-ranging challenge to "the idea of a common secular political culture," about the historical perspective peculiar to black Americans, and about the "new concern" and the "new tension" which must be reflected by the public school. Fictions having to do with "common-ness," with a "social balance wheel," with "integration," even with beneficence, no longer explain.

Julie Paynter, writing in *Journal*,⁴ identifies what she believes are some of the "illusions" permeating what Americans call their history. She attributes some of this to innocence, and some to the simplicity of "the American creed":

The understanding which Americans have of themselves has tended to exaggerate these aspects of simplicity to the point of distortion. Biography has often seemed a substitute for history, and American citizens have been too easily seduced into assuming an identity based on the individual success story and the *American* experience—that "log cabin to the White House" theme. . . . The past has typically been seen as an unbroken upward line of continuity and progress, attributed to "the genius of the American people," while conditions favoring that success have been allowed to fade into the background.

She describes generalizations about our national character made possible only "in effect, by reading black peo-

⁴ "An End to Innocence," *Journal*, January 1969, pp. 3-7.

ple out of the past." She would want to see "the transmission of black culture with its differences intact," a kind of transmission not encompassed by fictions having to do with the common.

In *Black Rage*, the revealing book by William H. Grier and Price M. Cobbs,⁵ there is a chapter called "The 'Promise' of Education" which presents the terrible predicament of the black child who comes to perceive "the formal learning process as different, strange, unnatural, not meant for (him) and not really relevant for (him)." The authors state:

In spite of the yammering of naive observers, education has never offered a significant solution to the black man's dilemma in America Although education may in the long run be an important instrument for black people, children may have clearer vision when they see the classroom as immediately irrelevant. Their vision is clearer than that of men who plead for black people to become educated in a land which views all blacks as bondsmen temporarily out of bondage.

Julian Bond, the young Georgia legislator, says:⁶ "A great many people seem to think that education is the answer to the problems of race in this country, but education as a means of breaking down racial barriers dies as an effective means of social change every day that black ghetto children are taught that whiteness is rightness." How are the "American Dream," the conventional visions of continuity, the notion of "melting-pot" to en-

compass this? On what grounds can teachers justify legitimacy?

As we have said, it is not only black rage and protest which make the traditional fictions look so questionable. There is also the unrest on the campuses, dramatically exemplified by the events at San Francisco State. Mervin B. Freedman (author of *The College Experience*) describes some of what has taken place in an article for *The Nation*.⁷ "Only the theatre of the absurd," he says, "can do justice to some of the scenes. . . ." He sees (and this challenges all customary expectations) "no solution in the present focus." San Francisco, nonetheless, is facing problems which are the problems of all urban colleges and "of American urban society generally."

The financing of higher education for lower-class blacks and other American minority groups is receiving considerable attention at this time. An even more critical issue than finances is the question of what to do with such students once they arrive on campus. . . . Militant blacks and their allies have thrown light on the hypocritical underpinnings of the "Land of the free and the home of the brave"—the slaughter of Indians, the unjust wars, slavery. They have helped to arrest the march of technology and scientism that a decade ago seemed destined to kill the humanistic spirit. They have greatly contributed to the realization that white, middle class America does not necessarily walk hand in hand with God. And now they are taking on meritocracy, as exemplified by grades and

⁵ New York: Bantam Books, 1968.

⁶ "A New Vision, A Better Tomorrow," *The Humanist*, January/February 1969, pp. 11-12.

⁷ *The Nation*, January 13, 1969, pp. 38-42.

degrees. They demand that colleges contribute to the development of students rather than that students be tailored to the abstract demands of professions, industry, and the like.

The authority of faculty members and their "right" to evaluate are being challenged. Effectiveness, for many students, is being judged in terms of the contribution education makes to *their* individual growth. If, they are saying, any university subordinates individual needs to the needs of the society (or the corporation, or the Federal government), that university promptly sacrifices legitimacy. The only response—the only reasonable response—say the rebellious students, lies in confrontations and demonstrations. These, too, have been excluded by the fictions used by educators to order their experience. Yet Professor Amitai Etzioni, Columbia sociologist, in a paper submitted to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, asserts that "demonstrations are becoming part of the daily routine of our democracy and its most distinctive mark."⁸ He speaks of the "textbook model" of democracy which depends on ballot boxes and persuasion—and which does not function properly. The "demonstration democracy" which is alternative to that model is one more example of a challenge to traditional fictions. To make sense of the world described by Etzioni, new fictions will have to be devised; and only when they are, it seems to us, will viable claims to legitimacy once again be made.

We are not asking that educators

become Don Quixotes—or Sancho Panzas either. We are simply asking that they abandon absoluteness and the tendency to link legitimacy to degenerated fictions. The educational scene, like the world of the arts, is in crisis. It is alive with innovation, brashness, self-assertion—and a search for new forms. Just as certain audiences see formlessness and obscenity when they venture into the modern theatre, so do certain educators see chaos and barbarism when they contemplate the universities or the schools. Just as certain critics refuse to categorize *avant garde* works as works of art, so do certain educators find it impossible to accept what is happening around them as relevant to education. In both cases, the new is being judged by inapplicable standards. In consequence, audiences, critics, and educators (unable to turn back the tide) can only stand helplessly, watching something they do not understand.

The way to surmount strain and shock is by making sense—as best as the individual knows how. The old, degenerated fictions become blinders for too many educators; they cannot give credence to what is occurring; they cannot listen, and they cannot see. They are in no position, then, to conceptualize the challenges to meritocracy, the persistence of "demonstration democracy," student demands for involvement, community demands for control. But they have the capacity to remake their fictions as "the needs of sense-making change." Only as they remake and recreate, it seems to us, will they be in a position to influence what is happening, to direct—in accord with others—the course of change.

This does not mean that they invent new fictions *de novo*, without

8 *The New York Times*, February 16, 1969, p. 60.

reference to the paradigms and models of the past. As in the domain of art, there is a shared language where education is concerned; there are memories of significant values, of ideals. Every enraged demand raised in the ghetto is raised against a background of such memories. Every confrontation on the campus is undertaken with the traditional promises, the traditional hopes in mind. Without such a sense of the past, the wants and needs purportedly being frustrated could not have been defined. The very concept of legitimacy, depending as it presently does on the response of communities and student bodies, depends upon a consciousness of what *ought* to be—and this consciousness derives from an awareness of some encompassing human order, transcending the fictions of the now.

It is in the name of such an order that teachers must try to make sense of what is happening at this moment; it is in the name of their own commitments that they must strive to form and try to see. Albert Camus, concerned with justice and with order, would say that this is a moment for

teachers to rebel—on behalf of moderation and mastery. "Real mastery," he wrote, "consists of creating justice out of the prejudices of the time. . . ." "Moderation," he wrote, "born of rebellion, can only live by rebellion. It is a perpetual conflict, continually created and mastered by the intelligence. It does not triumph either in the impossible or in the abyss. It finds its equilibrium through them. . . . Rebellion, the secular will not to surrender. . . is still, today, at the basis of the struggle. Origin of form, source of real life, it keeps us always erect in the savage formless movement of history."

And this is how teachers may regain their legitimacy: by creating fictions which make sense, and to which they give conditional assent. Sense-making is what can keep them erect. Sense-making can be their rebellion against "savage formless movement"; new fictions can create new form.

MG

- 9 *The Rebel*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1954.

What Happened at P.S. 8?

Louis T. Di Lorenzo

New York State Education Department

Six years ago a small city in New York State experimented with a unique pre-kindergarten program. The year-long program was attended by 300 disadvantaged children, the majority of whom were Negroes. It was so remarkably successful that the school authorities questioned the validity of its outcomes. The children's mean I.Q. of 85 rose twenty-two points to a mean of 107 from September 1961 to June 1962. Not one child showed a loss in I.Q. over this period of time.

Similarly, the results on a primary reading test, also administered in June, exceeded the most optimistic expectations of the cognitively oriented program designers and teachers in the school. The scores of the pre-kindergarten children were not significantly different from those of the children finishing the first grade that year. The first grade group contained nondisadvantaged children and performed at grade level on the national norm.

The experimental pre-kindergarten classes had been instituted by the district with little fanfare (and no outside funds) and were referred to as the "nursery" or "day-care" program in "old P.S. 8." The nature of the program at 'Eight,' housing only the pre-kindergarten classes, was never made clear to the teachers and administrators of the city's other elementary

schools; this was deliberate, as the program would have been controversial. The specialized and dedicated staff recruited for 'Eight' were even more secretive of the astounding results produced in the first year. The three page year-end report to the board of education gave no specific data but described the "pilot program" as producing "very favorable results with all the children, and unquestionably warranting continued support." The account of the satisfaction of the staff, parents and children read like the innocuous reports of the many projects in which evaluation is an afterthought.

Cloak and Dagger

The decision not to release data or high acclaim on the project was perhaps justified in terms of the fear that the inevitable observers, visitors, judges, students, and critics who would descend during the next year would disrupt the "plot" of the professional staff to "see if it happens again." The cloak and dagger atmosphere at 'Eight' made of the staff (excluding the para-professionals), which now referred to itself as Committee Fourteen, an instructional team rather than independent teachers under a common roof. The Director at 'Eight' remarked several times at the end of the second year (1962-63) of the program that the collusion may have accounted for

more of the even greater success achieved the second year than did the staff concern for the children. The changes in the staff were even more dramatic than those in the children.

During the first year the staff was scheduled to meet once a month and in addition for any special problems. Five meetings were held the first three months, eight meetings the next three months and *fifteen meetings in the last four months*. Only two scheduled meetings were held in September and October; all the other twenty-six meetings were called by the teachers.

The second year Committee Fourteen met thirty-seven times; none of their sessions were scheduled. However, it was decided that any meetings anticipated to run more than one hour would be held on Wednesdays starting at 1:00 p.m.; children were dismissed at noon on Wednesdays. This plan was adopted as meetings held in the latter part of the first year ran for as long as seven hours, creating home problems for the staff. Despite the earlier meeting time and the greater efficiency of the working sessions, many dinner engagements were delayed and broken.

Agenda Items

The individual staff members would post on the agenda board an item for attention:

I have used Frostig exercises 14, 23, and 31, which the manual states develop auditory discrimination. The activities in the PLDK program labeled A-D (for auditory discrimination) are not the same. Children succeeded with one and not the other with no consistency. Would like help defining A-D, getting idea of degrees of difficulty in this skill, locating some measuring instru-

ments, and knowing whether anyone else has experienced the same problem.

This item posted on Thursday might be removed on Monday as a result of an individual conference with another staff member. Frequently, the writer's item resulted in verbal leads and the teacher solved his own problem. Items still on the board by noon Wednesday constituted the meeting's agenda. Attendance at meetings was voluntary; it was predicated on one's ability to assist a fellow faculty member or personal interest in the agenda.

The agenda items outgrew the board space three times. A range of from six to thirty-one items was considered at the meetings with a mean of 13. Each item was initiated by those concerned or those having some response. Of greater importance was the daily change in the face of the board.

Other changes demonstrated by the staff could well be the content for another report. It suffices to say that the phenomenal growth made by the children enrolled those two years was inextricably tied in a causal relationship to the modified behavior of the teachers at 'Eight.' Although no research design had been proposed to study the phenomena operating, it became apparent that a comparative evaluative study was evolved by the teachers during the second year. What began as an interest to see "if it would happen again" was rivaled by each teacher's desire to test *his* first year results. The initial goal was further overshadowed by the competitive interest, unvoiced but expressed, uninterfering but ever present, to top the results of the other staff.

The 270 children in the pre-kindergarten classes the second year were

of the same composition as the earlier group. The mean I.Q. of 82 rose to 111, without a single child testing lower in June 1963 than he did in September 1962. For this group, however, the mean reading grade score of 2.2 was significantly higher than the first pre-kindergarten group's score and the reading score of the first graders in 1962-63. Language measures used only the second year credited these disadvantaged five-year-olds with the performance of the average seven-year-old. All the children were reading in basal readers from the pre-primer to a third reader. Teachers, parents, and children were happy about the program. Of the teachers and children it can definitely be said that each in his own way felt like a giant in looking back at the challenge and the achievement.

Charges of Usurpation

Despite the security and top secret measures taken by Committee Fourteen, leaks were inevitable. The first weeks of school in September 1962 were hectic for the unsuspecting and unprepared kindergarten teachers. What initially appeared to be well-routinized kindergarten classes (and thanks-be-to-God for those people at 'Eight') turned into children who devoured reading readiness and busy-work exercises with computer-like rapidity. By mid-October, those people at 'Eight' were charged as invaders and usurpers and intruders of the Kindergarten Curriculum.

However, the most pressing and immediate problem for the kindergarten teachers remained: what to do with these children. The first response at all six elementary schools was *enrichment*. October and November saw so much painting, singing, color-

ing, playing, dancing, tripping, crafts, and math and science that even the building principals were aware of something amiss.

The common plight of the kindergarten teachers opened up communication channels among them, even across schools. A teacher contingent was formed, representing Kindergarten Teachers whose Pupils Come "Too Primed" for the Curriculum. This usually sedate group became so vocal that some of the principals decided they should know "what the hell is going on at Eight!"

Being a fairly large system (with all the problems of fairly large systems), communication was slow and feedback faulty. But piecing together what was learned (one principal quizzed his son in pre-kindergarten and another knew the names of some of the consultants from the university who worked with them at 'Eight'), the principals united in a common course—preservation of good staff relationships. One of the principals close to the superintendent volunteered to get the word to Number One that 'Eight' was going off the deep psychological end and creating conditions detrimental to the success of their reading program. Furthermore, if they continued tinkering with these experimental and unproven activities, the damage done to the children's reading development might never be corrected. Innovations should be left to the problem-free laboratory schools and the suburban schools. They don't work with our type of student.

Detective Work

Now some action would be forthcoming. Number One said he would find out "just what the hell was going on at 'Eight.'" So, despite his heavy

calendar, he planned to talk to the Director at 'Eight.' He would tell him that whatever it was he was doing at 'Eight' it was not only disrupting the district's reading program, but it had even reached his desk. He would add further that after considerable thought and study he decided the best way to handle it would be for Joe (the pre-kindergarten director) to go through the kindergarten syllabus and drop from the pre-kindergarten program anything that overlapped or conflicted. After that the Principals' Review Committee would review what was left of the pre-kindergarten syllabus for approval.

In May 1962, the issue was raised again at a social event by one of the principals. Number One informed him that it was under study and got around to phoning Joe the next day. The importance of this decision, had it been made on time and heeded, would not have had any impact on kindergarten operations until September 1964.

However, the kindergarten teachers were still faced with the problem and would be again with the next kindergarten group. After a long siege of enrichment and depleted supplies, a few kindergarten teachers decided to go at the reading readiness program and at least "learn it right." Unbeknownst to anyone other than this writer, two of the kindergarten teachers, toward the end of the year, secured some first-grade readers and permitted some of the children to work ahead. This writer assured them that any repercussions from charges by the first-grade teachers that the first-grade curriculum had been invaded, could be safely answered by tracing the problem back to "what the hell was going on at 'Eight.'"

In June 1962, there was a minor fire

at 'Eight.' Fire department regulations required a complete inspection of the premises. The building was condemned for occupancy and demolished several months later. Unavailability of other space, coupled with a lack of funds, resulted in a supposedly temporary cessation of the pre-kindergarten program. Committee Fourteen was dissolved and absorbed into the district's other schools and neither the program nor the committee has been heard from again.

For the record, it should be said that the demise of 'Eight' was unlamented, that is, except for fourteen people. For them a large measure of their pedagogical dreams went up in smoke along with the old school. For most, however, it brought relief and removed an ugly education structure from the land.

Last year the district hired a Director of Research who became interested in the occasional quips about 'Eight.' He conducted a follow-up study of the over 500 children who attended pre-kindergarten and were still in the district. The second-grade test data on them were analyzed, and the researcher concluded that either the pre-kindergarten program did not deleteriously affect the children or the first-grade teachers were successful in overcoming these effects and had the children ready for second-grade reading by the time they were through with them.

The district has also started another pre-kindergarten program with ESEA Title I and State funding. It is the traditional program proven by years of experience, conducted to synchronize with the total school program.

This account of a program at P.S. 8 should make it clear that the disadvantaged child can overcome his early experience.

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Purposes

Competence

In recent years enough has been said about excellence and education. By now, many recognize that in one sense excellence is too easy a goal: given any range of accomplishment with a particular skill, there always are those who excel by their proximity to the higher extreme of the range. What matters for all who are spread out along the curve of distribution is not so much the placement of the extremes, but the placement of the curve itself; and the pursuit of excellence is less likely to raise the general level of the curve as is the pursuit of competence. With a high level of competence, the laggards are continually pulled along and the geniuses are continually pushed to better performances. There are sufficient examples of excellence among professional educators; what we lack as a group is thorough competence. This competence should be our goal, for it is the most demanding goal we can set ourselves.

Be assured that in commending competence as our goal I am not in the least advising that we lessen what we expect of ourselves. Competence is a hard, tough matter, especially when one looks honestly at the accumulated deficiencies. The difficulties posed by the pursuit of competence would be cause for despair, if it were not for the fact that competence is a pre-eminently open quality; a community can build up its competence rather quickly because it is open to every

man to assert his better self in favor of his lesser, to sharpen his powers, to perfect his competence in his chosen sphere of endeavor. Because competence is open to those who assert their will for it, the blacks can wisely taunt complacent whitey. But here, as in all other areas, the images of quick success, of visible excellence, are a danger to substantial progress.

There is a snare and delusion in the pursuit of excellence: too often excellence is measured by applause, acclaim, and notoriety; excellence becomes the equivalent of success in the eyes of the mediocre. True excellence in contrast is a matter of excelling oneself; it is an inward, hidden quality that surprises, and even outrages, the spectators with unexpected accomplishments. This honest excellence is never a public goal; certain men properly present it gratuitously to their peers as a *fait accompli*. But the ubiquitous cant about excellence serves as an unction by means of which we avoid facing up to our serious tasks. The rhetoricians of the marketplace have decisively degraded our idea of excellence, for every good and service sold excels all others in its class; and hence, until our deeds can give renewed meaning to the word, we had best cease mouthing it.

Consequently, in our time the heroic quest is not of the oft-spoken unspeakable; it is the quest of competence. To develop competence one must embark on a true odyssey: over years of journeying one must resist

and rebound from many dangers. On one side there is Charybdis, that terrible vortex of ever-narrowing concentration at the center of which is nothingness; to avoid this monster, the earnest voyager steers too far to the other side where he meets Scylla, the rock of silliness upon which heady ambitions are grounded and broken. And on the way to these twin dangers are the Sirens, "and about them is a great heap of bones and mouldering men, and round the bones the skin is shrivelling." Thus, publicity hungers to taunt every pretense, and the quiet shaping of one's powers depends on having sufficient fortitude to hold one's course while lesser men are hailed as Homeric heroes; Ulysses had learned of this matter from experience, for he had driven Ajax to frenzied despair by besting the latter's competence with rhetorical cunning. But rhetoric alone will always end by out-witting itself; and instead, it is time to sing the praises of the man whose powers are in proportion with his pretense, for he has become a truly uncommon character.

With the tension between pretense and competence, we encounter one of the more hopeful aspects in the surly mood of youth: in the long-run, immature iconoclasm may put a premium on competence over pretense. So far we have simply a pretentious rebellion against pretense, but we can expect more than that from the matter. Prior to the advent of affluence, wealth was the most common mark of attainment. Parents of middling class and age still believe in the significance of this mark; and finding themselves seemingly wealthy, they put on airs and congratulate themselves for their attainments. Their children, however, get around more; they

travel about the country and the world, and they soon realize that at once the well-to-do are legion and out-standing problems are manifold. As a result, these youths find that the possession of wealth in-and-of itself signifies nothing; they conclude consequently that pretenses based on wealth alone indicate an estrangement from the realities of the time, a mark of incompetence, not mastery; and they suggest idealistically that in place of the wealth itself, more discriminating measures should be recognized, measures that take into account the way the wealth was produced and the quality of the lives it helps support. Now although we have seen so far on the horizon of history only the ephemeral *avant garde* of this development; we are likely to witness, once the current game of denial becomes dull, a great demand by critical youths for elementary competence.

This demand is the one that will truly test the mettle of our educational institutions; and as the young begin to assert higher and higher standards of competence—not standards of mere efficiency, but standards of full, humane competence—they will put tremendous pressure on the reigning dogma of pedagogical presentism, a dogma that has done more than anything else in past decades to diminish our sense of competence. Of course, if one is satisfied merely to project present trends mechanically into the future, it will seem nonsense to foresee the demise of presentism in the name of competence. But in history, reason does not always follow the law of inertia.

What we see so far in the rebellions of the young is the reduction of the presentist doctrine to an absurdity. But one can already sense a shift

in certain activists who began in the name of involvement in the holy Now: slowly they are ceasing to question the desirability of educational institutions in the absolute; having discovered the importance of the institution, they are starting to examine critically the competence of its parts. Judging by decible count, these constructive critics are in a minority; but as Heraclitus said, it is a foolish man who is aflutter with every word. Historically, in situations of social ferment, the moderate wing of radical movements by no means always, or even usually, becomes dominant. In this case, however, there are certain practical and doctrinal realities that make constructive reform towards greater competence the likely long-term result of campus upheavals.

Once established ways have been disrupted, power—both material and spiritual—gravitates towards those who have both a clear intuition of a possible, new stability and the mastery of the means needed to bring this vision into actuality. In the Russian revolution, such vision and competence were developed by Lenin and his followers, who were rather far out on the revolutionary extreme. In the French revolution, these qualities were manifested, less completely to be sure, by Napoleon, who appealed to the desire for stability. Thus, in unstable situations, the assignation of power does not follow the dictates of doctrine or inheritance, but of competence; then careers are truly open to talent. To estimate what will happen when ingrained habits are upset, one should dispassionately weigh the ideas and abilities of different groups in an effort to perceive which one has the qualities that will best enable it to formulate and carry through a vision

of a viable future. Such an estimate will show that the exponents of pedagogical presentism are noisy, but inherently weak, for whether they favor the extreme of destruction or stasis, the bias of their beliefs ill-equips them to create a significant future.

Pedagogical presentists hold that educational effort should be measured neither by models from the past nor by hopes for the future; on the contrary, the standards controlling aims and activities should be immanent in the immediate pedagogical situation, they should emanate from the present aims and abilities of the child, and they should never involve a tyrannical imposition of abstract models on the sacred mystery of flesh and blood. There is much of merit in this doctrine. Its greatness came early in this century when educational reformers used it to call their peers away from the pursuit of sterile practices. But that which serves as a refreshing tonic does not always work as a daily drink; and despite the reiterations of those who long ago ceased to listen critically while they themselves were speaking, pedagogical presentism is now established doctrine throughout academe. It, too, shows signs of sterility.

Pedagogical disagreements have been resulting in polarized positions because both sides give lip-service to the same principles, those of the ruling presentism, making it impossible for the rational discussion of divergent principles to serve as an indirect basis for resolving the conflict. Thus the proponent of the multiversity holds that the university has no integral mission; it is instead an ever-changing conglomeration of competing interests that *hic et nunc* represent the immediate intellectual consensus.

So be it: the presentist multiversity engenders an equally presentist "antiversity" composed of those who are convinced that the multiversity does not represent the present consensus and who are going to prove it by destroying *hic et nunc* what seems to them to be a mere vestige of vested interests. Likewise, in the urban school crises, there is a similar synthesis of polar opposites in pure presentism. Proponents of both teacher power and parent power have given up crusading for grand ideals; they are equally convinced that pedagogical policy should not follow intrinsic principles, but should instead respond to the interests of the dominant group, and with this conviction there arises the urge to make one's own group dominant. In these ways presentism has helped to bring about the recent polarizations; but it is ill-designed to point towards any further possibilities beyond the confrontations.

Pedagogical presentism received its fullest statement at the time of its highest vitality in the work of John Dewey. In his presentation of what has come to be dogma, we find the flaw that makes the doctrine unsuitable for leading us beyond destructive oppositions. Dewey had a lively sympathy for the fact that we live always in an immediate present; and he used this fact effectively against those who tried to force living reality to conform to the image of a dead past or of an impossible future. Thus, he argued powerfully that education ought to be neither a continual reincarnation of classical norms nor a preparation for a distant future. Most of us would probably agree in opposing the tendencies that Dewey described and condemned as obnoxious; but the eventual weakness of Dewey's

presentism was rooted in his careless attitude towards the authentic past and future, in his willingness to make straw men of his opponents, and in his resulting failure to incorporate the best portion of their positions into his own.

Dewey held himself to an inadequate standard of competence. His positive position was well thought out and basically sound; but like his prose, his negations were slack and did not serve to brace his assertions. This self-indulgence is endemic to the presentists of all sorts; it is the spiritual source of their historic weakness. An emblem of the situation can be found in *Democracy and Education* where Dewey tried to set off the presentist position from the futurist's sense of preparation and the classicist's conception of recapitulation. Only dumb doctrinaires would hold the positions that Dewey described under these heads, and he failed to grapple with the pedagogies of preparation and recapitulation at their best. What is important in these conceptions is not, as Dewey had it, preparation for an abstract future, nor the recapitulation of an abstract past. Both past and future exist in the present; it is precisely the two together that give form to the present. Dewey erred in seeking to dissociate his doctrine from those of preparation and recapitulation, for to develop any substantial force in the real world, he should have sought to incorporate both into his theory.

Men truly develop their possibilities when they develop in their living present an authentic vision of the future. Moved by this aspiration, they begin to prepare for fulfilling it; they recognize that they cannot bring it to actuality if they are content with their present abilities and accomplishments. Having become discontent

with the given, they begin to cast around for other possibilities, at which point the past, the authentic past that comes to life in our consciousness, begins to grow and become more meaningful. Thus, men who are now working towards tomorrow find inspiration in past accomplishments that, they realize, differ from present actualities; and these men use the standards of the past as a lever by means of which they can raise their performance out of the rut of the present's inertia. Hence, it is by an alliance in the present of the future and the past that men develop for themselves standards of competence by which they can change their overall level of performance.

But by asserting presentist doctrine in the continual present of life, one puts before oneself ideas that are not the most conducive to human devel-

opment. The great theorem of human growth is "Future plus Past equals Present," that is, the quality of the present that one is living is a function of the future from which one is drawing one's aspirations and of the past from which one receives one's inspirations. By insisting overzealously, exclusively on the obvious—that we live in the present tense—Dewey and other presentists cut the heart and the head, the living hope and the living remembrance, from the vital process. This heartlessness, or lack of vision, and this mindlessness, or deficiency of carefully cultivated abilities, are together the historic realities that will make the presentists exponents of either the multiversity or the antiversity ineffective against the reformist proponents of a university composed of more competent persons.

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*Black Barbecue**

An Essay Review

Barbara J. Glancy
Washington, D.C.

The potential for a disastrous racial cleavage in our nation has been front-page news since the publication of the avowedly moderate Kerner Commission's Report on civil disorders. The time to do something is now, before it is too late. Since a primary educational goal in our schools is to prepare citizens for effective living in a democratic society, the problem for educators becomes a matter of what to do.

School curriculums have often misguidedly tried to maintain an official stance of color blindness. Differences among people are played down; often "different," i.e., non-white and non-middleclass, people are conveniently omitted. For the white middle-class student, this serves to perpetuate his racial isolation. For the Negro student, especially in the slums, it makes schoolwork a meaningless exercise in trivia. Color blindness deprives both black and white of understanding the problems that together we must solve.

One writer expresses extremely pertinent thoughts on this color blindness through the medium of a white policeman thinking about how he and his Negro patrolman-friend, Larry, had killed an innocent Negro boy. The policeman has returned to the scene of the shooting in civilian clothes and is walking down the street eating the barbecued ribs Larry had taught him to like:

"... There should be books and books written about these people right here," he said to himself. "But nobody talks about them, nobody wants to see them. Why, what the hell, there should be a book written about this barbecue alone. This is not white barbecue. This is different. You can't buy this kind of sauce in a store. This is black barbecue" (Fair, *Hog Butcher*, p. 108).

So, too, is the Negro experience in this country different from the white experience, far different, although we have tried to pretend in our schools that it is all the same. There is such a thing as black barbecue. Children, and especially inner-city children, know the difference. White children need to

- * Because of the richness of Mrs. Glancy's bibliography, the children's books referred to in her essay are listed at its close, each title followed by a note on the age group for which it is intended.

learn the difference in school curriculums if they have no opportunity to do so in life.

The use of children's books provides a unique opportunity. Information is not enough to effect attitude change; emotional involvement is also necessary. Fiction, either when read aloud dramatically or independently by competent readers, provides an opportunity for identification with Negro and white characters. But, as the white policeman noted, "There's a helluva lot more to people than you find in any one children's book (Fair, p. 108)." Children's books are not noted for their realism. But when you use a kaleidoscope of books, and there are increasing numbers that deal with Negro-white problems, there is enough material to use with students to help them come to grips with the reality that threatens our nation.

A survey of the books published from 1951 through 1966 reveals that the following topics are dealt with: education, housing, jobs, psychological effects of race, and mixed attitudes of whites. These books range from those for the beginning readers to fiction written for adults but worthy of using with teen agers. Many adult books, either used in part or as a whole, would also be appropriate and considerably more realistic in their analysis and solution of these problems. Fortunately, these books are better known than juvenile books are, and no systematic attempt has been made to include all of them here; they should not be overlooked, however.

Educational Deprivation

Since the failure of the schools to educate poor Negroes and whites is a major reason for the problems of our urban schools today, children's books that shed light on this contemporary problem are a good place to begin; these problems have historical antecedents dating back to the time of slavery. The laws barring slaves from education are alluded to when Daniel, a young slave, tells a sympathetic white boy who is passing through the South how his mother had learned to read by secretly watching her mistress (Hagler, *Larry and the Freedom Man*). Orlando, a runaway slave, at first speaks dialect then a slowly spoken English. He explains that he had taught himself to "talk real good, too, like free men talk" but seldom dares display his learning for fear of retaliation by whites (Browin, *Looking for Orlando*, p. 54). During the War, Corrie and the other ex-slaves on the abandoned plantation hold school at night to escape detection from the patrollers (Levy, *Corrie and the Yankee*). Peter Wayne returns South after his bitterness over the war has healed and stops the townspeople from intimidating Negroes who were attending the freedom schools (Wibberley, *The Wound of Peter Wayne*). In a biographical book, Dorothy Sterling tells of the important contribution that Robert Smalls and other Negro legislators made in setting up the first public schools in their state's history (Sterling, *Captain of the Planter: The Story of Robert Smalls*). Even a simple picture book biography of George Washington Carver tells of his search for a school that would admit him (Alike, *A Weed Is a Flower*). Sojourner's miserable twentieth century education puts him under such pressure at

Fisk University that he cheats on his final exam and is expelled (Means, *Tolliver*).

The inequities between Negro and white schools, regardless of whether they have been *de facto* or *de jure* segregated, are pointed out in several books. Mary Jane's desire to become a first-class biologist prompts her to exercise freedom of choice and, thereby, defy southern mores (Sterling, *Mary Jane*). Lucinda leaves her family to live with an unknown white family for the last two years of high school. The southern girl experiences great academic as well as psychological difficulties in her new northern school (Bradbury, *Lots of Love, Lucinda*). Lullah transfers to the parochial schools in her southern town when they desegregate, and in order to uphold their rights, she and her family endure both physical and psychological attacks (Carlson, *The Empty Schoolhouse*). Patricia's cross-town commute to an "open" school to avoid the inadequacies of her northern ghetto school is mild in comparison, but she too finds the prospect threatening and has to be forced to go (Baum, *Patricia Crosses Town*). The Negro teachers in Mary Ellis's segregated nursing school also have to persuade her to take advantage of a white nursing school's request for help in recruiting Negro students. Mary Ellis and another outstanding student are chosen because they will make a good impression in the new school (Newell, *A Cap for Mary Ellis*). Dave, a show-Negro at a prestigious college, expresses his resentment at constantly being a symbol of his race (Stolz).

Just gaining admittance to an integrated school does not solve Negroes' problems. Mary Jane still has to contend with an insensitive teacher who assumes that all Negroes are born singers. Mary Jane cannot wear a red dress she likes because "they" would expect a Negro to dress that way (Sterling). Corrie Lee, in her gradual awakening to what it means to be a Negro, makes a very perceptive comment about how Negroes avoid bright colors for this reason in spite of the fact that these very colors are often so much more becoming (Bradbury, *Lots of Love, Lucinda*).

Another problem is the loneliness felt by the Negro child in a new situation. While racial reasons are not stated in one simple book, the pictures of a single Negro child in a white class suggest why she fears she may get no valentines (Lovelace, *The Valentine Box*). Even interracial school friendships that have existed over the elementary school years disintegrate as Julie and the other girls move on to junior high school (Marshall, *Julie's Heritage*). Southernborn Emma Lou's incredulous attitude toward the subtler forms of discrimination she encounters after she moved to an integrated Arizona school (Blanton, *Hold Fast to Your Dreams*) contrast with Lucinda's conviction that things would be like this still (Bradbury). David Williams moves north with his family to get a better education but has to drop back a year in school because of his academic deficiencies. He also feels that he has been the victim of a racial incident during football practice although the intention of the other player is left ambiguous. A further problem, the economic hardship of his family when his father is injured, almost causes Dave to leave school to get a job (Graham, *North Town*). A turn-of-the-century Indiana story describes the good fortune of Irene's younger

brother, the first of the ten Washington children who does not have to leave school to help support the family (Frierhood, *Whispering Willows*). Ceretha, or Brown Rabbit as her family calls her, loves the school and recreation center in her family's northern home. All the problems of big city schools—the track system, uncaring or perhaps overwhelmed parents, and overcrowding—are present, but Ceretha wills herself to the top with the help of a few creative teachers and her loving parents (Morse, *Brown Rabbit*).

The following are some of the questions that boys and girls need to discuss. What were the psychological implications of slavery and the Jim Crow laws after the Civil War that have implications for today? What are the differences, concrete and psychological, between integrated and segregated schools? Can Negro schools be good schools? Who must be bussed to integrate schools? Should there be quotas for "racial balance?" How does it feel to be the newcomer to the schools? What are some ways to integrate rather than merely desegregate schools? What is a "token Negro?" Should only the smartest Negro children be the ones to integrate? Why do the Negro children in stories today always have to be the successful students? What does the suburban request for integration with Negroes of comparable socio-economic status imply about those suburbanites? Why are Negro students at Negro colleges rebelling? What are the problems of a Negro child who remains behind in the ghetto? What problems do poor Negro children face that interfere with their learning? What can be done about it?

A great many questions must be raised and debated back and forth. Simple solutions should be discouraged. It would be useful, indeed imperative, that students would go beyond raising questions and discussing just these books. They could go to sources like the Coleman Report or the penetrating analyses of Robert Coles to seek some factual information. A suburban and an inner-city classroom could even undertake a project comparing facilities, achievement, textbooks, methods of teaching in their respective schools. This would enlighten both classrooms while involving them emotionally through the shared experience. There are many other ways of going beyond the books that creative teachers will think of under supportive leadership from their administrations.

A House Is Not A Home

The problems of *de facto* school segregation stem from housing discrimination and its subsequent segregated housing patterns. One book deals in a rather fairy-tale way with discrimination against Negroes by lending agencies (Raftery, *Twenty-Dollar Horse*). Three books show the courage—and cash—it requires for a Negro to integrate a neighborhood while the myth of property values is explored quite differently in these and two other books. Bobby overhears another mother rationalize the frenzied attitude of their neighbors toward the Negro family that has just moved in on the basis of falling property values (Brodsky, *The House at 12 Rose Street*). Chip's parents comment about a former white neighbor moving out in the middle of the night and the high price the Negro family paid him for the house.

Again the spectre of falling property values is raised, but the details of white lower-middle-class economic insecurity lend some credence to their fears (Wier, *Easy Does It*). Garth's family is not harassed, but the Negro boy is the object of some unfriendliness (Rydberg, *The Dark of the Cave*). The scare tactics of realtors who buy cheaply and sell at big profits to Negroes are exposed by Lori's big sister who works for a real estate company (Sutton, *The Weed Walk*). David Williams' family also pays dearly for a house in a good Negro neighborhood (Graham, 1965). The class-versus-caste considerations of changing neighborhoods are dramatized by the child who complains about his neighborhood, "first it was nig—" but goes on to realize that an uncaring white family with many children accounts for the accumulation of trash. In this Pollyannaish story, the kids clean both the empty lots of trash as well as the adults' minds (Cobb, *The Swimming Pool*).

The undesirable features of this housing for which Negroes pay more are faintly discernible in a few books for younger children, but are usually upstaged by the families that overcome all obstacles. The oppressive atmosphere of Zeke's top-floor, ramshackle tenement apartment as he sits alone day after day looking across the narrow courtyard at one window is unique in its realism and probably more realistic than most of the young children for whom this beautifully written book was intended can bear (Weik, *The Jazz Man*). Although Jimmy's apartment must be so hot that he sleeps on the fire escape, the relationship with his father and his search for the city's rhythms with his friends are the focus of the story (Grifalconi, *City Rhythms*). Evan's eight-member family does not leave him much privacy in their small apartment, but a willingness to respect his need for a quiet corner and a closeness among his brothers and sisters overcome the obstacles (Hill, *Evan's Corner*). Martin's five sisters and mother establish such a positive atmosphere of mutual cooperation and respect for the individual that it does not matter that their fatherless family lives in public housing. The pernicious effects of overcrowding are not really brought out, however, in any of these books, and books for older boys and girls, interestingly, completely omit this phase of Negro reality (Scott, *Big Cowboy Western*).

The negative influence of overcrowded neighborhoods, on the other hand, does have an impact on the plot of several books. The Williams family, as well as most of the newcomers to their city, crowd into one teeming neighborhood. Dave is surprised to find a white teammate lives nearby in a larger, poorer family. After Dave's brush with the law, his family moves to an affluent Negro neighborhood to protect him from evil (Graham, 1965). When Brown Rabbit's family first moved to a similar part of town, her natural fastidiousness is repelled by the crowded, dirty street. Although her family encourages her to make new friends in disregard of people's initial appearances, she still gravitates toward the more middle-class Negro girls at the book's close. Unlike the Williamses, her family decides to make their own way where they are when they have a chance to move with a married sister (Morse). Reggie and Joe Bean are hustled off to a white family and horses in the country to insulate them from their

undesirable neighborhoods (Huston, *Trust a City Kid*; Agle, *Joe Bean*). Parents' and social workers' fears of bad influences become really meaningful in Frank Bonham's book as Rufus Henry leaves reform school to return to a house his mother has rented on the dreaded Durango Street. Rufus' fears of the power of the gangs is justified by the events of this story as he helplessly fends for himself until a social worker infiltrates the gang to turn them toward more socially acceptable activities (Bonham, *Durango Street*).

Housing projects of the nobler variety are included in two books besides Scott's *Big Cowboy Western*. Porter Project also has its problems with bands of marauding gangs. An interesting sideline is that most of the residents and gang members are white. The Murphys' positive reaction to their spacious apartment, spacious in comparison with their former quarters, causes them to overcome their natural fear of strangers and unites the mothers in demanding more police protection from the gangs for their new home (Lenski, *High-Rise Secret*). Another book in which the incidental theme of community action appears has the children organize a protest against the rules forbidding pets (Burchardt, *Project Cat*). Although the object of their protest is innocuous, the idea of strength through unity is obvious. This is seen in a more ominous story when the Civil Rights movement reaches a small southern town. Here, too, the goal of the group is insignificant, to paint the weatherbeaten Negro church white, but the fury this arouses in the white community requires a resolute group of people to withstand (Haas, *The Troubled Summer*).

It is interesting what symbolism painting something white has in several books. In Graham's earlier book, the southern community resents the Negroes' painting their school, but nothing happens (*South Town*). In contrast, an individual Negro's spontaneous decision to paint his home white ends in disaster, but the reader is left with the feeling that he will try again (Young, *A Good Man*).

The possibilities for discussion of housing are equally rich as those for education. Boys and girls will want to know if segregated housing has always existed in all parts of our country. They will be puzzled by the conflicting treatments of property values and will probably need to look into this further in Laurenti's classic work on this subject (*Property Values and Race*). Other questions will arise. Do realtors have other methods for keeping neighborhoods white? Do the neighborhoods themselves play any part in perpetuating segregated housing? What will be the effect of the new federal legislation and Supreme Court ruling on open housing? How long will it take to end our urban ghettos or will they ever completely disappear? Are there advantages to all-Negro or primarily Negro neighborhoods? What are some of the problems that Negroes face as they attempt to move into the suburbs? Has the desire for integration lessened in the Negro community with the advent of Black Power? What is wrong with ghettos as they currently exist? How does comparable housing for whites and blacks compare in price? How do the supply and the demand for more housing for both races compare? How does public housing operate? Who

owns the Negro ghettos? What causes slums? The question of community action and Black Power will also be germane to much of this discussion.

Plenty of Room at the Bottom

Just as in life, education and housing and jobs are interlocking, so are the books that shed light on the conditions of Negroes in education often the very ones that discuss housing and employment. Both in the North and in the South, the Williams family feels economic pressure. In the South, it is more personal. When Mr. Williams returns to his old job after the war as a small town mechanic, the town tries to teach him a lesson for having worked in a defense plant to earn extra money for Dave's education (Graham, 1958). When the townspeople find out that Asa has been visiting the white prostitute, his female relatives lose their domestic jobs (Daniels, *Caleb, My Son*). In the North, the pressure is just as severe but more impersonal. Although the pay is much higher than at home, the Williamses find the cost of everything else even higher (Graham, 1965). Brown Rabbit's family also feels the pinch of the higher cost of living as her father attempts to fix up their shabby apartment, and he regrets having to give up his beloved craft of carpentry for a backbreaking but routinized job in a factory (Morse). Mama Hattie's girl also goes north with her parents to try to get ahead, but they finally decide they were better off before and return South (Lenski, *Mama Hattie's Girl*). Job ceilings for Negroes kept Ellen's father from getting an engineering job after college so he became a teacher. Years later, when a more liberal administration gains power, he is too out-of-practice to be an engineer. But there is hope that Ellen's boyfriend will have a better chance when he graduates (Colman, *Classmates by Request*). A similar situation is alluded to in *Easy Does It* when the Negro boy whose father is an engineer is asked:

"... What kind of bridge is your Dad building now?"

A. L. looked embarrassed. "None just now, but he'll get a chance to build lots of them some day. He's awful smart. He has his degree in engineering, but right now he's working for a contractor" (Wier).

There is no hope, however, for Zeke's father whom his mother complains does not find steady work (Weik). While some Negroes migrate from rural South to urban North in their search for work, others migrate from crop to crop. The migratory life of Roosevelt Grady, which is shared by thousands of Mexican-Americans and white Americans, is poignantly told in this story of a boy who never settles down for more than a few weeks at any one time (Shotwell). Earl's mother is threatened with the loss of her welfare check if her son testifies at the policemen's trial. This book also gives a beautiful and concise summary of the migration to the cities of Negroes in their quest for better conditions. The author vitalizes this overview with a biographical sketch of one of these migrants in his climb from the poverty of the slums to middle-class status (Fair).

As a contrast to this bleak picture, some of the newer books portray

Negroes who can be classified as middle-class according to education, income, and occupation. There is the mid-western Negro couple who have saved enough money to open a beauty shop (Dahl, *Good News*). The Williamses look up to the Negro realtors and lawyers in their neighborhood who have already made it (Graham, 1963). A Negro achieves national prominence as a civil rights leader (Haas). A. L.'s family, even though his father is not working as a professional when he was educated to be one, can still afford to send his son to private school in the city and buy an overpriced suburban home (Wier). A Negro social worker is aided in his work with delinquent gangs by a professional football star who is also Negro (Bonham). Vern's family goes away summers to a mountain lake cottage colony (Madison, *Danger Beats the Drums*). Mary Ellis has a brother who is a professional jazz piano player and she attends a nursing college (Newell, 1953; 1958). Tony and Tolliver attend Fisk University (Means, *Reach for a Star*; 1963).

While the spotlight rests upon those who do make it, many do not get that far, and their plight has far-reaching results. One book powerfully implies the tie between the Negro male's economic impotence and the high incidence of broken or female-headed households; almost one fourth of all non-white homes are headed by a female (Foley, *The Achieving Ghetto*, p. 47). After repeatedly berating his father for not having a steady job like other men, Zeke's mother disappears one day and finally the father does too (Weik). While no other book states or implies this causal relationship, almost twenty-five percent of the books in a recent study portray a fatherless Negro child (Glancy, *The Current Picture of the Negro in Children's Fiction*). A heartrending characterization of such a boy is Rufus, whose secret hope, nourished by the offhand lie of his mother many years before, that the famous pro football player of the same last name is really his father (Bonham). Earl's father is in prison, and his mother's boyfriend plays a sporadically helpful role for the boy. Because her welfare checks would stop, she cannot marry the unemployed Charlie (Fair). Reggie's father is not mentioned. His mother either does not or cannot get off from work to see him off to the country for the summerlong visit with a family arranged by his social worker; his hopes and then bitterness over this disappointment are deeply felt (Huston). Joe Bean's father had deserted his mother who is now dead, but these facts are only neutrally recited during his delinquency hearing before the Juvenile Court (Agle). The other fathers' absences in the books are simply not discussed. To find that Negroes are not the only ones with fatherless families, students can read a book set in the Everglades which includes a Negro boy living with his mother and a white boy living with only his grandfather (Ball, *Hurricane: The Story of a Friendship*). Furthermore, almost twice as many recent books include a Negro child living with both parents as those that have only a mother according to the study cited above.

A problem related to the relative instability of the Negro family is the number of Negro foundlings, children who are less often adopted than white babies. Florence Crannel Means' latest book deals with a white family

who adopt a Negro baby that is suffering so severely from the psychological and physical effects of the impersonal care provided in institutions that he is in critical condition (Means, 1966).

The problems that have already been discussed are mainly problems that Negroes suffer at the hands of society at large or from societal institutions. The many personal hurts that individuals administer to one another are often deeper although their effect may not seem as great. In addition to the ambiguous fouling in Graham's *North Town*, most of these incidents in children's books involve name calling (Cobb, *Frick, Tournery Team*; Hunt, *Ladycake Farm*; Fritz, *Brady*). Others range from veiled expressions of dislike (Rydberg) or needling harassment (Ball) to more overt expressions of prejudice (Hentoff, *Jazz Country*). General, the first Negro to play on his Texas team, is deliberately fouled by the opposing team in game after game (McKone, *Lone Star Fullback*). There are threats that Negroes will be excluded from a summer colony, with the implication that they had been formerly (Madison). School clubs even have their unwritten exclusion policies (Blanton). The Negro cook riding herd with the other cowboys cannot buy a drink without an argument (Gipson, *Trail-Driving Rooster*), and the slave who has witnessed a murder knows that his word will not be taken over that of the white murderer (Baker, *Return of the Thunderbird*).

Because we have all heard that things are getting better, and they are for the middle-class Negro, much information will have to supplement the rosy picture presented in the books. The position of the average Negro in relation to the average white now and ten or twenty years ago needs to be discussed. Students, in determining why the relative median income has declined for Negroes, will need to discuss the effect of automation and what measures are being taken to counteract it. Is private industry doing anything? Is the government, itself a major employer, also guilty of discrimination or underemployment of Negroes? Should there be racial quotas? Should standards for employment be lowered? Are there other approaches to reach full employment? How does Negro unemployment compare with white unemployment? How does welfare work? What are suggested changes in the professions relating to paraprofessionals? What is the guaranteed annual wage? negative income tax? What groups make up those below the poverty level? Are conditions better in the North or South? How is the Old South changing? How does poverty relate to health, education, family instability? What are some of the daily barbs that Negroes face? These are just a few possibilities.

Chains of Bondage

These pervading societal pressures on the Negro as well as the day-to-day pricks of personal antipathies are bound to leave a mark on many an individual. And indeed there are Uncle Toms, slavishly dependent on the white man, seen in these books. The slave-born cabin boy on *The Amistad* betrays the Africans who have seized control of the slave ship to return to Africa and then refuses freedom for himself when the others win their court battle

(Sterne, *The Long Black Schooner; the Voyage of the Amistad*). Poppy Joe gives his children the advice his boss gave him, to keep a big grin on their faces until their taunters tire of bothering them (Hunt). Professor Winston tells the young Negro students at the Agricultural College how much they owe the land, regardless of who owns it, after they have saved a local white farmer's crop (Person, *New Dreams for Old*).

There is also the Negro ashamed of other Negroes, especially poor Negroes, that Brown Rabbit's father senses in his daughter as she looks askance at a slovenly dressed neighbor (Morse). This contrasts vividly with the preoccupation the Williamses have with their own son's danger (Graham, 1965). When Toni's rich friend's father, one of those unpretentious self-made men who wear good clothes but wear them casually, asks the waiter at the best Negro restaurant in town, after looking over the menu, if there are any specials, he hears:

"Like for instance?" asked the waiter, fixing his eyes on that twisted necktie. "Something light, maybe? Rolls and a salad?"

Mr. Sands flicked an inscrutable glance at him. "Like for instance genuwine (sic) Southern cooking, boy. This young lady is from the West, where they don't have the old plantation dishes. On this card, I don't seem to find your bouillabaisse. Got green turtle soup, mebbe?" (Means, 1957, pp. 77 f.)

Both Negroes show their contempt for the other: the waiter for his suggestion and Mr. Sands by his use of "boy." Even the reference to the plantation suggests "Which side of the big house do you think I was from?" A fascinating picture of how a Negro starts out to help his people and then gradually drifts farther and farther away until he has become "the enemy" is the young Negro policeman in Fair's book. An out-of-print book describes a young American Negro boy's initial attempt to disassociate himself from anything African when his engineer-father is stationed in Kenya for a year (Johnson, *Kenny*).

Many of the Negro characters seem paralyzed by fear and insecurity, frozen into inaction and unfeelingness. The Franklins' son is so affected by the mob outside his house when they move in that he is incapable of accepting the genuine friendship Bobby extends to him or even to sympathize with the position that Bobby faces as he takes a stand against his former friends and neighbors (Brodsky). Lucinda, while she is not unfriendly to the bubbly girl whose family has brought her to live with them, does not relax enough to enjoy her stay with the Lees until the end of the book (Bradbury). David Williams' inability to relate to white people seems almost paranoid unless the violent events of the preceding book have been read (Graham, 1965). Charley, Earl's mother's boyfriend, is no help to him when he makes his decision about testifying at the trial, for his terror when the police come to discuss what Earl "really" saw is so great that he hides out for a few days (Fair). Reggie, even though he feels the acceptance and friendliness of his summer hosts, cannot permit himself to trust them until

he is caught in his own deceptions (Huston). Amos does not dare try out for Little League for fear he will be rejected on the basis of race (Coombs, *Young Infield Rookie*). Mary Ellis's concern with what people will think of Negroes seems a tempest in the context of her mild situation, but this same concern still haunts many Negroes in integrated situations (Newell, 1953; 1958).

The ultimate step is the Negro ashamed of himself. While many Negroes pass to avoid discrimination, there is often an element of shame involved. Cara, who does not plan to pass but does so when the Dean assumes she is white, rationalizes her actions on the basis of getting a decent job after college, unlike her parents (Butters, *Masquerade*). Julie ponders the reasons for her new friend's sister "passing" and wonders if she too may be ashamed of being a Negro at heart (Marshall). How different are these feelings from the sentiments expressed in the foreword to a Black Muslim reader.

I want Black children to aspire and strive for things within their realm, and be proud of what belongs to them.

... [to] see faces that are similar to their own, and grow up in a belief that it is great to be born BLACK, and not a calamity, or a disgrace (Johnson, *Muhammed's Children*).

Breaking the Chains

While the caste status of the Negro sometimes results in a sense of shame, it sometimes results in a reaction against the forces oppressing Negroes. Cornbread, the student who is later killed, chose to attend Howard University rather than a white school because he does not want to be a "professional Negro, a practicing scherzophrenic." The Negro policeman, until he becomes mesmerized by his middle-class prosperity, wanted to help all his brothers in the ghetto (Fair). The convincing social worker of Rufus' gang is a Negro and so is the football star who devotes his free time to helping kids (Bonham). Clovis, a Negro social worker who lives on Kitty's street and works at the settlement house, helps the white girl escape the poverty of the mind as well as the more obvious kind (Butters, *Heartbreak Street*). Emmy Lou is not so preoccupied with her own struggles against discrimination and self-actualization that she cannot see the problems that Mexican-Americans face as well (Blanton).

Sometimes the counter reaction against discrimination takes the form of anti-white feelings instead of a reaction to conditions. Clay Williams is on the border between personal insecurity and an antipathy for whites based on inner strength (Haas). His color prejudice would be interesting to compare with that of a white character, such as Rocky, for they are essentially the same (Frick). Clay's feelings almost interfere with his goal of becoming a Negro activist (Haas). Asa's loathing for white flesh seems more genuine although his reasons for continuing to visit this prostitute, supposedly because he and his buddies interpret the 1954 Supreme Court decision to mean that everyone will integrate on all levels, are unconvincing in this rather bad book (Daniels). The conviction of the Negro jazz musi-

cian's wife that a white trumpeter will never be able to become a great musician seems to spring from a much deeper belief in Negroes (Hentoff). An interesting but frequently insidious book describes the eagerness of pre-Civil War free Negroes in Cincinnati "for white blood" after a riot against them. The author tells how the riot was fomented by the Abolitionists' talk and reaction against these ideas. She mentions the riot without describing the kinds of people who attacked the Negro settlement while the Negroes who have this anti-white feeling afterwards are described as "bad" Negroes (Allis, *Rising Storm*). Sometimes the message that books suggest is as important to discuss as what they say.

When it comes to Negroes reacting to oppression with a sense of pride and militancy against the oppressing conditions, most discussion will have to center on what is absent from these books. In a brief passage, the white Lee family reacts in a strongly positive way to the events of the Negro Revolution they witness on television (Bradbury, *Lots of Love, Lucinda*). In this author's other book, which deals with the Underground Railroad, the rationale for civil disobedience is given although it is related to the Anti-Fugitive Law of those times (*The Undergrounders*). Its relevance for today is obvious, however. A southern view of the Negro Revolution is given by a Negro maid who virulently argues against "the meddling" of Martin Luther King in Birmingham. Her white charge, a ninth grader from Georgia, is blissfully unaware of the changes that have been occurring while she has been at her northern boarding school (Sanguinetti, *The New Girl*). This viewpoint expressed toward the Nobel Prize winner was somewhat amusing before Dr. King's assassination. Even the advance of the civil rights' activists into the southern farmbelt is led by a white substitute when the Negro leader, Mr. Wakefield, is wounded in the previous town. Unfortunately, these events occur offstage in the book and thus have little emotional impact for readers, a crucial factor in attitude change. Mr. Wakefield does make one visit to Clay's town and the adults sit late into the night listening to him talk about the history of the Negro's oppression. This material, while interesting and accurate, is less effective because of its presentation in a long didactic monologue which breaks the train of the story (Haas). Ross' decision to free his woodland pets after his hospital stay could be interpreted to mean his increased understanding of the essence of freedom (Lewis, *A Summer Adventure*). Earl is the one shining example of a Negro in a children's book playing an active onstage role in his stand against injustice (Fair).

Black Can Be Beautiful

There are no references to the Black Power position that black is beautiful except in the Muslim reader, and only the foreword is of any real interest (Johnson, *Christine X*). In fact, color is seldom mentioned. More of the earlier books including Negroes described skin color, and did so in very positive terms. Few recent books describe a Negro's color other than saying "light" or "dark." Indeed, most books let the reader infer that a character is Negro by the situations that develop or through the illustrations. Re-

viewers carefully eschew the word Negro or Afro-American although they mention Puerto Rican freely.

Only three of the following color descriptions occur in books published prior to 1960. Toni is "just brown and dimpled with brown eyes and lightly curled hair." Her boyfriend described her skin as being like a "brown orchid" (Means, 1957, p. 6). April's mother describes her little girl as the "color of coffee with good cream in it." In a later passage she explains that April's skin looks lovely among her classmates in the same way that "the dark hyacinths [look] among the light ones" (de Angeli, *Bright April*, pp. 9, 46). Lullah also has "coffee and cream skin" (Carlson). Jim's skin is likened to the "rich brown color of freshly turned earth" although his owner sees him as a "sooty black" (Hagler, p. 19). Clay is a "light chocolate" (Haas) while Orlando is a "rich chocolate" (Browin). The maid, Honey Green, looks like the "color of an old penny" to Vic (Gates, *Little Vic*). Ronald Fair, a Negro author, describes various characters in his recent book as "tobacco brown," "dark eyes almost the color of Earl's skin," "bronze," and "almost white." Most of the positively toned descriptions in children's books describe light Negroes.

One older book for very young children does explain why some children are brown or black in very sympathetic terms. Jimmy, a white child whose friend has rejected Jimmy's new Negro playmate, questions his mother about Toby's looks. She tells him that it is "God's plan" that all little children should grow up "looking like their mothers and fathers in some way" (Randall, *Fun for Chris*). A rather quixotic book for youngsters attacks the notion that white is superior. Olliver Jones prides himself on having skin so white that "not even white milk had such lovely light tones" until he awakens one day to find himself black. He finally realizes he is still Olliver inside and that is all that matters. There are some amusing comments about people who are white "'cause of something they lack?" that imply the facts of pigmentation (Korshak, *The Strange Story of Olliver Jones*).

The reasons for the various degrees of pigmentation is not mentioned as such but it is alluded to several times. Lance, the northern raised twin, is horrified when his southern brother tells him about their Negro relatives, born of the illicit relations between slaveowners and their female slaves in order to increase their slaveholdings (Allis). The Grimke sisters, arch Abolitionists, have difficulty realizing that their brother had genuinely loved and treated with respect the slave he had established as sole housekeeper on his second backwoods plantation, rather than the usual master-violating-suppressed-slave relationship (Stevenson, *Sisters and Brothers*). The tragic mulatto of Warren's book was the result of another union based on love (*Band of Angels*). An unusually frank book for younger readers tells how Sam's son had been auctioned to punish his slave mother for not complying with her owner's sexual desires (Jones, *Escape to Freedom*).

Children's books have great variety in their Negro characters. This variety could be a rich resource for the classroom. Differences among characters could lead students to discuss whether various characters would have behaved similarly or not had they been in another character's situation. Con-

jectures concerning what circumstances could account for such varied psychological types might be interesting. These comparisons would lead to real understanding of the characterizations and of people too. Looking at the differences among students in their own classroom would help them realize why these fictional Negroes vary so greatly.

The fact that many Negro characters are both middle class and light-skinned will raise questions. Does this mean light-skinned Negroes have more opportunities? How do Negroes themselves feel about light and dark skin? different kinds of hair? about successful Negroes? How did so many Negroes become light? What has been the sexual and/or marital relationship between the races in the past? How do Negroes feel about their mixed ancestry? How do today's militant Negroes feel about their mixed ancestry? How do today's militant Negroes feel about intermarriage? passing? What does complete acceptance of all races mean? What implications for personality development are there in Black Power? Why have there been no rich descriptions of dark Negroes, e. g., "shifting ebony planes" or "darkness suffused with radiance?" Black could be beautiful, but so far it is not, at least in children's books.

Enough has been said in connection with all the foregoing topics to suggest the diversity of Negroes in fiction: diversity in color, economic status, family relationships, personality, experiences, and place of residence. Inner-city children often lead such circumscribed lives that this picture of diversity will be very important for them to read and think about. But it is equally important that the opposite side of the coin, differences among whites in their reactions to Negroes, also be presented, for inner-city children meet few white people. Almost every one of these books has Negroes in interaction with whites. The biracial picture of these books is, of course, more representative of our ideals than real practices, and it should be openly discussed as such.

White Hostility

The diversity among whites in their attitudes and practices will be a vital source of discussion for Negro children. This divided opinion is seen in both the historical and the contemporary books. In all the Underground Railroad books there is this moral division among whites over slavery. Tim Blaine and his family fear their neighbors will detect what they are doing to help fugitives escape (Jones). Brady feels ostracized by his father's unpopular sermon against slavery when there are no slaves in the area, but he gradually develops pride over his father's integrity and helps him with the stowaways (Fritz). Jess sympathizes with his brother's anti-slavery views but suffers from the stigma his pro-slavery neighbors attribute to Ben's jailing for violation of the Anti-Fugitive Slave Law (Bradbury, *The Undergrounders*). Southern-raised Sam Chase visits his Quaker grandparents and develops the courage to speak out against this unjust law after he learns of his cousins' involvement on the Railroad (Browin). Benjie, after learning what is it like to be a bound boy, helps his brother free some slaves for John Brown while pro-slave and anti-slave settlers tangle in the background

(Hodges, *Benjie Ream*). On his last escape plan, a suspected conductor defies public opinion by bringing forty slaves he has been hiding all winter to church before the last leg of their journey (Hall, *Cyrus Holt and the Civil War*).

Contemporary books for young children have interracial friendships unmarred by any of the harsher realities, but all the books for older boys and girls show both "good guys" and "bad guys." Cal's father defends a Negro accused of rape in his southern town to the consternation of both his grandmother's family and the town (Lee, *To Kill a Mockingbird*). Chip, like Brady, has dissension within his family, but it is the son who questions the commitment of his parents to their values (Wier).

At one extreme whites have such hostile feelings about Negroes that they resort to violence. In addition to Allis' book which cites an anti-Negro riot, another describes the trouble Negroes had during the anti-Draft riots of the Civil War (Whitney, *A Step to the Music*). Violence almost occurs the night A. L. and his family move in their new home.

"Get out! Get out! Get out! the chant continued . . ."

"We ain't gettin' nowhere," he said loudly. "We've tried it the way we agreed to, and like I told you, it don't work. . . . They ain't comin' out unless somebody makes 'em, and since I've got things to say to 'em, I'm gonna make 'em." He reached in his jacket pocket and brought out a large-sized rock (Wier, p. 59).

A mob also greets the Franklins after their first night in the all-white neighborhood (Brodsky). An angry community and restive Ku Klux Klan members watch as an integrated crew paints the Negro church white. An attempt to bomb the church is also made later (Haas). Mary Jane has to walk between rows of jeering people on her first day at the white school (Sterling). Nightriders attempt to burn the Williams' house. In thwarting the attempt, a friend is killed and Dave's father is severely beaten (Graham, 1958). Two white boys threaten Joel, the only Negro to ever try out for Little League in his Texas town, with a switchblade (Bishop). Lullah's family is threatened and she herself is shot by an arch segregationist (Carlson).

White On Top of Black

Not all attempts at suppression are so blatant. Even when the people of an area violently oppose school desegregation, there is a certain obligation the police have to uphold law and order. The police do hold back the crowds when Mary Jane enters school (Sterling). A local policeman stops the rock-thrower (Wier). Clay and the civil rights workers are protected begrudgingly by the local police force until the governor finally agrees to send reinforcements (Haas). David's father, however, is jailed by his local police in spite of the fact that he was the one who was beaten (Graham, 1958). Furthermore, Cornbread was killed by police, Negro and white, who are more intent on stopping fleeing burglars than safeguarding innocent bystanders in Harlem. After the riot thus triggered, the force of the whole police de-

partment is brought to bear on the Negro neighborhood. Earl's family and neighbors are threatened by people representing either the police or the courts in order to suppress the details of the young man's death (Fair).

Often the attempts of white people to dominate Negroes are more subtle. Major Kramer takes his son out of the Little League after Joel is signed on and urges the local businessmen to withdraw their financial support (Bishop). An influential parent sees to it that the leading part in the school ballet club is taken away from the talented Emmy Lou, the first Negro or Mexican-American accepted into the club (Blanton). Prince Albert finds that his credit at the local grocery store is cut off when he starts to paint his house (Young). The realtor for whom Lori's sister works hires a Negro boy to peek in neighborhood windows where he wants to create panic selling (Sutton). Even the children retaliate; Oralee, Lullah's white friend since childhood, does not invite her to her birthday party (Carlson) and Sandra invites all the other Ballerinas except Emmy Lou to the party after the show (Blanton).

There are also little signs of assumed superiority on the part of some authors as well as characters. One author describes the Negro rookie as belonging to a race that is superstitious (Archibald, *Outfield Orphan*). Rocky Ryan deliberately fouls a Negro basketball opponent because his team is the only one to ever "lose to a colored team" (Frick, p. 5). Carlos' friends chide him about the un-American food he plans to have at his birthday party. Freddy tells him he should have birthday cake and hot dogs; Sammy, the Negro boy, says it should be pork chops and grits. Carlos amends the menu to include cake and hot dogs—no grits (Prieto, *A Kite for Carlos*). Another trite book, a symbolic brotherhood story of a Negro and a white boy who live in a brown and a white house, respectively, and think the same thoughts, dream the same dreams, etc., shows the Negro boy dreaming that he will become a *white* policeman (Robinson, *Ed and Ted: A Story About Two Boys Who Became Friends*). A prize-winning book about the earliest explorations of southwestern United States turns the explorer Esteban into a white man (O'Dell, *The King's Fifth*) while another book on the same material published two years earlier shows him as the Negro that he was (Baker, *Walk the World's Rim*). O'Dell's is an outstanding book except for this, but the sleight-of-hand should be pointed out.

There are instances of coercion in which white people attempt to force other whites to maintain a united front against Negroes. The coolness of her neighbors to her and her son's isolation from his former friends over A. L. cause Mrs. Woodman to agree to the meeting of the neighbors to oppose solidly the Negro newcomers (Wier). Bobby is beaten by a group of white boys when he tells them how their prejudiced behavior makes him feel (Brodsky). Major Kramer is able to convince all the other businessmen to stop funds for the team. Kramer's grandson and two other boys are caught setting fire to the clubhouse when power of the purse does not oust Joel from the team (Bishop). Mr. Lee's fellow realtors at first publicly agree to help find housing for a few Negro and Puerto Rican families, but they work behind the scenes to thwart him (Bradbury, *Lots of Love, Lucinda*).

Some white characters speak about interracial harmony in a rather unconvincing manner. The sermons for brotherhood at her boarding school, as heard through the ears of Georgia-born Felicia, have this quality (Sanguinetti). Clarence's accepting a dare from his girlfriend to take a Negro girl to the prom is suspect when he vows to take her out again on his own but never quite gets around to it (Davis, *Anything for a Friend*). Lance falls in love with Angela at first sight in this Civil War book, and, when he learns she is a Negro, still promises to marry her. By the end of the book, however, he has changed his mind (Allis). There are two instances in which the solitary Negro character is suddenly joined by other Negroes when the characters are teenagers. Mr. Lee brings another Negro family to town (Bradbury, *Lots of Love, Lucinda*). The Negro Corwin family comes to town when Karen finds a new boyfriend, and the Negro boy she had been walking home with now walks home with their daughter (Sutton).

Even a picture book with an uproariously funny story can be interpreted as the overpoliteness of liberal whites toward Negroes. The Browns ask their unseen new neighbors to dinner, and a Negro family with an enormous dog shows up. The initially pleasant conversation between the families chills as the dog becomes increasingly frisky. As a bowl of soup upsets, the hostess stonily asks her guest how long they have had their dog only to discover that each family thought the other owned him. (Taylor, *The Dog Who Came to Dinner*).

Like the Browns many white characters jump to conclusions about Negroes. Chip was set to brag about his father's job until he learned that A. L.'s father was an engineer (Wier). There is a scene in which Lori and her friend are taking a shortcut across a weed-grown lot at dusk when a Negro man runs after them. They hysterically bolt for the house to call the police and then find that he was returning a wallet Lori had dropped (Sutton).

In the world of children's books, the characters generally live happily ever after. Even the white bigots are usually converted although these instances are quite unconvincing. When Major Kramer's grandson is caught setting the fire, the old man is so overcome with remorse that he gets the businessmen to again support "their" team (Bishop). Rocky Ryan, banished to the sportswriting department of the school newspaper after having been taken off the team for his name-calling and fouling of a Negro player, is allowed to rejoin the team after he learns good sportsmanship, apparently through watching his former teammates win game after game. He rejoins the team at the end and threatens to beat up anyone who "calls 'em jigs" (Frick). The coach of Billy Washington's team takes his junior coach to the Washington home in hopes that he will apologize for his racial slur toward the boy, but he remains silent. At the end of the season, this same junior coach moves the team to another hotel because the former one will not accommodate Billy (Olson, *The Tall One*). Sam Chase's reversal on the Anti-Fugitive Slave Law is made less dramatic by his statement that he had always opposed it but had never dared openly state this (Browin).

Whites With Blacks

The opposite extreme of white attitudes is the complete acceptance by some Negro characters of their white friends. Even though Davey is a white southerner, he and Luke have developed a deep friendship over the years. As Davey matures he becomes more aware of the petty annoyances Luke has to contend with daily and their friendship grows (Ball). Both Bobby and Chip find so much in common with the Negro boys moving into their areas that they find the reactions of other whites incomprehensible (Brodsky, Wier). Chip, who was the first one in his neighborhood to know about the Negroes moving in, did not even mention it to anyone because he did not think it was important. Ronnie's liberal parents do not tell their blind son that their new neighbor is Negro because they want him to accept people on their own merits. He tells them later, however, that he had suspected this all along, but that it had not mattered to him either (Rydberg). Mary Jane and Sally share an interest in animals, similar to Bobby's and Chip's interest in model airplanes, that cements their friendship (Sterling, 1959). Patricia Marley and her white friend, Sarah, share an interest in acting and puppetry as well as a propensity for getting in trouble (Baum). Nowhere else in children's books except in Fair's are Negro children as realistically portrayed as Patricia and Mary Jane.

A different but equally positive bond is seen in the characters who take a moral stand against the injustices Negroes suffer. Carla and Dan Monroe follow the lead of their liberal father and take the initiative away from their recalcitrant school board by integrating a Negro high school with a group of their white friends. Carla appears to be less committed than her brother, but her shyness, which is paralleled in the shyness of a Negro girl who is a classmate, may account for this (Colman). Lori joins an integrated church group that takes the lead in bringing to the community's attention such controversial topics as the insidious methods the local realtor is employing to blockbust the neighborhood (Sutton). A fascinating book describes the friendship of Jeanne, Dave, and the Negro boy, Mel, based on their desire to play chamber music. Jeanne, who is oblivious to the pressures on Negroes in her community, is outraged when the management at a local ice cream parlour refuses to serve them when she innocently insists they go there for frozen éclairs. Her realization that whites are pressured to abide by discriminatory practices causes her to sit-in over the éclairs spontaneously to the amusement of Mel and Dave (Sprague, *A Question of Harmony*). Bradbury makes an eloquent plea for whites to "think black" in both her books. In *The Undergrounders* the minister begs his parishioners to think of what slavery and the Anti-Fugitive Slave Law mean to a human being. Corry, in the other book, who is mildly envious of Lucinda's vocal talent, says unthinkingly that she would gladly trade places with her. This comment leads to an interesting discussion of what it means to be black (*Lots of Love, Lucinda*). Unfortunately, the many books portraying interracial friendships do so mainly with white characters who are upper-middle-class. Ball's and Wier's books are the two exceptions.

A subtle historical reference to whites who have not thought black in

reference to moral issues occurs in an Underground Railroad story when one of the runaways states that his grandfather was "one of Ol' Pat's niggahs." Even Patrick Henry, fiery champion of freedom during Revolutionary days, did not extend his thinking to his own slave quarters (Jones, p. 43).

It would be extremely interesting to compare Negro and white classes in their interpretations of various incidents in these books or in their reactions to the characters. For instance, Negro students could listen to a tape of white students' discussions of various books and vice versa. This would give each group much insight into their blind spots and hidden feelings toward the other race. Eventually, direct debates on the believability of characters or events could be held with combined groups. At first there might be too much hostility or guarded politeness for this approach to be productive.

Before reading *Easy Does It*, the students could be asked to identify which boy was which on page 68 as the boys tell their age, grade, and father's occupation (Wier). The scene in *The Weed Walk*, the one in which the two girls panic when they see the Negro man, could be read up to the point where the police arrive and the students asked to write their interpretation of what has happened before reading the explanation. These procedures can permit the students to come to grips with their own assumptions. Another way is to have the unsigned statements collected and then all read to the class. The classic picture test, a child having to choose between a Negro and white youngster the one they would like to play with, is more appropriate for younger children. But one could try a written version of this with upper elementary youngsters to demonstrate the kinds of responses boys and girls make. Or this could be done with a younger class and then the results discussed with older students.

Students might question the goody-good quality of both Negroes and white characters and try to determine why authors present them so. Some of the outrageous earlier books or series books could be used to demonstrate the former attitudes expressed toward Negroes. As with Negro characters, students could decide if characters were believable. The miraculous transformations of literary white bigots would be a fertile source of such discussions. Negro students will probably challenge the oh-so-happy endings of children's books. Those from very poor neighborhoods will note the paucity of books describing situations as forbidding as those they encounter. Perhaps they will try their hand at collectively rewriting some passages to make them more realistic in terms of their personal experiences.

Some basic questions will concern the causes for prejudice. What made people become bigots? How do people's attitudes change? Why are Negro characters in today's books so saintly? Does this superhuman Negro have any counterpart in integration pilot projects? What are signs of an author's bias? What evidence is there of whites who are seemingly liberal unknowingly contributing to racism? How can whites and Negroes break down the barriers between our society's aspirations and its practices?

Summary

This article has been an attempt to suggest some of the crucial questions about race relations in this country that would be meaningful for students to discuss. The writer feels that this subject is so critical that the issues raised in these books need to be discussed in all American schools. The specific books that deal with each question have been cited so that there will be a variety of viewpoints as well as a variety of reading difficulty levels. The important factor is not the books themselves, for they are simply a vehicle for stimulating discussion, but what the students do with them. A skillful teacher can help students discuss the conflicting viewpoints among the books in addition to weighing them in relation to their own experiences and doing further research where necessary to see if the ideas presented have validity for them.

Students need to feel free, and, in fact, need to be encouraged to discuss these frequently avoided topics. They need to listen to the opinions and experiences of others so that they can reanalyze and refine their own thinking. They must be left free to form their own opinions based on their personal predilections after the vicarious experiences of the stories and the stabilizing influence of further outside research. They cannot be told.

The books were selected on the basis of content and the variety of viewpoints presented. They are not uniformly good; some are in fact poor and some biased. An asterisk in the bibliography denotes those that the writer feels have overall worth; those with two asterisks are personal favorites. Others will make quite different recommendations. Librarians select books on the basis of literary quality and not sociologic content and will often disagree with specific books recommended. The race relations of our times are so incendiary that they must be examined through any vehicle available and children's books seem an especially useful one. A recent study of the history, government, and sociology books in use in a major American city with a predominantly Negro population indicates that not even most of the high school sociology texts now deal with this issue meaningfully (Janis, *Black Schools, White Books*).

Now is the time to begin to breach the chasm between races in our nation. The approach suggested here is but one way. As teachers and school systems develop finesse in examining the black experience, Black Barbecue, instead of denying there is such a thing, new ways will open up. Reading about race relations somewhat "like it is" and admitting things are even more desperate may expose our penchant for idealism. But it may also cause our idealism and our practices to approach a synthesis. Frank discussions of the unique experiences of the Negro in our society may be one way to work toward this goal, a way we have not tried.

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Psychological Concepts in Education

B. P. Komisar and C. J. B. Macmillan, Eds. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1967. 255 pp. \$6.00 (paper).

Although there have been some gains during this decade, we still lack an adequate understanding of the nature of educational theory and the relations between it and what goes on in schools and colleges. The increasing tendency for educational studies to fragment into independent specialisms held together by a common central heating system has undeniably resulted in the study of education becoming more academically respectable, i.e., more discipline-oriented. But it has also produced two further consequences which are only now becoming evident and which should make us feel uneasy. The first is that educational theorists (people who have something significant to say about what ought to be done in education) are becoming rare birds on the campus. The second is that much of the recent work of psychologists, philosophers, sociologists, etc., in faculties of education appears to have been directed towards theoretical problems within the parent discipline rather than towards the resolution of important educational issues. The latter are foisted onto the men in the streets (teachers? parents? politicians?) with the excuse that specialist expertise carries no licence for saying what ought to be done in the schools. In other words, the most urgent and difficult problems are left to those who are most deficient in the equipment required to deal with them. It is true that many papers in the journals conclude by saying that what has been offered should be of interest or use to practical men, but its relevance and application is rarely convincingly demonstrated or worked out in any detail. One often has the impression that these final paragraphs are added only out of deference to the fact that the journal frequently contains the word "education" in its title.

This anthology is therefore welcome, if only because it may encourage us to take a long-overdue and tough-minded look at some of the things educational psychologists say and at the same time re-assess (instead of simply assuming) the relevance of their work to education. Unfortunately, a number of these essays also exhibit that barren promissory quality which I mentioned earlier. I shall try to substantiate this and make some evaluative remarks *en route*.

There are sixteen contributions, three of which have not previously been published. E. Best brings out the hidden prescriptions in much psychological writing which purports to be purely factual: this is a cautionary tale which all student-teachers (and educational psychologists) should ponder. R. L. Thorndike writes on the concept of "achievement," but what he says is almost entirely directed towards encouraging technical improvements in research design; it is difficult to see why this piece was included. E. L. Kelly gives an interesting analysis of the notion of transfer of training and concludes that it can serve no useful purpose in educational theory. I was surprised to discover that Kelly (or anyone) still believes in the possibility of "a science of education."

R. H. Ennis makes two contributions offering operational definitions of "readiness to master a principle" (the most stimulating of his two papers) and "critical thinking." The latter ends with some suggestions for the evaluation and teaching of critical thinking: "Let us hope that the concept of *critical thinking* presented in this essay will help us to push forward on both fronts." C. J. B. Macmillan tackles the concept of "adjustment" while keeping a sharp eye on the contemporary educational scene. He makes a convincing claim for the view that this term, as used by psychologists, is of no value to educational theorists.

R. S. Peters undertakes to rehabilitate the notion of "character" in order to "... permit a fruitful cross-fertilization between some modern developments in psychology and philosophy, which *might* [my italics] be of interest to educators." A good deal of what Peters has to say is in fact of great interest to educators, despite the fact that little more than a page is devoted to a discussion of moral education. J. F. Soltis examines the language of visual perception and begins promisingly with the claim: "... I will attempt to focus mainly upon those ideas and distinctions which are most relevant to education." But most of what he says is only of interest to philosophers and psychologists. He concludes that "seeing" is not an all-or-nothing affair and then suggests that the appreciation of this "should be important" to educators. On account of its very peripheral educational interest, I doubt whether this piece was worth including. K. B. Henderson sets up a model of conceptualizing based upon the logical theory of relations. Frequent references are made to educational situations, but after constructing the model he ends rather lamely with: "Whether it is more productive of significant research than previous theories remains to be seen."

C. D. Hardie makes two contributions from an extreme behaviourist viewpoint on thinking and learning. His remarks on thinking are rather dull and his account of learning is incredibly naive. After describing classical and operant conditioning he asserts that: "All learning must belong to one or other of the two types described." One can only gasp and turn hurriedly to R. W. Morshead who advances some criticisms of Hardie—for some more damaging indirect ones see the papers by Brown, Castell and Green.

A. Castell's paper on the importance of a theory of learning for teaching is stimulating, lucid and probably the most interesting item in the book. He keeps close to the educational ground and makes a methodological point for which I feel strong sympathy: "Unless there is something relevant to the pedagogical encounter. . . . You will merely spin your philosophical wheels." M. Brown's investigation of the relations between "knowing" and "learning" is equally provocative and valuable although more densely argued and hence more difficult to follow. He claims that no theory of human learning can be viable unless it incorporates an account of what is involved in knowing. That seems to rule out the rat and pigeon merchants.

T. F. Green is also concerned with learning as well as with the neglected but vital distinction between action and behaviour. His paper is full of insights, interesting arguments—and humanity. He concludes: "The widely known and accepted dogma that the aim of teaching is to change behaviour

is both patently false and dangerously misleading." Some of Green's arguments are subjected to detailed criticism by B. P. Komisar in an attempt to extend our understanding of the concept of "learning." The book ends with a sympathetic but critical discussion by J. E. McClellan of the adequacy of Skinner's views on human nature as a basis for educational theory.

There is no space to do justice to the detailed arguments of many of the contributors: enough has been said to indicate that this is a mixed but useful collection that was well worth compiling. After reading it, one feels keenly aware of how much remains to be done and how much effort has been largely wasted in empirical investigations directed at trivial problems or sprouting prematurely from crude or ill-conceived educational ideas. We don't need more research, we need more hard thinking; and if this anthology contributes towards that then we shall have good reason to be grateful to its editors.

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An Introduction to the Analysis of Educational Concepts

Jonas E. Soltis. Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company. Pp. xii + 100. \$1.95.

If there is any joy in philosophy of education—or in philosophy *simpliciter*—it is found in the arguments philosophers use in coming to their peculiar conclusions. For example, the contention that teaching does not imply learning—or that it does—is totally uninteresting apart from the intricate analyses and consideration of ordinary and extraordinary examples which are the cobblestones of that philosophical path.

It is very difficult to write an introductory textbook which shows that there is some joy in philosophy and at the same time contributes to the joy. Introductory texts in philosophy tend to suffer from dullness—dullness not of style so much as dullness of thought. Even when they are stylistically interesting such books are too often simple-minded. Reports on who said what (and sometimes why) are the norm, no originality is expected, no new ideas are introduced. This, I suspect, is because an introductory text must be simple; easy enough for tyros to read, clear enough that new ideas are recognized as new, self-conscious enough that philosophical methods are discussed as well as used. The line between simplicity and simple-mindedness is extremely thin.

Professor Soltis treads this line with remarkable success. *An Introduction to the Analysis of Educational Concepts* is simple enough for the beginner but interesting enough for his teacher. The few slips into simple-mindedness are at least understandable and correctable.

Soltis introduces the analysis of educational concepts by doing analyses and not merely talking about them. Other works are considered for what they can lend to Soltis's analysis; there is never a gratuitous review of

another philosopher. It is a pleasure to read a beginning book that sticks to the point, tries to say something beyond what has gone before, and tries also to help the beginning student see both the point and the fun of philosophical analysis in education.

And a pleasure also because Soltis gives something new to think about, to discuss, and to argue. The book is divided into five interrelated chapters and an extensive annotated bibliography of analytic works in education. There is no index. The topics covered are (in order): the concept of education and aims in education, discipline and subject matter, types of knowledge and the concept of teaching, explaining and understanding, and a concluding discussion on the place of analysis in educational philosophy. All of these topics are either currently being discussed and argued in the professional journals of philosophy of education or have been the subject of discussion in recent years.

There are faults, of course. The book is quite obviously an outgrowth of a series of lectures to an introductory course. It shows its genesis in not keeping to one subject for long enough, and in oversimple treatment of value questions whenever they come up (in the treatment of the concept of education, for example, and in a short passage on moral education which ends the last chapter). The logic of value concepts is one of the most difficult topics in modern philosophy, and is one of the most important areas for philosophical clarification in education; it deserves more than the cursory treatment given it by Soltis.

The chapter headed "Learning, Explaining, and Understanding" doesn't deal with the concept of learning at all, but rather consists of a paper on explaining that Soltis gave to the Philosophy of Education Society in 1964 (an interesting paper, but it is not on learning). Soltis views understanding as "the most desirable learning outcome" (p. 64), but he does not explore the question of whether understanding is properly to be analyzed as a type of learning, or whether the two concepts aren't less closely related than we usually admit. Even teaching gets less attention than it deserves: Soltis ties it too closely to Scheffler's discussion of teaching in *Conditions of Knowledge*, the connection explored is between teaching and types of knowledge, with special attention to "knowing that" locutions.

Soltis's discussion of the relation of the concept of education and value judgments is one of the places where he becomes simpleminded; beginning with a summary of R. S. Peters' analysis of the concept of education, in which Peters held that one of the criteria used in calling an experience (process, method, etc.) "educational" is that it is worthwhile (valuable, desirable, etc.), Soltis presents as a counter-example an American's discussion of "Nazi education" in which approval is not given. Soltis concludes that the use of "education" does not imply value judgments in the way Peters held it does. He concludes: "... there is a dominant *subjective* contextual use of the term 'education' in which an assumption of positive value exists, but also that there is an *objective* contextual use in which neutrality towards the value of education may be maintained" (p. 9, emphasis his). Previously, he had held that education "has a positive aura about it much as the concepts of 'love' and 'mother' have" (p. 8).

Now this misunderstands the concept of education. We can at least imagine a society or context in which "love" and "motherhood" were not value-laden yet the concepts would be the same concepts we have; but we cannot imagine a society in which "education" was not value-laden. Peters' point is that a denial of value to a certain process, experience or result requires a denial that that process, experience, or result is educational, in the way a denial that a belief is true is a denial that the proposition believed is known. This seems to me to be correct; and despite the implied commitments to value and truth, we may talk of the Nazi's educational system and the Nazi's knowledge of race differences. The commitment to value in educational claims is as fully built in as the commitment to truth in knowledge claims. Truth and value give great troubles to elementary philosophy students, but this is no reason to muddle the issues more than necessary.

These are subtleties that Soltis misses, and it is here that a teacher is necessary. The students can understand what Soltis says without the teacher, but the teacher must be willing and able to continue the discussion. What more could one ask of a text than that it gives such a starting place?

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The Teacher: Decision Maker and Curriculum Planner

Robert S. Harnack. Scranton, Pennsylvania: International Textbook Company, 1968. 142 pp.

There is an old saying in educational circles that, "The curriculum is what happens when the teacher closes the door and goes to work." The implication is clear that teachers are in a very real sense educational decision makers and curriculum planners. Support for this viewpoint is found in many current sources.

The small volume here reviewed is devoted to the thesis that the teacher is a critically important agent in the planning of curriculum and instruction. Its author, a professor at the State University of New York at Buffalo, maintains that the teacher's professional decision-making role has not been recognized functionally in most school systems, either by the teachers themselves, or by the administrative-supervisory hierarchy. The tone of the book is established early, when the author warns us not to expect the presentation of any conceptual scheme or working model of curriculum decision making. "It is not our intent," he states, "to discuss theoretical factors and curriculum facts as they relate to some design that could aid a teacher to make decisions ... but rather to point them out, generally, as areas which influence teachers in their decision-making processes."

And "point them out, generally," he does. Most of the book is a general discussion of what has been discussed in many other sources, and suffers from the lack of any conceptual framework or model. In one sense, the

book is really an extended statement of the author's credo that the concept of the teacher as a didactic purveyor and clarifier of standardized or otherwise predetermined subject matter is obsolete and unprofessional. The professional teacher, he maintains, is one who participates meaningfully in the making of important curriculum and instruction decisions at the school system, school building and classroom levels.

The reader will recognize that this is by no means a new concept. What uniqueness there is to this work is in the author's devoting an entire book, albeit a small one, to discussion of a variety of factors related to *teacher* decision making in curriculum matters. He discusses at some length certain conditions and developments that accentuate today, more than in years past, the importance of teachers' involvement in curriculum decisioning processes. He devotes a chapter to aspects of the teacher's relationship to the curriculum planning process, touches on conditions needed to foster more effective teacher involvement in curriculum decision making, and comments cursorily on responsibilities teachers should assume to perform their roles well. In addition, he identifies a number of conditions which effectively interfere with, or prevent, teachers' functioning as professional curriculum decision makers.

At one point, the author piques our curiosity with a brief allusion to an experimental project he directed. The project, he tells us, was designed to demonstrate how computers can aid teachers in making curriculum and instruction decisions. Although he includes a categorical list of pupil variables that were coded into electronic memory banks, he leaves the reader to surmise how these were used in the project. "As of this writing," he tells us, "no report can be made of findings related to learners (sic) variables." Nevertheless, it would have been helpful, and beautifully illustrative of his thesis, to have some indication of how the retrievable data were used in the project. This is one of the several points at which he leaves the reader "hanging."

Whereas Harnack is on the side of the angels, he unfortunately does not write like one. At times he appears to contradict himself, as in his discussion of the determination of instructional objectives. His chapters on the teacher's relationship to the curriculum planning process, on teachers' needs and responsibilities, on supportive services, and on valuation are relatively superficial treatments of these topics. They do not supply any new insights on these topics, nor any conceptual tools to help us in understanding and developing teacher decisioning roles. Regrettably, much of the writing has an elusive quality of vague and incompleting syllogisms, of dimly perceived outlines, like a television image that one can't get focussed quite well enough to perceive just what it is. It seems to suggest that Professor Harnack, in his commendable effort to forge useful ideas on a difficult and important problem, has not himself been quite able to reach clear-cut formulations. We hope he will not give up, for we believe he is on a promising trail.

As a postscript, we add that the book suffers from less than first-rate editing, and contains no index. One could almost be persuaded that it was

written and pushed through publication with undue haste, perhaps to a premature birth.

Harold J. McNally

University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

The Child and The Republic—The Dawn of Modern American Child Nurture

Bernard Wishy. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968. 205 pp. \$6.95.

Bernard Wishy is Director of Medical and Administrative Systems at the Roosevelt Hospital in New York and a member of the Department of History at Brooklyn College. His thesis has to do with the beginnings of the "century of the child":

Although unremembered, a torrent of popular debate about the child and child nurture preceded, by several generations, John Dewey's *School and Society* (1899) and Freud's *Interpretation of Dreams* (1899). While not denigrating the weighty, even revolutionary, changes in nurture ideas since those classics were published, this study will show how deeply the beliefs in "realism" and "experience" in raising the child had already penetrated before then—but among respectable moralists, rather than heretics such as Freud and Dewey. In fact, the story displays a familiar paradox in intellectual history: how notions adopted originally for certain moral purposes become associated eventually with ideals that would have dismayed the champions of those original purposes.

Like one of the views of child nurture treated in his book, Wishy himself wants complete freedom and liberty to do his own thing. Most astutely, he stacks the cards against most of the criticisms his reviewer is likely to make. He describes his purpose as merely that of dealing "largely with forgotten popularizers rather than with the ideas of famous professional psychologists and philosophers." He supplements his work "on both would-be and qualified 'experts' with an analysis of well-known children's stories of their time." And, he tells us, he concentrates "largely on religious ideals and moral indoctrination rather than on practical details and techniques of daily physical care..." He has deliberately excluded other approaches "that, legitimate in themselves, would have expanded its scope beyond my interests and sense of possible proportions." So he excludes much attention to "social and economic background" (p. ix), any "personal and intellectual relations among the writers we study" (p. x), and cross-cultural study and events. Even though "this work does not do everything that might be done or cover questions that might interest others," it is, Wishy believes, "a needed contribution to the study of the iconography of the American child, at home, in school, and at prayer, in a period which we have too long mistakenly assumed to have been relatively barren or hopelessly antediluvian in the attention it gave to child care."

I find Wishy's book to be promising and suggestive but disappointing. The free-flowing use of words and the use of parallelisms are marred throughout by the lack of punctuation between independent sentence elements joined by conjunctions. This slows down the reader who has come to trust such guides. When writing of the complex story of the common school movement, the author mentions Cremin and Jackson without footnote citations. Most readers would know the 1951 Cremin study but might have to search some time to identify *America's Struggle for Free Schools* (1941) by Sidney Jackson. A few Eby students such as myself may surmise what the author means on p. 141 when he identifies Frederick Eby as "the influential educator." But we might have profited if Wishy, when he had the source materials before him, had shared with us G. Stanley Hall's judgment of Eby's article on "The Reconstruction of the Kindergarten" to which he as editor had given such "unwonted space" in the *Pedagogical Seminary*. Wishy's readers should know that his quotations are from an article Hall declared to be "on the whole as the most sane and competent presentation of the subject that has been made in recent years in any language." At least that identification is more specific than the vague phrase, "influential educator." Wishy also disappoints by citing references incorrectly, omitting quotation marks, and tampering with paragraphing.

This minute criticism is meant to highlight my basic disappointment with *The Child and the Republic*. I begin to question the reliability of the author when I encounter such a colossal blunder as the one on p. 97: "As G. H. Mead and John Dewey were to argue a generation later in their famous work on ethics, . . ." Most graduate students know how few published writings we have of G. H. Mead and that Dewey joined Tufts—not Mead—in writing the 1908 *Ethics*. I am further disappointed when I have to discover for myself such a work as Gordon S. Haight's *Mrs. Sigourney, The Sweet Singer of Hartford*, an instructive work anticipating his 1968 achievement, *George Eliot: A Biography*. Reading Haight, I begin to question Wishy's utilization of his sources and materials, especially his failure to use Haight's description of the "Practical Ideal" which characterized the first half of the nineteenth century, Haight's citations from the literature or his account of Mrs. Sigourney's own problems of child-nurture, and his failure to utilize the "real-life" career of Mrs. Sigourney as a counterpart to the story of Horatio Alger, Jr.'s *Bound to Rise* (1873). On p. 123, Wishy refers to Kate Wiggin's *Children's Rights* and states: "She urged the father to 'Get down to the level of his boyhood, and bring him up to the level of your manhood.'" In fact, Wiggin is quoting from *another* source introduced by these words: "Mr. Hopkinson Smith has written a witty little monograph on this relation of parents and children." And Wishy overlooks the fact that the plea includes concern for daughters as well as boys! On another occasion, Wishy leaves us with this prosaic description of the old education: "it was made for listening, not making, doing, creating, producing." I was disappointed that he did not repeat here the classic anecdote from the first pages of Harold Rugg and Ann Shumaker's *The Child-Centered School* (1928), recounting Dewey's 1896 search in Chicago for school furniture for his

new school. The store-owner's statement to Dewey might have brought Wishy's discussion alive. Again, I have to discover for myself Barbara M. Cross's doctoral dissertation from Harvard (published by University of Chicago Press), *Horace Bushnell: Minister to a Changing America*. Here I find what Wishy has excluded from his study exciting, relevant background material for understanding Bushnell's *Views of Christian Nurture* and the problems of racism and poverty in today's United States. How reliable a guide do we have in Wishy? He even passes up a chance for a "free speech" reference in 1892—years prior to the Berkeley of 1964! When he writes, "Kate Douglas Wiggin spoke of the spirit of the age and asked, 'How should parents hope to escape the universal interrogation point leveled at everything else?'" he fails to make the most effective use of his materials. Notice how much better Wiggin herself said it in her *Children's Rights—A Book of Nursery Logic*:

It is the age of independent criticism. The child problem is merely one phase of the universal problem that confronts society. It seems likely that the rod of reason will have to replace the rod of birch. Parental authority never used to be called into question; neither was the catechism, nor the Bible, nor the minister. How should parents hope to escape the universal interrogation point leveled at everything else? In these days of free speech it is hopeless to suppose that even infants can be muzzled. We revel in our republican virtues; let us accept the vices of those virtues as philosophically as possible.

I am pleased if Wishy enjoyed doing "his thing" in 205 pages, but I question the justification of all that writing to prove a thesis so quickly proved by quoting those who got there before Wishy. Recall Wishy's thesis stated at the beginning of this review: that the century of the child began in the 1830's rather than in 1900 and among respectable moralists. A quick look at Volume 1 of Horace Mann's *The Common School Journal* convinces me that Wishy is correct. The "Prospectus" (No. 1, Volume 1, Boston, November 1838) clearly states that "The Paper will explain, and, as far as possible, enforce upon all parents, guardians, teachers, and school officers, their respective duties towards the rising generation" and that "It will not be so much the object of the work to discover, as to diffuse knowledge." Whatever appears therein would be proposed "to advance moral and religious sentiments into ascendancy and control over animal and selfish propensities" and would not be knowledge discovered by the few "heretics such as Freud and Dewey" of 1900. What is diffused to all in the 1830's is Mann's report (No. 3, Volume 1, Boston, February 1, 1839) of the address by the Mayor of Boston to the school committee showing a concern by the older generation for the welfare of the young. Speaking of ventilation of schoolrooms and construction of seats, the Mayor urged upon his audience "the importance, the necessity, of constant attention to the physical, as well as the intellectual, condition of the children under our charge." In words much like those of parents, citizens, and some "educationists" from 1900 to the launching of the first Sputnik in 1957, the Mayor expressed concern for the pupils, many

of whom he had seen exhibiting "highly excited feelings" and "pale or flushed faces and slender forms." Why? He saw it as the "visible effects of mental exertion upon the faces of the youth in our schools" stemming from "competition in the course of improvement" as a result of "offers of rewards and medals for success and anxiety of parents for the progress of their children"—all as a "part of the character of the age and country" which "pervades all classes and all pursuits." A further proof of Wishy's thesis lies readily at hand in the "observations, upon that all-important subject—moral influences" thrown out by "J. B." from "Charlestown, Dec. 31 [1838]" in the article in issue No. 3 entitled "The Operation of Moral Influences in the Education of the Young":

How comparatively easy and happy would be the task of every teacher, and how seldom would he be under the disagreeable necessity of resorting to the rod, if parents would make use of gentle means, instead of severe and rash punishment, in the management of their offspring.

Again, someone got there "fastest with the mostest." Wishy's story, he tells us, "displays a familiar paradox in intellectual history: how notions adopted originally for certain moral purposes become associated eventually with ideals that would have dismayed the champions of those original purposes." Is this repetition necessary, when Eby expressed it so much more fully in July 1900?

It is a striking [*sic*] fact in human experience, that the advocates of any truth may, in practice, be exemplifying the corresponding error. The Protestant revival could assert the freedom of conscience and yet result in the persecution of its opponents; the Puritans may flee oppression in one land to become its instruments in another; the political doctrines of one party may lead to a government upon opposite principles. So it may be in education; humanism in Italy may become a worse scholasticism in Germany; the spontaneity of Froebel may be in actual practice the domination of the adult. At all events, this principle, upon which the kindergarten theory was so strongly entrenched, is almost totally disregarded in real kindergarten practice.

Hugh C. Black
University of California, Davis

Freedom of Choice Affirmed

Corliss Lamont. New York: Horizon Press, 1967. 214 pp. \$5.95.

Among the several fascinations of Dr. Lamont's book is his initial approach to the perennial problem of freedom of choice. At the outset he makes clear that freedom requires no "supernatural or transcendental soul that intervenes in or supercedes the natural sequences of cause and effect." His is the outlook of naturalistic Humanism: ". . . mind, personality, and all other human attributes belong completely to this world and the realm of

Nature." It is within this natural order of things that he proceeds, with admirable skill, to establish a convincing basis for behavior that is non-deterministic and responsible.

This book, a genuinely philosophical treatise, has the further fascination of being eminently readable. This he achieves without sacrificing either scope or cogency. After a nice literary depicting of the perennial debate between determinists and advocates of freedom, Lamont raises the question, which he answers in the affirmative: "Can freedom and determinism co-exist?" "... in human life a great deal is inexorably determined, and a great deal derives from either chance or man's freedom of choice."

Given much in the natural world and in the human psyche itself that is determined, wherein lies one's freedom? On what basis can one person expect, yes demand, responsibility on the part of others—on his own part as well? Even more specifically, wherein in the persons we care for, respect, love, lies that choosing something of psyche that we look up to and reverence—as against a creature that is wholly automated, determined in his every response, and not worthy either of praise or blame?

Lamont makes much of "contingency" and "potentiality." Contingency, as I think I get it from this writing, can be thought of, unphilosophically speaking, as a form of sideswiping. Two cars going east; one, without signalling, makes a lefthand turn and sideswipes the other. This conjunction of two causal series gives rise to further series—to a situation potential with further sideswipings, injury, possibly fist fights, lawsuits. When the sideswiping is that of causal series, Young Male, encountering causal series, Young Female, the resulting situation is potential with an infinitude of marital or pre-marital possibilities. And it is in this opening up of a near infinitude of potentialities, by way of contingent sideswiping of causal series, that freedom lies and must lie. Choice extends, in the intelligent human being, both to initiating various orders of sideswiping and to deciding alliance thereafter among consequent alternatives. It is either choice of this order or a determinism that is a "great cosmic Juggernaut ... all human thoughts, choices and actions ... totally predetermined billions of years ago"—which is logically defeating, absurd and demeaning.

Freedom and determinism do coexist, as Dr. Lamont so wisely admits. And this—looking at the problem purely from the angle of the practical—of our getting along with our own selves and with others—is as it should be. There are times when one needs the sustenance of a defense of freedom. It reestablishes the responsibility without which there can be neither respect of self nor of others. But, spoken thus, one must hasten to confess to the need, occasionally, of the book that argues determinism with persuasiveness sufficient to justify the more merciful alternative to demanding responsibility: "Well, I really can't blame him, addict that he is." "At this time of the month, you can't hold it against her." A dash of the determined is often an indispensable ingredient of charity.

Lester Mondale
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The American School: Guild or Factory?

Norman Friedman

*Queens College of the City University
of New York*

Viewing with alarm our educational system is becoming today almost as much of a national pastime as questioning our sexual mores—indeed, the two problems are not entirely separate. Drugs, sex, and politics form the nucleus of concern in our colleges, but other issues are almost equally disturbing. There was the scandal of cheating at the Air Force Academy a few seasons back, for example; the recent question of doctored grades at Annapolis; the controversy over multiple-choice exams (called by hapless students, “multiple-guess” exams); the current problem of draft deferments for college students on the basis of such an exam; and so on. Although, as with sex, there are always those who urge solving these problems by tightening controls and rigidifying suppressive measures even further, there is a growing body of radical and reformist thought which aims at liberalizing and humanizing our society. Such men as Paul Goodman, A. S. Neill, Edgar Friedenberg, and Jerome Bruner are leading the way, and the mass circulation magazines are beginning to follow.

I take these signs as straws in the wind, forecasting a storm of protest against the dangers and cruelties of our school system; and I think they are beginning to appear not a moment too soon. But, as with the sexual revolution, if we are not careful in defining our guiding principles and fundamental values, our reforms will succeed only in perpetuating rather than alleviating the miseries which motivated the need for reform in the first place. One of the basic troubles with our sex lives, for example, is that they are too mechanical and routine; and such people as Kinsey and Norman Mailer do not throw very much light on the matter by talking about the frequency or intensity of orgasm, nor do the young members of our sexual avant-garde illuminate matters much by sleeping around with more and more people. The end result is that our sex lives are still mechanical and routine, only more so. America's real problem is that it tries to solve questions of quality in terms of quantity, and no amount of measuring is ever going to get it out of its self-made traps. So it is with education: we must be careful that our reforms are not simply aimed at teaching our children the same old lessons in a more efficient way, or at having them graduate college in three

Professor Friedman, who teaches English at Queens, here challenges some cherished preconceptions respecting testing, grading, and curriculum—the very preconceptions being questioned by dissenting students. As an experienced teacher, however, Dr. Friedman can talk in terms of models and alternative approaches to learning; and he says some eloquent things about the craft of learning to learn.

rather than four years, or even at showing them how they can raise their earning capacities without going to college at all—as *Esquire* magazine purported to do in its fall issue of 1964.

Means without Ends

We must beware, then, of talking about means apart from a consideration of the ends they are intended to serve. Many of the recent articles I have been reading are quite good, and their criticisms and suggestions are healthy as far as they go, but they are too often hampered by a narrow focus. We are beginning to realize, for example, what the harmful effects of our increasingly rigid and monolithic testing and grading system are. It breaks down the trust that should exist between teacher and student, and makes their relationship look more like that between a cop and a criminal, or a judge and the accused. Christopher Jencks, in an article entitled "The Public Schools are Failing," *Saturday Evening Post*, April 23, 1966, writes: "Everywhere there is an atmosphere of suspicion more appropriate to a prison." Grading forces the student to learn for the sake of passing the test rather than of getting insight into the material, and it forces the teacher to teach for the test rather than for the student. John Holt, in "The Fourth R—The Rat Race," *New York Times Sunday Magazine*, May 1, 1966, makes the telling point that the statistical ability of the College Boards to predict a student's performance in his future classes is an illusion, for the methods of instruction he will be asked to submit himself to are based on the same assumptions that underly the tests themselves. We are thus enclosing the student—and ourselves—in a closed and vicious circle in which learning is suited to tests which are supposed to gauge that very learning in the first place, and the student's success becomes a function of how good he is at taking tests. And there is no way out at all.

When the process of education substitutes means for ends, it should be no very great surprise that students will try to beat the system by playing the game their elders have foisted on them. If their success in life is made to depend on a competitive scramble for grades rather than on their individual insight into the material, then they will indeed work for those grades, and they will work for them in whatever ways that come closest to hand. They will play it safe, and try only for those courses which they feel they can get good grades in. They will, in fact, learn exactly what it is we are teaching them; and, when seen from this point of view, our educational system is a howling success rather than the miserable failure so many take it to be. I was amused and horrified, but more horrified than amused, when I recently heard some colleagues argue in a faculty meeting over whether a certain student, whose grades qualified her for honors, should be awarded honors or not. She was finally turned down because several of her teachers, who were present at this meeting, felt she worked too much for the

grade and not enough for the subject. But how can we have the nerve, unless we are willing to do away with grades, to blame her for working for them? The fact is that children really do learn what their elders really want to teach them. So the question becomes, not—how can we teach them better? But rather—what do we really want to teach them?

Apprentice and Master We are becoming aware, then, of what's wrong with testing and grading, but are we becoming equally aware of *why* they're wrong? On the face of it, they seem reasonable enough. The model they are based on is that of the guild system: the apprentice learns his craft under the guidance of a master, who then judges the apprentice's readiness to go out into the world, after a period of discipleship, and practice that craft on his own. This model grows out of two very real needs: to instruct the young in the job of carrying on society's work, and to be able to certify their competence for doing particular jobs so that future employers and customers will get what they paid for. Thus teachers, lawyers, doctors, and so on need not only degrees from colleges and universities but also certificates and licenses from society to insure their ability to do the work they are supposed to do. And, in certain cases, this procedure makes all the sense in the world. In certain other cases, however, it does not—and these cover most of what is wrong with education today.

What has happened is that the master-apprentice model is being applied to situations which it does not fit—or in ways that it does not fit. There are two essential ingredients which must be present if this model is to function properly. The first is that the apprentice must have a desire, taste, and talent for doing the work he is learning. This implies further that he must have a variety of crafts to choose from so that he will be able to find the one that suits him. The second requirement is that the work he does while learning must have a fairly close resemblance to the work he'll be doing after he finishes his apprenticeship. And this implies further that learning the work itself follows a meaningful sequence, that his progressive mastery of it will go through perceptible stages, and that his competence can be certified on that basis. Thus the instruction and the certification he receives are based on reality. Since his learning is based on the job to be done, and not on the test he must pass, the test is a measure of his ability to do the work, and his work is not a measure of his ability to take tests.

The truth is that, in a genuine guild situation, external compulsion is normally at a minimum. Tests, when they are given in such schools, function in two ways—to let the student know how he is doing, and to let the school filter out those who are not doing well. Many European universities, for example, which are oriented toward the professions, give exams only every two years, and

attendance at lectures is optional, with most of the learning going on independently and in tutorials.

The trouble today with most of our education—and I am concerned primarily with general rather than special education—is that it continues to use the appearance of the guild model without its reality, without its two necessary ingredients. General education, education in science and literature and history and so on, is considered to be a requirement for every citizen in a free society. And so it is. But it set itself up as a series of specialties to be imposed upon the student as if he were learning a craft. Where we are not teaching crafts and professions, however, but rather thought and culture and imagination and citizenship, this system becomes merely a substitute for the missing core of reality, and it inevitably thwarts rather than furthers the very goals it was ostensibly designed to serve. Thus we have an artificial set of pre-requisites, credits, courses, tests, and certifications, exactly as if we were teaching crafts and professions—but without the student's desire, taste, and talent for the work he is being asked to do; without any real variety for him to choose from; with little if any resemblance to the work he will be doing after he graduates; and without a genuinely meaningful sequence through which his progress can be measured.

Donkey and Driver But instead of abandoning this model and finding a new one, or instead of applying this model so that it will be based on reality, our schools and colleges have tacitly and imperceptibly replaced it with another and entirely different model, all the while keeping the original model as window dressing. The new model is not that of the guild but rather that of the driver and his donkey, and its governing principle is the carrot-on-the-stick. That is to say, when inner motivation is lacking in the student, and when the work he is learning has very little resemblance to the work he will be doing after his schooling is completed, the structure of rewards and punishments is introduced to take the place of the missing structure of reality. Testing now changes its function, and is used more for prodding the student to do his work on time, making him come to class, insuring that he doesn't cheat, and giving the teacher power over him, than for letting him and the school know how he's doing. By the same token, tests become more frequent, and grades become more important as competitive anxiety-producers than as indicators of progress in learning anything. The result of teaching general education as if it were specialized education, with perceptible units and skills and results, but without the very basis upon which specialized education rests—the result of using the driver-donkey model while trying to make it look like the master-apprentice model—is that our children are confronted, and we confront ourselves with, a tricky shuffle play in which the ball has changed hands without anyone realizing

it, not even the players themselves. That is why, as Friedenberg shows, discipline in the high schools, for example, tries to employ good-guy tactics, and that is why we are reduced to forcing our children to do things they don't want to do "for their own good."

It is a montage world we live in, amounting almost to a schizophrenic vision, which permeates all facets of our cultural life, so that we are at least consistent in our inconsistency. In politics, for example, we are perpetually talking about freedom and individuality and debate, and yet we are perpetually doing all we can to foster repression and conformity and propaganda. I have graded many a freshman theme lately in which a young man will argue that demonstrations against the war in Vietnam should be suppressed to protect the ideals of our country. So too in education we are always talking about democracy and leadership and creativity, and yet we are always doing all we can to foster education for the factory and submissiveness and docility. Testing and grading are based, as with everything else in our society, on the assumption that we are mediocre, that the teacher and the subject cannot appeal to the student on their own merits, that the student is not good enough in himself, and that we all need props to keep us up to at least a minimal level of performance. Has anyone realized the truth that, if we are denied a variety of real choices and are pushed into artificial situations, we will appear more recalcitrant than we really are? If you treat an apprentice like a donkey, he will act like a donkey, and it will do nothing but confuse him further if you try to convince him that he really is an apprentice. And if we act like drivers rather than masters, it will do no good to try to pretend to be masters.

Attuning to Reality Am I saying then, that general education is so vague and unspecific and subjective a thing that it can't be taught at all, and that we ought to limit ourselves to teaching the crafts and professions, for they at least can be taught? Not at all: I think that education in thought and culture and imagination and citizenship can be made to appeal to the desire, taste, and talent of the student, and that it can be designed so as to produce a resemblance to the work he will be doing after he leaves school. If this is so, then it follows that teaching, testing, and certifying can be done successfully once they are properly attuned to the reality of this sort of learning.

Well then, am I saying what many have already said before—that general education should be suited to the actual problems of life-adjustment? Do I want math and psychology and literature to be geared to the problems of buying groceries and finding a mate and subscribing to *The Reader's Digest*? Isn't this, after all, the very reality on the basis of which students can be motivated to do work in school that will resemble the work they'll be asked to do in adult society?

No, not a bit of it: the principle is correct here, but I couldn't disagree more with the way it is applied. The trouble is that there is an ambiguity in the use of the word "reality," for it can mean at least two different things. It can mean what the nature of society is, and what it demands of the individual, or it can mean what the nature of the universe and of man is, and how this relates to the problem of the individual and his role in society. The second meaning clearly incorporates a broader perspective, and it is this meaning that I wish to use when talking about the reality on which general education ought to be based.

The curious thing, the really schizophrenic thing, is that when we teach general subjects as if they were crafts and professions, and thereby empty them of their reality, we do in fact, as I have said, teach quite successfully the first reality. Our teaching of philosophy and history and art has no real connection with anything in itself, for it does not stimulate the students to question the nature of the universe and of man and society; but the *way* in which we teach such subjects does actually connect quite well with what society demands of the individual. Indeed, it happens more often than not that the way we teach such subjects actually contradicts the very spirit of their traditions. No matter what subject we may think we are teaching, we are basically teaching those habits and attitudes that society finds most acceptable. We are teaching the habits and attitudes required for living in a passive, scheduled mechanical, thoughtless, competitive, commercial, and routine culture. Our subjects are packaged into courses, sequences, credits, exams, grades and diplomas not because we are teaching the craft or profession of philosophy or history or art—since really learning these things might teach our children to despise such a culture—but rather because we are teaching conformity to an industrialized society.

Assembly Lines Our schools are in fact assembly lines, and this insight has been expressed, of course, many times before. And I think it will provide a useful model, incorporating and superseding the driver-donkey model, to set over against our original guild model of master and apprentice. The underlying outlook of the factory, and hence of our society as a whole, is based on a materialistic vision: it regards both man and nature in terms of production and consumption. The world is a collection of natural resources to be manufactured into products which are packaged, sold, and bought according to the prevailing values of the marketplace. This is a one-way process whose ultimate aim is to exploit both man and nature for the sake of raising our standard of living. It is a wasteful process, for nothing is ever returned either to man or nature, and we are paying the price for our affluence not only by the poisons in our air and rivers but also by our emotional sterility and spiritual emptiness.

Now there is nothing inherently wrong with industry or affluence: materialism, when dealing with material problems, is entirely appropriate, and we should certainly render unto Caesar what is Caesar's. But when we confuse *using* man and nature with *knowing* man and nature, and when industry and affluence become not simply the means to a better life but rather the end of life and the organizing principle of our values, then materialism is a destructive illusion. And that is precisely what has happened in our educational system. Knowledge is manufactured into products which are consumed according to the going values of the market place, and students are processed and packaged in order to be consumed by commerce and industry—his grade is his pricetag. Curricula, syllabi, lectures, and textbooks imply a one-way assembly-line process which feeds knowledge to the student, and regards both man and nature as dead hunks of material to be exploited. And their governing motive is not thought and culture and imagination and citizenship, but rather a more efficiently functioning technological and bureaucratic culture, and an increasingly higher standard of living.

But man and nature, and knowledge about them, are not hunks of material, and we are missing the reality on which general education should be based if we take an exploitative view of the universe and humanity's place in it. The world and its people make up a constantly changing and an infinitely many-sided phenomenon, and knowledge about it is not simply a matter of perception, of taking inventory in some vast storehouse of the contents on the shelves. Knowledge is not the accumulation and tabulation of facts, but is rather a set of concepts, of interpretations of how facts *relate* to other facts as well as to ideas. It is the establishment of relationships that gives to facts their meaning and significance, and such relationships are the results of a mutual interchange between man's mind and external reality. This interchange is a two-way process in which man tries to understand the universe and not simply to use it, and in which, if he aims to master anything, it is himself rather than nature. And his problem, rather than being simply how to raise his standard of living, is how to live—not merely means, but rather the ends they are designed to serve.

Knowledge as Conception Knowledge, then, is not simply a perception of something "out there" which needs only to be placed on the assembly line for packaging and shipping; knowledge is conception, the result of the creative acts of man's mind as he attempts to see and establish relationships. What we say about reality does not constitute a fact, but is rather a formulation, a hypothesis, an inference based on applying an idea to the facts, and derived from a chain of reasoning. Take, for example, the notion that the Roman Empire fell because of its moral decay—a notion we still hear today from certain conservative politicians who think they see an analogy between

the situation in Rome then and the situation in the U.S. now. This has an air of conviction and plausibility, but it is not a statement of fact. It is only a theory, and as such derives from a chain of causal reasoning based on certain moral and political preconceptions. The idea that a nation's military strength is an index of its virtue; the idea that complex events can have a single cause; the idea that indulgence in pleasure is immoral—these are not perceptions about the nature of things, not self-evident truths, but are rather assumptions, assumptions which originate in a certain way of looking at things. Whether they are true or not, whether they actually apply to the facts of the case, and what the facts *are* in the first place—either of the fall of Rome or of the present situation in America—can never be a matter of objective certainty. Such questions can only be answered in a probable way, by research, discussion, debate, reason, logic, and experimental testing. And the same goes for the theories of Freud, of Marx, of Einstein, of Toynbee, of Lyndon B. Johnson, and so on.

But we make inferences so constantly and so rapidly that we don't realize we are doing it; man's mind abstracts, generalizes and classifies so habitually and automatically that it seems to be merely perceiving even while it is digesting and transforming and interpreting its perceptions themselves. That is why we are so prone to assume fallaciously that what we think about reality is objectively there; that is why we so often take our knowledge of things to be self-evident when it is indeed no such thing. And when I say "we," I mean teachers and test-makers as well as the man in the street. Nothing is more dangerous than the man who says that he has no position, no point of view, no theory, that he is just responding intuitively to experience, and that he doesn't need reason and logic for fear of falsifying and reducing reality to abstract formulas. He is dangerous because he thinks that what he thinks is self-evident, because he doesn't realize that human perception itself is a structuring process, and because he assumes that what he thinks cannot be tested rationally. The man who says he has no preconceptions and engages in no reasoning process is simply not aware of them.

The study of history is not a set of facts, but is rather an interpretation of the past; the study of science is not a collection of data, but is rather an attempt to discover certain basic measurable relations among material phenomena; the study of literature is not a chart of periods and movements and rhyme schemes, but is rather the effort to understand the forms of art and the various factors responsible for making these forms what they are; and so on. Each of these theories will vary from historian to historian, from scientist to scientist, and from literary critic to literary critic; and as these theories vary, the results will vary accordingly.

Since the product of knowledge is relative to the process of reasoning, then, it is not merely the product we should be concerned with, but more with the

process by means of which these products are made. And any teaching and testing and grading we do which puts the emphasis on the product instead of the process is, as we have seen, modelling itself on the factory rather than on reality. The process, in a factory, is merely a means to an end, and those who labor at it also become means to an end; in education, however, the process should be an end in itself, and those who labor at it should be ends in themselves. Instead, our educational system is answer-oriented and results-oriented, and our children go right to the heart of the matter when they try to outguess the examiner by learning how to answer questions without really knowing anything. And that is why the examiner, instead of correcting the student's mistakes and making suggestions for improvement, just gives a grade instead. He knows how to find out whether the student has *read* the book perhaps, but he doesn't know how to find out whether the student has *understood* it. And often, he cannot even tell whether the student *has* read it. So he, in his turn, tries to outguess the student, and his exams become increasingly more complex attempts to trip the student up.

Process Not Product But unless we can bring ourselves to understand that a subject can be seen, a course can be organized and taught, and a test framed and graded in many different ways, we will never begin to make sense about the whole business. Nets to catch the wind! To grade a test based on the products of knowledge apart from its process is to measure nothing at all. Let me illustrate. Everyone knows, for example, that the same English theme is liable to get three different grades if it is submitted to three different instructors, and this makes people feel cynical about English and English teachers. But it shouldn't: each teacher is looking for somewhat different things in a theme, and each is applying somewhat different standards. One may be a bug on logical structure, another may be obsessed by the problems of style, and a third may be a fanatic about research. Nor is there anything disturbing about this variety: each of these concerns is a perfectly valid topic for freshman composition, and no one teacher can emphasize them all equally in any given four-month term. What *is* disturbing is that very few people understand why there is such variety—including the teachers themselves, who feel that what they are doing is simply being objective. But the structure of a course will depend upon the instructor's purpose in teaching it, and the structure of a test is governed by what he is testing *for*. There is no such thing as meaningful testing or grading—except for inherited aptitudes and more acquired knowledge—outside the framework of a given course and its particular purpose and organization. It is only in such a context that the test can be governed by the course, and not the other way around. Mass testing of knowledge—whether campus-wide, state-wide, or

nation-wide—can only test for the most detached and meaningless and mechanical kinds of knowledge, and the danger that courses will be governed by such tests is becoming more real every year. What else can teaching become under these conditions except detached and meaningless and mechanical?

Testing for What? What, objectively, do grades represent? The teacher decides how much to teach and in what way. He decides what sort of test to give, and there are many possibilities, ranging all the way from multiple-choice questions, filling in blanks, and short answer questions, to essay questions, take-home exams, orals, term papers, and performance in discussion section or seminar or tutorial. He decides what questions to ask, how to ask them, and how many to ask. When he reads the answers, he decides what is a good and what is a poor answer. When he adds up the scores, he decides what is passing, what is good, what is excellent, and what is failing. The human element is present at every step of the procedure: why do we pretend that there is such a thing as "objective" testing? Who makes up those College Board and Graduate Record and Draft Exemption tests anyway? The point is that the student's grade depends not only upon his own knowledge and ability but also upon all these other variables as well: change any of these, and you change the student's score. How can we say, for example, that 65 is passing? Sixty-five what? Depending upon how he sets it up, the teacher can cause the same student to get a 90 or a 30.

Suppose, for example, that he is teaching poetry. As in any learning process, the student can learn to make gross distinctions before he learns to make the more subtle ones, and thus this process follows a natural sequence. After taking the students through this process and wanting to test them on their success, the teacher has the option of basing the form of his questions on any given point along the curve of this sequence in an effort to see how much his students have grasped of the rest of it. The closer to the end he goes, the more specific will his questions be, and the less his students will have to figure out for themselves. Contrariwise, the closer to the beginning he goes, the more general will his questions be, and the more his students will have to figure out for themselves. If he asks, "What do you think of such and such a poem?" more students will do poorly than if he asks, "What is the form of this poem?" for the latter question is more specific than the former. For him to pretend that he is not "looking" for anything in particular in his students' answers is to delude himself and to mislead his students: *somewhere* in his mind is a standard against which he means to judge them, otherwise he wouldn't be able to test them at all, and he might just as well let them know what it is. If he asks, "What is the organizing principle of this poem's structure?," more students will do poorly than if he asks, "Is

the principle of this poem's structure dramatic, argumentative, or expository?" for again the latter question is more specific than the former. And so on.

If he is a good teacher, he should frame his question so as to get the best results from his students without making it too easy, and not to trip them up by making it harder than he knows they can handle. The grades, after all, are also in a sense a measure of his own skill as a teacher and not just that of his students. His choice, then, of where to cut in is governed by at least four variables: his own sense of what his students ought to know, his experience of what students are in general capable of, his knowledge of these particular students before him, and his feeling about how successful he has been in explaining the material this time. There is no such thing as an absolute, fixed, and objective standard against which he can test his students, and no meaningful test can be given by a teacher to students whom he does not know and has not taught.

And even then, a test is not particularly meaningful in itself. I have been devising and grading examinations in literature courses for almost twenty years, and I have been frustrated time and time again in trying to write an effective set of questions that will bring out the students' understanding of the material, that will prevent them from indulging in empty verbalizing, and that will really separate out the good from the poor students. It has been my experience that no final exam tells me more than I already knew about a student on the basis of his performance in class and of his independently-organized term papers. Whenever the administration allows me not to give a final—which is not often—I do not give one, and I invariably find that my rapport with the class improves immeasurably. And if I were allowed not to give grades at all—which I never am—I'm sure it would improve things even more.

Learning How to Think Well, now: perhaps I have shown that there is a reality upon which general education can be based—the reality of learning how to think about man and the world—but it may seem that I have also shown that there is no objective way of teaching or testing it. Have I backed us into a corner from which there is no escape? Does general education perforce inhabit a subjective hall of mirrors, projecting its own unreal dream fantasies into the void, and mistaking these nightmares for objective fact? The answer is that education will inhabit a hall of mirrors just so long as it persists in stressing the products of knowledge apart from its process, in treating general education as if it were special education, and in structuring the guild model as if it were the factory model. The way out, however, lies not in seeking some spurious alternative "objectivity," but rather in realizing the true nature of the process of knowledge, and in focusing on that process as the reality of education.

Let me explain. To realize that knowledge is not simply a matter of perception but also involves concepts, not simply a collection of facts but also is an interpretation of facts, is not to be cast helplessly adrift on a sea of relativity. There are better and worse interpretations, depending upon what aspect of the situation is being discussed and what question is being asked. If man's knowledge is hypothetical, there are nevertheless ways of testing hypotheses against the facts. The better interpretation will be that which provides the fullest answer to the question, the most complete and coherent and economical explanation of all the relevant data. Man's ideas do not exist in the objective world, but they must nevertheless be made to fit that world as closely as possible. Similarly, to realize that a course is not simply a collection of truths to be handed on to the student, but is rather relative to the teacher's purpose and method of organization, is not to be thrown willy-nilly to the winds of chance. There are better and worse courses, depending upon the nature of the teacher's goal and the success of his presentation in achieving it. The better course will be that which provides the fullest training in solving a problem or problems crucial to the understanding of the material, and the clearest realization of the nature of the relevant thinking required. A course is not based on "objective" standards, but it must still be based on appropriate principles.

I think that, once education is viewed in these terms, we can see the way in which the master-apprentice model can be properly applied, and without being turned unconsciously into the driver-donkey or assembly-line model. There is something teachable and learnable upon which general education can be based; there is a "craft" or "profession" it should prepare our children for; and such education does have standards and principles. I have said that the apprentice must have a desire, taste, and talent for doing the work he is learning, and that the work he does while learning must have a fair resemblance to the work he will be doing after he graduates. But I have also said that such work is not certainly what we think of as "life adjustment," and formulated in terms of buying groceries, finding a mate, or subscribing to *The Reader's Digest*.

Learning to Live What, then, is such work? It is nothing more or less than learning how to live. It is this that we must all learn how to do; it is this that is the proper subject and aim of general education; and it is this that is being systematically ignored in our society in the biggest buck-passing act in history. On the *real* problems of life—the meaning of love, of sex, of death, of justice, of work, and so on—church and home and school and government feed the young nothing but pious platitudes and hypocritical evasions. We are so busy with everything else that the inner core of life—that which is needed to give meaning to all the rest—gets lost in the shuffle. Our lust for or-

ganization and scheduling and measuring is being misapplied. It is not that we are trying to measure the unmeasurable so much as that we are measuring the wrong things, just as the auto manufacturer does who sells his cars on the basis of their power and looks rather than their dependability, safety, economy, and durability. There is an order to the process of knowledge, but only its products can be broken up into courses and credits and degrees. The process of knowledge deals with the forms of thought and imagination as these relate to objective reality, and the forms of thought and imagination can be taught and learned, but such teaching cannot be scheduled or measured in quantitative terms.

Thus, instruction in history should stress not so much dates and events and sequences, but rather the theories of history, what the problems of history are and how they may be solved, how to think about history, and so on. Instruction in literature should stress not so much schools and trends and movements, but rather theories of literature and literary criticism, what the problems of criticism are and how they may be solved, how to think about literature, and so on. Instruction in science should stress not so much laboratory methods and memorizing formulas, but rather the theories of science, what the nature of the experimental method is, how to think scientifically, and so on. Such instruction should not be specialized, concentrating on the accumulation of facts and techniques, and aiming at turning out future historians, future literary scholars, or future scientists. All instruction in general education should teach basically the same thing, namely the forms of thought and imagination—how the world looks to different people under different conditions, how their visions relate to reality, how to study and understand these visions, and how to formulate one's own. It should teach thinking about thinking—one's own as well as that of others.

Not that it should neglect the content appropriate to each subject, but rather that it should subordinate the content to the form and not the other way around. As Bruner has shown, students can master and retain content much faster and more efficiently if they are instructed primarily in form, for this gives them ways of relating the material which make it easier to remember and understand it.

The Packaging Problem Furthermore, such instruction should not be packaged in advance, even in curricula designed to insure a distribution of liberal courses in the student's program, or in synthesizing courses designed around great books or great ideas. Any teacher knows that when he really learned anything, he learned it by himself and in his own way, following his interest where it led and at his own speed. It is surely a mistake for him to look back at his own self-education, and then try to plan a curriculum that will bring his students along the same path he followed. No matter how much sense it may appear to make, the fact remains that this was his path and

not theirs. If the process and not the product is the important thing, each student must be allowed to start from where he is at the time, and go on from there. He may eventually touch all the right bases, but he may not necessarily touch them in the "right" order or speed. All the faculty can do is to set up the alternatives and provide the guidance; it should not set up an obstacle course, and then force the student to jump through it.

What is the point of all those courses and all those classrooms? What is accomplished by having the student hop from one course to the next, learning something in one and very little in another, but going ahead anyway? Isn't the present system more wasteful, in effect, than letting the student pace himself? Learning does not naturally fall into subjects and time schedules. They are just a blur in the mind when one gets through with them, and very little remains after all that effort. There is nothing like a course or a class in reality, and pushing students through them gives the appearance rather than the actuality of learning: it can be weighed and measured and certified. But that is the trouble with institutionalizing anything having to do with what goes on inside of a person: surface is taken for substance, means are mistaken for ends, and the letter of the law is substituted for its spirit. People are so course-conditioned today, being required to sit in classes right up through and past the Master's degree, that they are afraid of independent work, and can't really imagine any other way of learning than signing up for courses. All the debate over whether class-discussion is better than the lecture system more often than not misses the central point: that sitting in class, even if it's a small one, gives the student the illusion of being a spectator, of looking rather than being looked at, and he melts into his environment, losing any sense of participation, engagement, and responsibility. The result is that, in the midst of dozing or daydreaming or chatting and exchanging notes with his neighbor or doodling or studying for that test he has the next hour, he tunes in and out intermittently on what the teacher way up there at the front of the room is trying to get going.

Meaningless Situations Young people are not naturally lazy or resistant to learning; they only appear that way because we force them into meaningless situations. If they have to be driven, it is because we have pushed them into this mechanical lock-step assembly line where everyone covers the ground instead of learning anything. When the student has to be fitted to the material instead of the material fitted to the student, it's a fair bet that the student will learn nothing except to hate learning, and the teacher will soon come to hate teaching. The answer is to "teach" as infrequently as possible, and instead to organize the schools to encourage the students to learn how to learn. The idea of individual work and individual attention may sound impossibly

expensive, but it would in reality be much less expensive than our present compulsion of building enough classroom buildings and hiring enough faculty to teach all the courses we think are necessary to teach. The schools are caught in their own self-created trap. The solution to the problem of increased enrollments is not to try to enlarge our present inflexible system, but rather to ask ourselves why each student must take four or five courses a semester, and why each class must meet three times a week. Professor John W. French, College Examiner and Professor of Psychology at New College, Sarasota, Florida, writes me as follows:

Progress at this college is based on comprehensive examinations and on the submission of reports on independent study rather than on course grades and credits. We put as little emphasis as we can on grades as such. Our examinations and reports are evaluated as each faculty member wishes. This usually involves a verbal, 2- or 3-sentence description of the student's work. Sometimes a grade of some sort is included but we have not adopted any uniform or official system for the college.

Any additional funds which the schools need should be spent on libraries, study facilities, and faculty offices.

A New Curriculum What would such a "curriculum" look like in practice? I don't think the catalogue would even have to divide knowledge up into departments—at most, and simply for the sake of convenience, it might use several large divisions: the natural sciences, the social sciences, and the humanities, for example, have become customary. Then there would be a listing, each year, of the faculty and a brief statement of the interests and approach and work in progress of each professor. And each student would simply choose two or three professors whom he wanted to work with on the basis of his own interests and needs. He would decide, with the guidance of his professors, how long to remain with each, and which other ones to consult as the need arose. The professor would begin with each student at the point where the student was in terms of background and interest, and proceed forward with him from that point onwards, stressing the forms of thought and imagination, making suggestions about the formulation and solution of relevant problems and the pertinent material to consult, and asking the student to come up with suggestions of his own. The professor, if he finds certain students falling into certain groups, could arrange to have them meet with him together for occasional seminars or discussion classes. If the situation calls for it, he could even give a lecture now and then to a larger group. Education would be based on the natural process of learning through reading, thinking, experimenting, and dis-

cussing—which is the way learning proceeds normally in reality. The student will learn what he needs to know because he needs to know it, and not because someone tells him that he needs to know it.

There should be nothing measurable or competitive about it. If the apprentice-master model is to fit the situation, then the teacher must be a master of the craft or profession, not merely of history or literature or science, but also of learning how to live. If his mastery of his speciality isn't helping him learn how to live, then he is simply doing a job, and not teaching general education at all. His relation to his students should not be that of cop to criminal, or judge to the accused, or driver to donkey, or foreman to factory worker, but rather that of an advanced but fellow practitioner of thinking about life and of trying to live it well. Cooperation and not competition is the proper structure here, and this applies to the relations among students as well. One doesn't get high or low marks in learning how to live; one should do the best one can, and there is no need to be able to predict in advance who will be better at it than whom. We must all take our chances at it, and success or failure is its own reward or punishment.

The principle of the teaching machine is certainly correct, although I am not sure the application is quite right. Learning proceeds not through a sequence of "courses," but rather through the student's ability to move from grosser to subtler distinctions, from handling less complex to handling more complex problems, and from incorporating smaller quantities of material to incorporating larger quantities of material. The answer to the testing and grading problem, then, is quite simple: If each student is allowed to learn and think at his own pace, he will be able to go on to the next stage only after he has sufficiently mastered the preceding stage. And since this is an inner and natural criterion, he will know by himself whether he is succeeding or failing. Knowledge of results will be automatic and self-correcting. He does not have to be tested and graded at all; all he has to do is to demonstrate by *performance* that he has reached a certain stage, and this he can do by reporting on his progress to his professor in conference, and by giving a talk or writing a paper showing how he has learned to manage the relevant problems and materials up to that point. He can't cram for this, and he can't fake an ability to think. If he doesn't make it, he should keep trying until he does acceptable work, or stop at that point.

So too in the relationship between student and administration. If the student is to learn thought and culture and imagination and citizenship, then that is what he should be practicing in school. If he is to be critical and reflective and responsibly free as an adult, then he should be critical and reflective and responsibly free in school. Students may not be qualified to govern the country yet, but they are certainly qualified to play a real part in governing their school,

in deciding about courses and methods of instruction, in choosing behavior patterns and life styles, and so on. They should not be dominated and tyrannized: to turn them into robots may be the goal of education for society, but it is not the goal of education for reality. We must decide once and for all what it is that we really want.

So too in the relationship between student and community. There should be a free and open interchange between school and the realities of society and of man and nature on the outside. The idea of work-study programs should be expanded, and students should mingle more with the community in politics, in teaching, in editing and in business, and they should give talks, meet people, write letters, take part in debates and symposia, and so on. And after graduating, they should return regularly to their former schools to mingle with and advise those younger than themselves.

How will the student in the new colleges be certified and graduated? The answer is simple: each student will have assigned to him, or will be able to choose, a committee of professors who will counsel him, and, in consultation with his teachers, will advise him on his progress and decide at certain points—say every year or two—on the basis of his ability and effort, whether he should be encouraged to continue, or put on probation, or dropped. At the end of a period—say between three and five years—the committee will decide on whether he gets a degree or not, and will compile a series of statements and evaluations on that student for his use in applying for future work. Something like this is already being done at the new Santa Cruz Campus of the University of California, where students receive pass or fail grades in courses, written evaluations from teachers in smaller classes, and honors or pass or fail in comprehensive exams and theses. And, although I've been talking here about college, the same principles are already being applied in primary and secondary schools. There is a grammar school in Lexington, Kentucky and a high school in Melbourne, Florida, which have already instituted a flexible system without formal courses or grades and with more emphasis upon independent study. The younger children become less bored and lethargic, and the older ones drop out of school with much less frequency and succeed in getting into college with much greater frequency. In 1962 the Department of Elementary School Principles of the National Education Association published a report, *Elementary School Organization*, which recommended the use of similar systems on a wider basis. There can be no question at all that, if we treat our children like human beings, they will act like human beings.

But first we must act like human beings ourselves, and, if we want education to suit them for society, we must insist that our society become suited for human beings and not just for machines.

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A Generalization Is a Generalization

A. H. McNaughton

The University of Auckland

The word generalization seems to be cropping up more frequently than it used to in articles on the important elements in elementary and high school curricula. At the same time, there are certain communication problems arising out of the variety of meanings given to it. There are also some controversies developing around its use in particular situations although most writers seem to agree on at least two points. First, generalizations should play an important role in directing children's thinking as they search for meanings in the data of Social Studies, English, Science, and Mathematics; and second, children should be given many opportunities to generalize about what they read, see and hear in the classroom and to test their generalizations against standards of accuracy and relevance.

In the field of Social Studies there seems to be considerable agreement among curriculum writers on the point that the important generalizations from the social sciences can and should provide a focus for Social Studies teaching. In addition, it is now being suggested in many of the curricula published in this area over the last three years that teachers should spend more time than they have in the past encouraging children through carefully graded questions to generalize for themselves and less time on having them learn generalizations which are the end products of someone else's thinking. Whatever disagreement there is among writers seems to center more on the relative emphasis that should be given to discovering and telling* in the development of children's generalizations than it is on whether generalizations are important or not.

The stimulus to this concerted emphasis on generalizations in the Social Studies has come from both sides of what has, for many years, been a fairly substantial academic fence. On the subject-matter specialists' side have been those who have tended to be most concerned that the important ideas embedded in the generalizations of particular Social Sciences be well understood by children at

* An interesting introduction to this controversy can be had by reading Bruner (1961) and Ausubel (1961) on this topic.

Before assuming his present teaching post in New Zealand, Dr. McNaughton was a member of the evaluation team of the late Hilda Taba's Curriculum Development Project at San Francisco State College. Here he presents an instructive overview of discussions of generalizations in Social Studies by "content" and "process" specialists. He concludes with some suggestive words about the need to attend to the processes of generalizing, to the precision of content words, and to the criteria for distinguishing between "the good" generalization and "the not-so-good."

least by the time they leave school. The educational psychologists, on the other hand, have often been more interested in the description and refinement of the process of generalization than in the particular generalizations that children remember. But there are signs that the wall is crumbling, at least in the social science area, as a compromise on the differing viewpoints develops from recognition by all concerned that the process and content components of generalizations are interdependent. The result of this compromise is that those subject matter specialists who are playing a key role in the development of some of the newer curricula in Social Studies are now as unlikely to suggest that sound subject matter will induce wisdom no matter what methods are used as are educational psychologists to claim that it does not matter what children learn but how they learn it.

The Analytical Question Fenton¹ is an example of a content specialist whose interest in Social Studies stems from his historical training and his concern for the preservation of the values which are implicit in his subject. For him, a basic value in history well taught is the opportunity it gives for students to develop the ability to use its method of inquiry in understanding more about people and the societies to which they belong. In this context he feels that analytical questions rather than generalizations, are the important historical elements that should figure prominently in Social Studies curricula; and because of this viewpoint he does not appear, on the surface at least, to want to be associated with those content specialists with the attitudes described in the previous paragraph. But in his objections to generalizations as primary structural elements of the curriculum it becomes clear that he is not rejecting all generalizations but only those which are stated as truths rather than as tentative conclusions. In addition, it could be argued that while Fenton's analytical questions are vital for the preservation of important historical values because they give direction to a student's thoughts, so too are the generalizations which derive from these questions. If generalizations do not meet requirements of tentativeness, accuracy and inclusiveness, then either the questions which follow from them will be similarly limited or the student may even feel that there is no further need of questions of any kind.

Fenton does not wish any child to arrive at particular fore-ordained conclusions but instead to ask analytical questions that set him on an intellectual treadmill of seeking the truth but never finding it. However, in his attempt to avoid the alternative of an intellectual straight-jacket of generalizations stated as truths he seems to be simply changing the point at which restrictions are

1 Edwin Fenton, Ed. *Teacher's Guide for Three Experimental Units*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966.

imposed rather than dispensing with them completely. This becomes clear when he recommends that children should be encouraged to ask a number of analytical questions "which have been proved useful to historians and social scientists in the past." The dilemma that his argument creates seems to be resolvable either by further argument or by compromise. His side of the argument might develop along the lines that it is better in the long run for children to use other people's analytical questions to guide them than to use other people's generalizations; but this could only be proved by experiment. A compromise position would be that both sound analytical questions and sound generalizations are interdependent and indispensable elements in the structure of Social Studies and that the importance of each should be appreciated by both teachers and students if they are to be effective in this area. This also would need to be proved by experiment. In the meantime, it does not seem unreasonable to interpret Fenton's apparent dissent from the ideas of other content specialists on the importance of developing sound generalizations, as a plea for a greater use of good analytical questions and against bad generalizations rather than against the importance of generalizations per se. If this is the case, then Fenton's viewpoint is not quite as far removed from that of the other content specialists as it appears at first sight.

Fenton's argument against generalizations stated as truths raises another point about them which has, in my opinion, often led to confusion in the thinking of social studies teachers.

Misusing Generalizations

Some curriculum writers² have in recent years asked social scientists to list those basic ideas or generalizations which they believe should give focus to the teaching of Social Studies. But some teachers have misinterpreted the intention of those lists, either by presenting them to children as things to be learned by heart for use on appropriate occasions, or by feeling that they have failed in their teaching if children do not cap an inductive sequence with conclusions that match those of the experts. The teachers' error lies in the fact that no child is likely to have had access to the kind of experience that may justify the expert in expressing a basic idea in exactly these terms. Thus, while the expert may be justified in making his conclusions absolute sounding and highly generalized, a child's generalization must by contrast and by necessity be more tentative and restricted, simply because of his relative lack of experience in the social sciences. There is a distinct possibility therefore that the child who happens to repeat

2 See, e.g., Hilda Taba and J. L. Hills, *Teacher Handbook for Contra Costa Social Studies, Grades 1-6*. San Francisco: San Francisco State College; Jerome S. Bruner, *Man: A Course of Study*, Occasional Paper 3. Cambridge, Mass.: Educational Services Inc., 1965; California State Department of Education, *Building Curriculum in Social Studies for the Public Schools of California*, Bulletin 26, No. 4, Sacramento, 1957.

the generalization of the expert at the end of an inductive process or at the beginning of a deductive one is either over-generalizing or playing with words he does not understand. While this may not always be the case because not all experts' generalizations are either pontifical or abstruse, it seems that the best and safest use of the social scientists' basic ideas by teachers is as a focus for the selection of content and the framing of questions. If their generalizations are used as models for children to copy, then we are likely to return to the mindless parroting of oversize ideas which the present curriculum writers are seeking to avoid.

The importance of making this distinction between experts' and children's generalizations in the social studies curriculum is clear; and to overcome any possibility of confusion it might be suggested that, at least in curricular statements, the experts' generalizations be called working hypotheses instead.

Discovering and Questioning Bruner is probably as good an example as any of a psychologist who is developing a Social Studies curriculum in the company of content specialists. In a policy statement as co-director of the ESI Social Studies Curriculum Program,³ he has stressed the importance of having children generalize about data through a process of discovery which, in his words, "gives them the opportunity to develop decent competence and proper confidence in the ability to operate on their own." However, he makes it clear that the generalizing process does not stand alone for it is confined first of all within the limits of three focusing questions: "What is human about human beings? How did they get that way? and How can they be made more so?"; and secondly by five topics, namely, the humanizing forces of tool making, language, social organization, the management of man's prolonged childhood, and man's urge to explain.

Oliver and Shaver⁴ stress the importance of fostering reflective thinking skills through problems associated with the legal-constitutional basis of the modern democratic state. They seem to be as concerned to have children think reflectively about public issues and to develop what they call a "tentative-probabilistic view of knowledge" as they are to select subject matter which will help sharpen insights into the values underlying our society. In this curriculum there is the same kind of interdependence of process and content that is found in the others described here, as well as recognition that generalizations and generalizing must play important roles in determining what is said and done in it.

³ Bruner, *op. cit.*

⁴ D. W. Oliver and J. P. Shaver. *Teaching Public Issues in the High School*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1966.

Taba⁵ has, perhaps more than any other person in the field of curriculum development in Social Studies, stressed the importance of teaching strategies in the development of "high level" thinking about people and their ways. The strategies she recommends are derived from a variety of psychological research and theory,⁶ all of which points to the need for carefully planned steps in the development of children's own concepts and generalizations. The content setting for the cognitive development in this curriculum comes from the social sciences and it is to social scientists that she turns to verify the topics and teaching materials as well as the generalizations that determine the kinds of questions children will be asked and the particular content material that will be studied. In her curriculum, therefore, the generalizations that are produced by children are to be developed within limits which are prescribed by the generalizations of the social scientists.

Generalizations and Concepts

There is in this sampling of the opinions of those working with the new Social Studies curricula considerable agreement about the importance of generalizations and generalizing. However, none of them clearly defines how a good generalization can be distinguished from a not-so-good one or what makes one child's generalizing techniques better than another's. This distinction seems necessary for all who wish to promote in elementary and high school children increasingly higher level thinking in the Social Studies.

Anyone who turns for help in this matter to the various statements in the literature about generalizations is likely to become more confused than enlightened. For one thing, there is no sharp or consistent distinction between the terms "concepts" and "generalizations." For example, Brownell and Hendrickson⁷ make distinctions among arbitrary associations (sometimes called facts), concepts and generalizations and place them along a continuum of meaning in which generalizations are considered more complex because they are verbalized formulations of relations among concepts, and arbitrary associations the least complex. Russell,⁸ on the other hand, claims that most of the experts in the field

5 Hilda Taba, S. Levine, and F. F. Elzey. *Thinking in Elementary School Children*. Co-op. Research Project, No. 1574. San Francisco State College, 1964.

6 Irving Sigel. *A Teaching Strategy Derived From Some Piagetian Concepts*. Publication #113, Indiana, Social Science Education Consortium, 1966; Jean Piaget, as reported by B. Inhelder in W. Kessen and C. Kuhlman. *Thought in the Young Child*. Indiana Society for Research in Child Development, 1962; J. S. Bruner, Jacqueline J. Goodnow, and C. A. Austin. *A Study of Thinking*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1956.

7 W. A. Brownell and G. Hendrickson, "How Children Learn Information, Concepts and Generalizations," *49th Yearbook*, National Society for the Study of Education, Part I. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950, pp. 92-128.

8 D. H. Russell. *Children's Thinking*. Boston: Ginn and Co., 1956.

of concept development agree about both the symbolic and *generalized* nature of concepts, and that they include within a definition of concepts a variety of generalizations which take the form of formulas, rules and principles.

Oliver and Shaver⁹ add to the confusion when they first describe generalizations as particular kinds of conclusions arrived at by looking at a number of facts and then point out that generalizations are commonly called facts if the supporting evidence is reliable.

It seems that one way to solve a part of this problem of distinguishing a concept from a generalization would be to take the somewhat arbitrary step of confining the concept label to single words and the generalization one to sentences. The fact that both have in common the feature of being the end-product of a process involving differentiation and generalization is at once a point of agreement among the authorities and a point of confusion when it comes to distinguishing them. The distinguishing feature of physical size effectively separates them without, at the same time, implying the difference in quality which Brownell and Hendrickson imply in their continuum.

A step of this kind can be helpful in grading generalizations because it makes it possible to use the degree of inclusiveness of concept words *within* a sentence generalization as one means of evaluating the generalization to which they contribute. If no prior assumptions are made about any qualitative differences between the terms concept and generalization, it is quite conceivable that, on occasions, several sentence generalizations may be necessary to explain, for example, the meaning of a highly abstract concept word such as justice, or interdependence or co-operation. What begins to emerge from this confusion then is the agreed fact that there is a hierarchy for both concepts and generalizations. Each hierarchy is both widely ranging and intertwined with the other because, just as a series of concepts can make up a generalization, a highly abstract concept cannot be understood (nor arrived at) except through a series of generalizations.**

By making a distinction on the basis of physical size, little more is done for a scheme to evaluate children's generalizations than help clear the ground for one to develop. However, in the present state of confusion between concepts and

9 Oliver and Shaver, *op. cit.*

** Another distinction among concepts is that made by Vygotsky (in *Thought and Language*) and concurred with by Piaget. Vygotsky reserves the label "concept" exclusively for the end product of a process of abstracting or singling out the elements in a number of items and viewing the abstracted elements apart from the totality of the concrete experiences in which they are embedded. He claims that such a process is not possible before adolescence. The general points made in this paper would not be invalidated by such an argument but simply confined to examples from the high school and above.

generalizations it is an important first step. The next one is to develop a definition of a generalization which is broadly acceptable so that it can be used as a basis for evaluation.

Definition and Evaluation English and English¹⁰

define a generalization as the end product of the process of reaching a judgment applicable to a whole class often based on experience with a limited number of members of the class. It follows that the more inclusive a generalization is, the more valid it must be as a judgment about a class of items. And as concept words within a generalization contribute to this inclusiveness factor, the best generalizations will be those that have the most inclusive or abstract concept words in them, provided that all the words in them are relevant. An important exception to this rule is the case where some of the words that appear more abstract are directly copied from the data (e.g. a story) from which the generalization was derived. So, if for evaluation purposes a distinction needs to be made among the concept components of a generalization on the basis of degrees of abstractness or inclusiveness, then any concept that is copied must be rated at the lowest level of abstraction, no matter how abstract it may seem when considered apart from the source materials. It must follow that in any evaluation of the generalizing process it is important to consider the relationship between source material and the concept words and generalizations which develop from it.

Based on the rationale just presented, the following response of a second grade student, "They were children who were concerned about the weather," in answer to the question, "What kind of people are those you heard about in the story?," would be rated higher than the one that says, "They were two boys and a girl who planted potatoes in the rain."

One of the problems inherent in this type of analysis is that some of the concepts children use in their generalizations are so vague that what is gained in generality may be lost in precision. But the distinction between a concept and a vague concept must itself be vague because it relates to the particular circumstance in which the generalizing took place.[†] In these cases teachers would have to be as objective as possible in making judgments about the inclusiveness and precision of the concepts used. An interview with a child would probably help to clear up any ambiguous cases which occur.

The Uses of Vagueness However, there are times when a certain kind of vagueness in a generalization is a strength rather

10 H. B. and A. C. English. *A Comprehensive Dictionary of Psychological and Psychoanalytical Terms*. New York: Longmans Green, 1958.

[†] It is quite possible that many of the vague abstract concepts and some of the copied ones that pre-adolescents use are the same as what Vygotsky calls pseudo-concepts.

than a weakness. This situation arises out of the widely held belief that there are few if any generalizations from Social Studies that can ever be regarded as statements of absolute truth since there is always more information on a particular topic than can ever be known by the human beings who generalize about it. The generalization that includes some kind of evidence of the reality of this limitation must therefore be rated higher than the one that does not. In this regard Loban¹¹ has said that those subjects in his study "most proficient with language are the ones who most frequently use language to express tentativeness. Supposition, hypothesis, and conditional statements occur much less frequently in the spoken language of those lacking skill in language." In their different brands of Social Studies, Oliver and Shaver, Taba, and Fenton place great value on a tentative-probabilistic view of knowledge. On the basis of this evidence it seems that those generalizations which contain such words as "probably," "it seems as if," "but," and "the evidence suggests that," will be more satisfactory than those that do not. A problem about using a tentativeness criterion in evaluating generalizations arises out of the difficulty of distinguishing between tentativeness based on awareness of the limitations of any person's knowledge and that which is a sign of ignorance. Again, further questioning through personal interview may solve it in many instances.

Tentativeness which is derived from a kind of intellectual humility is desirable in generalizations but so too is the precision that is achieved through the use of subordinate clauses, phrases or infinitives that qualify, explain or condition the key statement.¹² The cues for subordinate clauses are words like "who," "which," "that"; for phrases, words like "in," "if," "by," "yet," "but," "although"; and for infinitives, the word "to," as used in the sentence, "They are Japanese who come to the field *to pull weeds*." In this aspect of the generalizing process those qualifications, explanations or conditions which are expressed in a complementary way, e.g. "Captain Cook was strict but fair," or the "If . . . then" form of response, should be given more credit for a precision factor than those which are simply listed, e.g. "Captain Cook was strict and fair."

One aspect of qualifications which probably deserves special mention is the comparative statement in which the people or things being generalized about are spontaneously related to others, including in some cases, the generalizer himself. By this criterion a child's generalization will be more satisfactory if it not only sums up (from the immediate data) the characteristics of the person, persons or situations being judged but also infers a relationship with other situations or people.¹³

11 W. Loban. *The Language of Elementary School Children*. Champaign, Ill.: NCTE, 1963.

12 Loban, *op. cit.*

13 Piaget, *Thought in the Young Child*, *op. cit.*

The very complexity of the intellectual process of decentering (i.e. standing off from a situation to examine relationships between observer and observed) suggests that spontaneous comparisons should be given more weight in any evaluation of generalizations than some of the above factors. However, the question of weighting is itself such a complex one that it cannot be discussed within the limits of this paper even though it could be crucial in an effective evaluation system.

Some of the cue words in spontaneous comparison are "different from," "similar to," "compared with," and "as."

Criteria derived from the literature for evaluating sentence generalizations may be summarized as follows:

1. The *abstractness*, *inclusiveness*, or *generality* of the individual concept words in a generalization or of the generalization taken as a whole. Copied abstractions would not be counted. Individual concept words might be divided into four groups ranging from most to least inclusive and labeled: abstract concepts; vague abstract concepts; concrete concepts of the class type (children, climate, tools, etc.); specific concrete concepts.
2. The degree of *tentativeness* as measured by the number of tentative-probabilistic words and phrases.
3. The degree of *precision* as measured by the use of subordinating, qualifying, complementary clauses, phrases and infinitives.
4. The use of *spontaneous comparisons* which involve the decentering process described by Piaget.¹⁴

Labeling Generalizations

Perhaps at this point some consideration should be given to different points of view on much broader distinctions that could be made among different categories of sentences that are the result of a generalizing process. For example, while the sentence, "They are Japanese who come to the field to pull weeds," could have involved a generalizing process, some authorities (see below) would not credit it with the generalizing label. One solution to this problem would be to call this kind of statement a summary or a conclusion rather than a generalization since it derives from evidence which is immediately available in a particular story and has no inference component in it.

The example given here certainly does not fit English and English's definition of a generalization as a judgment about a whole class based on experience with a limited number of that class. Yet, in answer to the question, "Tell me in one sentence about all the things you heard in the story," it does at least comply

¹⁴ Piaget, *op. cit.*

with Brownell and Hendrickson's criterion for generalizations as verbalized formulations among concepts. However, it still could not be claimed that the Grade 1 child who gave this kind of response is as effective a generalizer as the sixth grader who says, "When people are short of food they are often prepared to put up with considerable discomfort to meet this need."[‡] So, for the sake of precision some kind of distinction seems necessary. One solution would be to make the broad conclusion-generalization distinction suggested here. But this is only a beginning because between as well as within the Grade 1-type and the Grade 6-type responses given here there will be other intermediate forms of the generalizing process and beyond the elementary school even more sophisticated kinds of generalizations will be found. Finer distinctions could be made within the various categories of conclusions or generalizations by applying the four evaluation criteria outlined in the previous section. At the first grade level for example, where many of the responses would be of the conclusion kind, the analysis would be according to the following criteria: *inclusiveness of concepts* ("people" would rate higher than "Mr. and Mrs. Jones"; or "members of the same family" higher than "the mother, her two daughters and one son"); *precision* as measured by the number of subordinate clauses, phrases, or infinitives; *tentativeness*; *comparisons*; and *accuracy*. Group labels in these examples could be given simply by numbering levels one, two, and three and so on, according to the fineness of the distinctions required.

Experience^{***} with a number of different analyses of children's responses has shown that it is not always necessary to use all of the above criteria to tease out a number of clear-cut groups. The inclusiveness criterion alone was often sufficient to divide a class's generalizations into at least three broad groups. In other cases the addition of the precision and tentative criteria was necessary to make three or more groups.

Womack¹⁵ has implied through his four point categorization of generalizations across grades that the application of an inclusiveness criterion is all that is necessary for the broad kind of classification he uses. His examples from the least to the most inclusive are as follows:

All families divide the work among family members so they can meet their basic needs;

[‡] In this case the statement infers a relationship between items in the story and other experiences he has had. The accuracy of his generalization would need to be checked by probing into the nature of the other data he had in mind.

^{***} As a member of the evaluation team of the Curriculum Development Project, San Francisco State College.

¹⁵ J. G. Womack. *Discovering the Structure of Social Studies*. New York: Benziger Bros., 1966.

- A division of labor takes advantage of the best skills of each member of the family in any working group;
- A division of labor produces specialized workers thereby leading to an increase in the production and quality of goods;
- A division of labor leads to increased productivity and a rising standard of living.

Womack calls all of these substantive generalizations and distinguishes them from sub-generalizations which have limited rather than universal application. These latter ones would include most of what has been called conclusions above. Then there are methodological generalizations which are principles or rules which describe a skill or technique for studying Social Studies content. They are outside the scope of the categories discussed here. Normative generalizations he describes as value judgments which take the form of sub-generalizations with limited application and small chance of verification.

Womack's classification scheme is of limited use in the evaluation of the response of children of a particular grade level because of its broadness and consequent lack of precision for the finer kinds of distinctions that class teachers and research workers often need to make. It also differs somewhat from the more detailed system described in the preceding section in that it is more in the nature of a broad theoretical construct than a classification system which has evolved from an analysis of children's responses, and the application (to this analysis) of the conclusions of various authorities.

Taba and McGuire¹⁶ have in their classification scheme the additional variable of tentativeness. They also, like Womack, distinguish normative generalizations while their explanatory and descriptive generalizations are similar to his substantive and sub-generalizations.

The practical value of broad labels of these kinds in an evaluation program, therefore, seems to be limited by their very nature. It is possible that some use could be made of them for classification across several grades (or age levels), but since any one classroom teacher is more likely to have to evaluate variations upon a single type of generalization than among several types, more refined measures are needed for classroom research.

Practice in the use of an evaluation scheme for discrimination within a single broad generalization category might give a teacher a "feeling" for differences, in which case an occasional formal analysis could be used to check on the reliability of his evaluation. The idea implicit in the definition of normative generalizations could also be consciously used by teachers and others to check

16 Taba and C. McGuire, in E. R. Smith and R. W. Tyler, Eds. *Appraising and Recording Student Progress*. New York: Harper, 1942.

on value judgments in generalizations until perhaps both teachers and students became sensitized to the problem involved.

Theory and the Generalizing Process A classification scheme for generalizations useful for evaluation purposes must necessarily be complex simply because the very essence of a good generalization is the compression into a few words of a statement of relationships among many important ideas. The basic classification scheme described here has been developed from a number of different sources. For a statement of a theory on the generalizing process, however, it does not seem necessary to go far beyond the work of Piaget.¹⁷ In his theory of intellectual functioning is the principle that their experience with the materials of this world together with some factors in their physiological development provide human beings with a growing potential to deal with its complexities. The generalizing capacities of the pre-operational child are restricted by his inability to decenter, or to go beyond data to see relationships with other data. Concrete operational thought (according to Piaget's definition) is freed from these restrictions to some degree but still does not have the intellectual versatility of formal thought which enables some adolescents to develop a proposition, think of another and relate the two together in a complementary fashion. The theory underlying this description of intellectual development can account for each of the elements which, as has been suggested above, must be considered in evaluating generalizations. Inclusiveness, for example, relates to an ability to incorporate in a concept word as many elements as are appropriate and possible; precision to an ability to introduce important shades of meaning to ideas while at the same time avoiding vagueness, and tentativeness to an intellectual humility that derives from recognition of inevitable restrictions on data. Spontaneous comparisons have in them the same qualities that Piaget applies to reciprocity.

The initial thesis of this paper was that concern about the importance of generalizations in Social Studies comes from both content and process specialists and that the division between these two groups is being broken down as they cooperate on developing new curricula. The tendency of this discussion has been towards more emphasis on the generalizing process than on the validity of the generalizations themselves. To redress this in part and to retain consistency with the thesis it must be repeated that, unless the items in a generalization meet the criterion of accuracy, they have no value. In fact, error is compounded as inaccurate concept words become more inclusive. So, not only is it important for teachers and research workers to have information about the processes

17 *The Psychology of Intelligence*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1950.

children go through in developing their generalizations, but it is also important to know how many and what kind of items they build into their concepts and generalizations. If, for example, content analysis shows that a class is paying more attention to objects than to people in their generalizations, or to the material rather than the non-material aspects of a culture, steps should be taken to reorient them through new materials and through the kinds of questions asked about them.

The cry that has been raised in Social Studies to have children generalize about the important elements in what they read, hear about, and see has been almost unanimous, but advice about means of sorting out good from not-so-good generalizations has been sparse and imprecise. Just how broadly practical is a scheme of the kind outlined here still remains to be seen through further research and practical experience.

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The Anatomy of Power

John S. Brubacher

The University of Michigan

Power is an ominous word these days. Ever since Stokely Carmichael coined the phrase "black power" and the Students for a Democratic Society followed with the phrase "student power," a threat of violence seems to hang over academic heads. Indeed, there is even some talk of "faculty power"¹ and its assertion in the form of strikes.² If the "establishment" does not accede to the demands of these groups, the latter threaten to use physical force to get them. Nor has this threat of student power been a peculiarly American experience. It has been a world wide phenomenon, occurring most strikingly in France, but also in Germany, Italy, England, and even in Yugoslavia.

What is the magic of the word "power" that every one seems bent on capturing it? The magic lies in the potential to break through apathy, deadlock, and frustration and get things done. This potential may be actualized in various ways. There is, for instance, the subtle power of argument. There is also the power latent in the so-called "power structure" of society. Finally there is the power of physical force. Here we can point to the physical force of the police or the armed forces of the nation. In any event, he who has power and is willing to exercise it gets things done and usually his own way.

In a civilized society preference is shown for the force of argument. In this event one has the moral option to accept or reject the argument. After an exchange of argument there is recourse to majority vote which becomes the law for the time being. Consequently there is a *prima facie* legitimacy to power exercised according to law. No one, for instance, questions the power of the truant officer in returning truants to school. Obedience to his coercion may be reluctant but it is nonetheless yielded by the great majority of citizens. If they don't oblige voluntarily, then the whole panoply of state power as represented by the police and ultimately the armed forces can be called into play. In fact, the only restriction on such overwhelming force is that it be exercised reasonably,

1 McGeorge Bundy, "Faculty Power," *Atlantic Monthly*, 222, September, 1968, pp. 41-47.

2 Sanford H. Kadish, "The Strike and the Professoriate," *American Association of University Professors, Bulletin*, 54, Summer, 1968, pp. 160-168.

Dr. Brubacher, well known in educational history and philosophy, is presently Professor of Higher Education at Ann Arbor's Center for the Study of Higher Education. Here he examines some of the ways in which power is being used on the college campuses. After treating non-violence, violence, and various sorts of disruption, he concludes with a reminder that power is "heady stuff" and that the power of argument is still, except in cases of extreme injustice, to be preferred.

that is, that no more force will be used than is necessary to achieve the ends of the law.

What threatens civilized society at the present time is the unwillingness of certain minorities to abide by the law, to acquiesce in the rule of the majority, the *status quo*, the "establishment." If they would rely on the power of argument to become a majority, there would be no anxiety. But they have become impatient with the speed of social reform; they have become convinced that the "establishment" is so complacent or so lethargic that something more than the power of argument is necessary. Presumably they would like to have their hands on some of the levers of "social power structure." But, failing that, they stand ready to take power into their own hands. That means that they will not stop short of *forcing* their minority opinion on the majority. But is the minority morally justified in using power in this way?

Law, Order, and Justice The minority seems to think it is, where the existing state of law and order is no longer a just one. Under such circumstances they feel they must strike a blow for justice. Ordinarily law and order ought to coincide with justice. The "establishment" represents a balance of social and individual forces won at the expense of much historical travail. On occasion, unfortunately, as Shakespeare put it, the times get out of joint. When law and order no longer coincide with justice, what is to be done? The older generation, usually identified with the "establishment," tend to identify with law and order at the expense of justice. The younger generation—shall we say those under thirty—tend to think that law and order should give way to the interest in justice. Not only do they think that justice takes priority over law and order, but they are very impatient about asserting it. At times their impatience mounts to intransigence. They want justice *now*.

It is an old issue, this issue between law and order on the one hand and justice on the other. You will remember it was the "establishment" in Athens which condemned Socrates to what seem to us an unjust death. He could have escaped the hemlock cup through the connivance of friends but he chose to let law and order take its course. You will also remember Sophocles' great tragedy of Antigone. There Creon, the king of Thebes, forbade Antigone to bury the body of her dead brother, Polyneices, because he had been an enemy of the City. Antigone, regarding this a harsh and unjust punishment of her brother, took power in her own hands and buried her brother in spite of the King. Creon, representing the might of the Theban "establishment," was furious at this confrontation of his power. Nevertheless Sophocles presents the gods on Olympus as well pleased with Antigone's espousal of justice at the expense of law and order.

Posterity has seen fit to praise both Socrates and Antigone, the one for conforming to law and order and the other for opposing it. Consequently, you see, it is not easy to decide whether to let law and order override justice or justice override law and order. Nor need we decide this issue here. The issue which confronts us is rather, if there is to be disobedience to law and order, what form shall it take? Let us distinguish two kinds of disobedience, violent and non-violent.

Violence and Non-Violence Non-violent disobedience has the moral advantage of appealing to one's reason rather than coercing it against one's will. Because of this elevated moral leverage civil disobedience has had a respected tradition in this country. Thoreau was one of its earliest advocates. The gentle effective pressure which non-violent disobedience exerts on one is witnessed by a story told on Thoreau. One day when he was in prison, Ralph Waldo Emerson came to visit him. Peering through the bars of the prison Emerson inquired of Thoreau, "What are you doing in there?" To which Thoreau replied, "What are you doing out there?" Although not bearing his witness in prison, Emerson too was of the opinion that it was not always necessary for good men to obey the laws too well. He too left room for some moral indignation.

More recently we have had two shining examples of non-violent resistance to the iniquities of the "establishment." One is Mahatma Gandhi in India and the other is Martin Luther King in this country. Both made their moral point by eschewing violence. However, it takes time to build up moral pressure in this fashion. Not only that but it takes courage as well. The civil disobedient must be prepared to suffer the legal penalty incurred by disobeying even the unjust laws of the "establishment." Like Thoreau in the nineteenth century, Dr. Spock and Reverend Coffin in the twentieth must be prepared to go to jail if need be to bear their witness. They will submit the way Socrates did.

But there are many in the black power movements who are impatient with the slow results of non-violence. They are appalled at the way the "establishment" sits on its hands or drags its feet. To get results, they think they must literally *shake* the "establishment" out of its moral lethargy. Hence they resort to violence. But again, is violence warranted? In continuing to pursue an answer to this recurring question we must next distinguish two different ends for which it is exercised.

Civil Disobedience and Revolution Some use violent measures to call the attention of the "establishment" to its abysmal and even callous failure to achieve ends on which there is moral consensus, that is, both majority and minority subscribe to them. Equal opportunities for Negroes

is a case in point. The Civil War was fought for this cause. Yet here we are almost a century later and much, much remains to be done. As time goes, a hundred years, it would seem, is time aplenty to rectify the gross injustices to Negroes. Yet, the whites still procrastinate. Is it small wonder that the Blacks conclude that only power, violent power, will exert the necessary leverage on them?

Others use violence, not to demonstrate for already accepted ends, but to initiate altogether new ones. This, however, is not mere civil disobedience; this is revolution. Our forefathers in revolting against Britain were not just disobedient citizens. They were rebels. At first, to be sure, they tried to protect their rights within the British colonial system as loyal British subjects. Failing to prevail on George III by force of argument, they tried to jar him with the Boston Tea Party. This bit of violence occurred while there was still hope of reminding the British crown that American colonists were also Englishmen and therefore governed by the same political principle—no taxation without representation. When minor violence failed to achieve its end, major violence was instituted at Philadelphia to change the ends from dependence on Britain to independence from her. But, as I said, when power, and military power at that, is exerted to bring about a fundamental alteration of ends, we have, not just civil disobedience, but revolution.

Obviously the power used to call attention to failure to achieve commonly accepted ends is very different from the power used to alter the ends themselves. The "establishment" must maintain law and order in both cases but it can look with greater compassion on the former than on the latter. In the former case civil disobedience is an inconvenience; in the latter it is a calamity. In the one the state must exercise some restraint, using only enough force from its arsenal to restore order. In the other, the state is under no such restraint; it can and will use unlimited power to protect its very existence. In the face of such determination, it will take courage to engage in violent disobedience just as in non-violent disobedience. Indeed, it may take much more because, while revolutionaries who succeed become heroes, those who fail may be remembered as traitors. George Washington became the father of his country; but, had the Revolution failed, he might well have suffered the same fate as Nathan Hale.

Procedural Values In exercising force to main-

tain law and order, we must constantly remind ourselves that we are primarily trying to protect procedural values rather than substantive ones. The minority must have the opportunity to work itself into a majority even on issues which go to the very heart of our social order. If we use force against disrupters, it is not to maintain a particular substantive view of the social order but rather to

guarantee the free play of the power of argument. We are not opposed to changing the substantive social order but we do insist that it be changed in a civilized way, that is, by rational argument and majority vote.

The dissociation of dissent and violence was settled long ago in the Anglo-American tradition. Thus time was when, if an Englishman was not for the king, he was against him. If he was against him, he was a traitor. As a traitor he had to flee the country for his personal safety and remain away till a new regime came to power. It was a great leap forward in English liberties—and ultimately American—when it was finally realized that a subject of the king could be against him and his policies but not against England, that there could be opposition to the king's exercise of power which was not treasonable. So today the minority party in the British parliament is referred to as "Her Majesty's loyal opposition."

In the course of time this basic right of dissent was spelled out in considerable detail in this country, as witness the Bill of Rights. Happily through judicial interpretation these liberties now include academic freedom as well. But basic to all these rights of the citizen is the notion, it must be remembered, of a *peaceful* and *orderly* resolution of dissent. For dissent to be productive, indeed, it must be conducted according to rules, that is, within a framework of law and order. If the sovereign, whether king or populace, tolerates dissent, it is on the understanding that the dissenter will not use dissent to cloak a forcible overthrow of the sovereign. The basic idea of a "loyal opposition" is that it will be orderly.

Disruptive Power When students wield disruptive power as they did at Berkeley but particularly at Columbia, what do they think they are doing? If, as at Columbia, they are demonstrating on behalf of the Harlem Negroes and against the University's collaboration in the Vietnam War, we may look on their violence as occurring within the existing framework of society. The "establishment" will have to maintain law and order but the university administration will have to be restrained in its use of the police force. But if the students are following the objectives of the Students for a Democratic Society, a different situation may obtain. The S.D.S. feels that the current "establishment" as represented by the university is utterly malapropos of the world in which we live. Yet, before it can be reformed, society itself must be radically reconstructed. As a new society is not within their immediate grasp, they seize upon the nearest thing at hand, the university, and try, not only to disrupt it, but to pull it down. The Harlem Negro and the Vietnam War are merely pretexts for the real objective.

What does all this add up to? No one seems to know for sure. Some detect

the influence of communism as at the Sorbonne. Others hear echoes of anarchism.³ Though guilty of power plays, Paul Goodman thinks the S.D.S. really does not want to substitute its own power for that of the "establishment." It rather wants to reduce everyone's power. It is confrontation with nihilism, some say, which tests what values our values really have.

A strain of this nihilism may be found in a variant of existentialism which has been ascribed to the "new left."⁴ According to this philosophy "existence precedes essence," that is, we must feel before we think or act. The kind of action most suited to unmask the "establishment" and reveal it in all its inequities is violence. And if violence is the appropriate means, to what end is it exerted? The S.D.S. as a mouthpiece of the "new left" is very vague on this point. It is conspicuous that they are vague, not by inattention, but by intention. Whereas formerly men chose means appropriate to their ends or even held with Machiavelli that the end justifies the means, the S.D.S. propounds the doctrine that the means create the end. They have to destroy before they will know what to build! This smacks of nihilism and if nihilism is what the students want, they must not be surprised if police force is called out to maintain the *status quo*.⁵

Bases of Legitimacy A word may be appropriate at this point about student government. If the students want to exert power, why don't they use this body as the lever of power they are after? Probably the reason is that this body has little or no real power of its own. Its objectives are limited and its jurisdiction is only over students. Student government has existed for decades but the contemporary student wants much more power than student government ever had. He wants "participatory" democracy, as he calls it. He wants to share in forming the curriculum; in selecting, evaluating, and promoting the faculty. He challenges parietal rules which govern his personal life but which were adopted without consulting him. This seems a modern academic application of the principle enunciated in the Declaration of Independence, that just laws derive their sanction from the consent of the governed.

Formerly the legitimacy of the power of campus rules took its origin in the fact that the university stood *in loco parentis* to its students. It made rules for students as parents did for their offspring, out of their greater maturity. But

3 Paul Goodman, "The Black Flag of Anarchism," *New York Times Magazine*, July 14, 1968, pp. 16-22.

4 Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., "America 1968: the Politics of Violence," *Harper's Magazine*, 237, August, 1968, pp. 22-23.

5 For more general considerations, see Zbigniew Brzezinski, "Revolution and Counter Revolution (But Not Necessarily about Columbia)," *The New Republic*, June 1968, pp. 23-25.

the mores have changed in the past half century. Parents no longer seem so confident of their superior wisdom. The "generation gap," once an indication of superior power on the older side of the gap, now reveals rising power on the younger side. The university's authority based in *loco parentis* thus has crumbled with parental authority. To establish a new base of legitimacy, should the university share its rule-making power with students? If the legitimacy of campus rules is to depend on the consent of the governed, then the question rises whether college students are qualified (mature enough) to share such power. This is a question of fact rather than principle and may vary in different campus situations. Only experience will tell in each case.

Inadequate as students may think student "participation" is, it still seems deplorable, if on no other basis than principle, to invoke force on the campus to enlarge its scope. The very idea of a university is intellectual. Violence is its antithesis. Indeed, there is a long tradition which has opposed sending police on the university campus. If police can be sent there to quell disorder, why can't they be sent there to quell unpopular opinion as well? Obviously no one, unless it be a Hitler, wants to run that risk. A decade ago I was teaching at the American University of Beirut in Lebanon when the Arab students there wanted to mount a public parade on behalf of some political cause. Police were sent to confine the students to the campus and prevent the parade which public authorities feared might lead to public disorder. Provoked by many taunts, a few police so far lost their heads as to invade the campus to pursue their tormentors. The next day there was a great outcry in the press of even that small far-away country against police invasion of the university campus. If police violence is unwelcome on campus, student violence is no less so and for the same reason. Violence is simply anti-intellectual and an anti-intellectual university is a contradiction in terms.

The Power to Revolt Nevertheless violence has become so much the order of the day that some students seem to think that violence is, as Rap Brown has put it, "as American as apple pie." In fact, they seem to think that they have virtually a right to use it. Surprising as it may seem, it is possible to quote some of our most revered statesmen to this effect. Thus Thomas Jefferson is on record as saying that "... a little rebellion now and then is a good thing. . ." As he saw it, occasional rebellion in political life is as much to be expected as thunder storms in nature. Abraham Lincoln even said "Whenever the people shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it or their revolutionary right to dismember and overthrow it."

There can be little doubt that a people can change their form of government

if they want to. The American Revolution attests that fact. But I would say the people have the *power* to do so, not the *right*. Revolutions and rebellions are the result of the exercise of power. But no government in office could possibly concede rebels the legal right to revolt. Lincoln himself could not do it in the case of Fort Sumter nor could Czar Nicholas do it in the case of the October Revolution. Student and black power groups thus have the *power* to disrupt but not the *right*. If they resort to power they must run the risks of its consequences. If they play with fire, they must not complain if they get burned. They must not expect amnesty for the outrage caused by their disruptive behavior. I do not deny that amnesty may be good psychological tactics with young people of basically good will but I do affirm that it cannot be expected as a matter of principle.

If student and black power groups do not have the *legal* right to use violence on behalf of what they think is just, some will probably say that they at least have the *moral* right to resist unjust laws. But what is this *moral* right? I submit that all this means is that the dissenters are so confident of the justice of their cause that they are willing to run the risks of violence to install it. But does a deep and sincere sense of justice give moral warrant to dissenters to physically force their sense of justice on others? Won't these others, with an equally lively and sincere sense of justice, claim the same moral right for themselves? The outcome of such a clash of wills can only prove which is physically stronger, not which is more just.

Any way you look at it, power is heady stuff. You've got to be careful how you use it. Most of the time it must be kept under leash. Noone states the reason for this better than the famous English jurist, Lord Acton. His well remembered words were: "All power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely." What did he mean by this pungent observation? Why does power corrupt? I suggest two reasons. First, it is so easy to use excessive force. At both Berkeley and Columbia there seems to have been well authenticated police brutality. But student power too can be excessive as in the cause of the students' despoiling President Kirk's office and their burning the irreplaceable manuscript of a professor's research.

Second, power so easily renders one arrogant, insensitive to the claims of justice. With the power of the establishment it is all too easy to "steam roller" the opposition. Faced with the power of the establishment the opposition outwardly conforms but inwardly does a "slow burn." Of course the majority must exercise its power over the minority to get on with Society's business. Nevertheless it is the possible tyranny of the majority which so easily lays it open to corruption.

Is Lord Acton saying, therefore, eschew power because it may corrupt? Not

at all. Rather is he saying "handle with care." Consequently if I were to charge students on the subject of power I would say:

1. Don't shy away from the exercise of power; it must be grasped to get the world's work done.
2. Prefer the power of argument to that of violence whenever possible. In this way you will treat others as moral agents and avoid the appearance of arrogance.
3. Remember there is at least an initial presumption that power exercised according to law is just.
4. Use violence against law and order to get justice as a last, last resort.

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Louis C. Vaccaro and James T. Covert, Editors

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Beyond its immediate value as an investigation of the current situation, the editors hope this book will offer valuable guidelines for further research and study of the academic and social milieu of today's collegian.

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Is The Academic-Administrator An Anachronism?

Lionel S. Lewis
*The State University of
New York at Buffalo*

The graphic change and unrest that have characterized American society in recent years have become so pervasive that even the sociologist cannot help but take notice of them in his analysis. Whether this sociological sensitivity is due to specially developed skills for observing social phenomena or to the facts that sociology is for the most part an academic pursuit and that the academic world has been particularly convulsed by this change and unrest cannot be easily ascertained. In any case, academic-administrators, those academic men who have taken to managing universities, are as aware as any sociologist that the American university is coming unglued.

There was a time when the academic-administrator could hope with some confidence that his reign would end naturally and peacefully: from old age, death, senility, or a budget crisis. This, of course, is no longer true, as there is now too much tumult on campus for even the most ingenuous academic-administrator to anticipate natural obsolescence. It is not surprising that institutions whose fundamental mission (research and teaching) is productive of change should be particularly beset at a time when so many in the country are questioning the very foundation of social order, the distribution of power and authority.

Campus unrest is usually diagnosed as a morbid condition of a slightly unhinged society that has fostered young anarchists, nihilists, artless idealists, embittered blacks, and syndicalists who have been unable or unwilling to leap the generation gap into suburbia. Disorder on campus can be seen as mostly a reflection of disorder in society, and those academic-administrators who are precipitously and dramatically sacrificed can be seen, for the most part, as victims of circumstance—sort of modern day Neville Chamberlains. Yet, this is not the total picture. Granted that Clark Kerr might still be craftily evading the reality of his 21st Century Babel and that Grayson Kirk might have ended his suzerainty

Professor Lewis, who teaches sociology at Buffalo, judges academic-administrative talent to be—for good and sufficient reasons—generally poor. To solve the administrative problem, he says, universities will have to be fundamentally restructured. When that happens, there are likely to be two possibilities: that professional administrators replace the present-day academics; or (one Dr. Lewis much prefers) that the scholars and scientists on the faculty delegate the administrative job to salaried assistants. The proposal made here is daring; but it is made with an image of democratic community in mind. We recommend it to all who are concerned with the campus crisis—and those interested in finding models for democracy.

in a more elegant fashion if social conditions in the country had not impinged upon the university, who would deny, nevertheless, that elements within universities have contributed to student discontent? It is *au courant* to point to careerism and moral corruption on the part of the faculty and intransigence and concern with bureaucratic detail on the part of the administration when specifying the conditions within academic institutions which make students unhappy and restive. Much has been written about these conditions, and some have even tried to explain why professors are what they are said to be—the most frequent constructions being early impoverishment, mild dementia, and/or inadequate socialization. However, too little attention has been given to understanding why the response of university administrations to what students feel are their needs and rights has been so clumsy. And the criticism that one does find of academic-administrators is usually wide of the mark.

Conventional Wisdom It is not infrequently heard, for example, that academic-administrators lack intelligence. The fact that they are where they are seems sufficient evidence to reject such a generalization. Any investigation of the subject would probably reveal that for the most part they have active minds and are abreast of national and foreign affairs, the world of letters and arts, etc. When they are not administering, they are likely busy absorbing a wide assortment of knowledge which they feel will help them do this well. Even when there is little time to read a book review, let alone a book, there is always time to talk to someone who might have.

All of this cerebral ingestion, combined with active managing, however, has not helped, and may have precluded academic-administrators from cultivating the facility for critical thinking. Some may have little time for this, some may lack the inclination or patience to acquire the facility, or some may be too much the men of action to see this as a problem. Kingman Brewster's observation that "I get more stimulation by talking to people than by retreating to the library—it's out of the hurly-burly that I get my ideas" is the view of many academic-administrators.

Academic-administrators may know a great deal, but it would appear from some of their actions and statements that they have not given much thought to what they know. Three examples: While academic-administrators attest to the need for adequate facilities to produce a well-educated public, academic-administrators throughout the country over-burden their campuses with a wide assortment of nonacademic activities such as facilitating vocational recruitment for business and government, explained by one university president as having "a large educational component." While academic-administrators call for the national goal of excellence, academic-administrators throughout the country

develop and support educational programs that cultivate a uniform mediocrity. While academic-administrators deplore the lack of competent and dedicated faculty, academic-administrators throughout the country dissipate a disproportionate amount of their limited resources pursuing and catering to a handful of celebrated, and sometimes aged, scholars, non-scholars, and scientists. The ideas that academic-administrators have to offer the university, and the nation, may be full of erudition, but they are empty of reflection. Although in the past few years the clichés of the academic-administrator have taken on a liberal cant, they are still only a recitation of conventional wisdom. Thus, in 1966 a university chancellor was able to offer this foolish celebration of the Great Society to an assemblage of the Association for Higher Education: "This [the disbelief that poverty exists in America] is at least in part because no other organized society in the history of the world has so effectively overcome poverty as has the United States. We earn more, possess more, consume more, and live better than any other people on earth."

Job Definition The primary function of all administrators is to coordinate work activities in organizations to assure a high degree of effectiveness. There is no way, however, of organizing either of the two essential tasks of university faculty—research and teaching—in order to maximize success. Much research is an individual endeavor, not subject to extraneous control; for that research carried out by teams, outside direction can help increase input, but has not been shown to have much impact on output. The activity of teaching itself cannot be regulated, and all that can be done with reference to it is to make sure that there is a wide selection of courses available to the student, that these are not all offered at the same hour, and that there are well-ventilated classrooms, with ample seats, blackboard space, chalk, and other teaching aids, so that distractions are minimized. Yet, even these simple requirements are often not fulfilled. Perhaps the acid remark that "the principal function of a university administration is to cut the grass" would be heard less often if academic-administrators could show that they were able to carry out basic responsibilities capably.

Academic-administrators, then, have only to provide faculty with space and equipment to enable them to pursue their activities. Although these are sometimes inadequate, studies have shown that the morale of at least half of the faculty is moderately good, and one is obliged to give academic-administrators passing marks for their service to faculty.

On the other hand, academic-administrators must also satisfy the needs of students; they must order campus life so that the greatest amount of learning can take place. Since few would dispute the contention that not as much educa-

tion occurs during the undergraduate years as ideally might, academic-administrators cannot be judged as successful with regard to students. This is not to say that they alone are to blame for the paucity of learning that takes place in universities; surely faculty have done as much and probably more to bring about this depressing condition. Yet, if one were to hold faculty totally responsible for this, then one would also be obliged to accept the tenet that academic-administrators should not have authority; it would make little sense to confer this on individuals for control, which they do not and cannot have, over a process which occurs only sporadically. Like many faculty, academic-administrators do not appear to be overly concerned about what goes on in the classroom. Last year, when asked about the preparation of teaching assistants, an associate dean of a graduate school replied indifferently, "You say a few prayers."

Needs Unmet Some academic-administrators, and some others, are of the opinion that universities should provide more than formal and scholarly learning to students, that they are doing this, and that universities are consequently meeting their obligations. First, it is doubtful whether universities should take on these additional activities, particularly in light of the fact that they have had such poor results in attempting more basic duties. Second, they are probably failing here too. Given the low morale of students as manifested in what has been called discontent, defiance, and insurrection on innumerable campuses in recent years, it would be difficult to make a case for administrative accomplishment. Further, the standard measure of low morale is high turnover, and in spite of sanguine interpretations of statistics showing that many university dropouts eventually return to school, an alarming number of students do disrupt their program of studies. In addition, the finding of Professor Philip Jacob, after reviewing a massive number of research reports, that the long-range effects of higher education on students' values is almost nil, should be considered here. At most, university education is preparing a small proportion of young adults to fit into a ready-made, but far from perfect, society. This is a dubious achievement. In sum, academic-administrators really have little to do and, although they spend a good deal of time at it, they do it rather poorly.

It might be argued that the reason academic-administrators frequently flounder is that they are not trained as managers. This is a valid point. As a corollary, it is thought that it is really a blessing on two counts: universities do not become overly organized, and an arrangement exists whereby scholars and scientists are in influential positions to guard the interests of other scholars and scientists. Both of these propositions are probably false.

Bureaucratization That there is less bureaucracy in universities than in other organizations is due to the nature of its functions, not its leadership. It would not be an easy matter for anyone to establish hierarchical control over the actual process of teaching and research. Where it has been possible to introduce routine, this has been done. Students must attend so many lectures a week for so many weeks for so many courses so that they may earn a certain grade point average to graduate. If they wish exemption from this standard, they can petition by filling out a form, obtaining the required signatures, and submitting it to an invisible committee. Faculty must also make so many appearances in the classroom, must teach a uniform number of courses, and are expected to give some distribution of grades. In addition, they must generally have an appointment well in advance to see a higher administrative official, can rarely induce the university to provide extraordinary equipment or facilities that might be necessary for a teaching or research program and must practically undergo trial by ordeal in order to obtain even the smallest sum of money needed to conclude some research. Pre-recorded televised lectures and scheduled reports demonstrating progress in research are the most recent innovations in the bureaucratization of universities.

Muddling Through It is foolish to believe that academic-administrators, because they have an academic background, are useful in protecting scholarship and science. If this were the case, then faculty-administrative relations would be more equitable than they are at present. There would be no violations of academic freedom, nor would there be such a large disparity between administrative and faculty reward and privilege. In recent years, the condition of faculty has improved, but this has been mostly due to a labor shortage rather than to administrative solicitude. That this progress is but a surface condition was exemplified last year when the president of a state university explained his infringement on a faculty member's academic freedom, the denial of tenure after a letter of intent to grant this had been sent, as an act of "academic responsibility." (It would really be surprising if those who open up their campuses to the munitions industry, espionage agents, and political propagandists of both the right and left could grasp the meaning of either academic freedom or academic responsibility.) Many academic-administrators were not faculty members long enough or have been administrators for so many years that they have never known or have forgotten the faculty point of view, which, among other things, does not embrace the notion that institutional needs take precedence over those of the individual.

Thus, the "muddling through" that is the mark of university decision making is not a cute idiosyncrasy or a small price that must be paid for democratic

rule, but a cover-up for administrative ineptitude, duplicity, ambivalence, or fear, which result from a lack of executive ability. The incompetence of one administration was highlighted this past Fall when in a university which boasts a president, four presidential assistants and two advisors, an executive vice-president with two assistants, seven other vice-presidents, a score of provosts and deans, and an assortment of directors and coordinators, several large departments were in the process of removal to a partially constructed "interim campus," where there were not even telephone facilities, during registration and the first week of school. Needless to say, the semester began with some confusion.

The Need of the Universities Universities undoubtedly need someone to lead and guide them. Yet, it is not primarily administrative leadership, but intellectual leadership, that is needed. This would require that present-day administrators be completely removed. Those now managing universities are too highly trained in other areas to perform the clerical functions that would still demand attention. On the other hand, they have not shown the capacity to think and do not have the scholarly accomplishment to provide an appropriate and acceptable example and inspiration to younger or more moderately endowed academics. Although in recent years there have been a number of exceptions like Columbia's Jacques Barzun, Chicago's George Beadle, or Stonybrook's Bentley Glass, academic-administrators are at best competent in their field of study. If they had been making significant, or even insignificant, contributions to scholarship or science, most perhaps would have continued in these fruitful pursuits and would not have readily opted for positions of power. And if they had had the ability of original thought, the institutions in which they have been conducting affairs might have attempted to follow new directions, reducing the emphasis on vocational training, applied research, continuing education programs, and other services for commercial interests, who can well afford to provide these for themselves. Is there a need for any university to expend effort to offer instruction in "Retail Merchandise and Management," "Introduction to Supervisory Skills," "Seminar for Widows and Divorcees," or even "Advanced Municipal Accounting," to use examples from the current continuing education listing of one large state university? Through only the most Byzantine reasoning could it be maintained that the teaching of such subjects contributes to the public welfare. On the other hand, the public welfare would be served if those business and governmental organizations which most directly benefited from the teaching of such courses were responsible for providing them. Now one dean's despairing explanation for all of this that "teaching the young to be intelligent, imaginative persons of high

character is simply not a high priority among our national goals any longer," is unhappily valid. But do he and his colleagues realize the significant role they have played in bringing this about? And how many of them readily assume that this is how it must or should be?

There are some who contend that the faculty need more than scholarly models, that they are incapable of handling their own affairs, such as recruiting and promoting colleagues or developing curricula, and, in fact, require some structure to contain their impulsiveness, guile, and petulance. If the faculty cannot manage their affairs, it might be because they lack experience in doing so. Many times apathy about such matters on the part of faculty has resulted from years of disappointment and frustration at trying to sensibly affect their own affairs. Paternalism, whether practiced by racists, colonialists, or university royalists, seems only an implausible explanation to dignify existing conditions.

Prospects The poor quality of academic-administrative talent can be traced to the process of selection. Those reaching the pinnacle of authority arrive there by being deemed capable by those who make such recommendations, i.e., those already there. The surest way to be judged fit for a high administrative position is to carry out secondary administrative and committee assignments with enough fanfare to gain wide recognition. High visibility and some resemblance to those in high positions, then, are necessary conditions for moving up the administrative ladder. This helps promote the advancement of the faithful, the person with long service, and the sycophant. These, of course, are the same attributes sometimes necessary for recognition in large business organizations. In businesses, which aim for a tight-knit structure, the detrimental effects of a gerontocracy and favoritism may be minimal; in universities, which presumably attempt to create a milieu in which contemplation, imagination and creativity will thrive, this condition is wicked.

From years of deprivation, deference, and habit, faculty seem fairly well adjusted to the distribution of authority in universities. Many are aware that languor in research and publication, which might be penalized under an administration of scholars or scientists, is not a distinct disadvantage under present conditions, and may even be rewarded if enough time (that should be spent in the library or laboratory) is devoted to exaggerated compliments, social amenities, and gratuitous entertainment. In fact, only dedicated scholars and scientists who are not exhibitionists may be neglected or undervalued by institutions as they are now managed.

To correct the problem of leadership in universities, it will first be necessary to change their organization. Given the fact that structures of any institution are not easily modified, university reform may have to wait for more oppor-

tune times. Further, one cannot overlook a more basic consideration that, after almost 110 years since Yale University awarded the first Doctor of Philosophy degree in this country, everyone in the university does not yet understand its social function: the refinement of human sensibilities through discovery (research) and transmission (teaching) of that which is true, good, and beautiful. If they did, universities would not be offering instruction and degrees in what is euphemistically called management science, which is mainly a program to train experts in human manipulation to manage and give expert advice to organizations so that they might lull their employees, their constituents, or the public into believing that what is, must be and what is not, cannot be.

It is likely, nonetheless, that change will come, as there is a real possibility that Americans will lose interest in supporting institutions in which there appears to be an inverse relationship between building and expansion programs and the concern with education. Surely numerous suggestions for improvement will be forthcoming. If the advice of persons who advocate tightly organized bureaucracies is followed, then universities will have to turn to professional administrators. If persons who favor the collegial principle have their way, then scholars and scientists can delegate administrative tasks to salaried assistants. Since this alternative would increase the possibility that those who are engaged in cultivating qualities of the mind which would promote a more decent, humane, and liveable world would be successful, it seems to offer the most promise. As no one would be in the ascendancy, it would also make it less likely that anyone would use the university to further special interests, whether they were of labor or business, black or white, those in power or those out of power, liberal or conservative, radical or reactionary. If the concerns of university administrators were narrowly defined and non-academic, if leadership on campus were a function of academic qualification, and if the force of power were moral persuasion, higher learning might approach a millennium, and America's future leaders would have been part of a democracy upon which they would be able to model other institutions. Faculty, students, and the citizenry must continually work for such a community. It will not be attained easily, as many from both inside and outside the university see it as only a utopian dream. In dismissing such an idea, one highly-placed academic-administrator wrote in 1967 that what is referred to as the company of equals "is, in fact, more likely an apathetic pseudo-democracy dominated by a few responsible individuals discussing trivial issues endlessly." Such derision will not miraculously vanish, and can only be neutralized by success in collegiality.

All things considered, the blending of the academic and the administrator has produced a hybrid which has been of little use to the university, and society, and which may pass away as surely as the Minotaur or, more accurately, the satyr.

Exploiting Existential Tension in the Classroom

Waltraut J. Stein
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As a philosopher thrust into a college classroom, I find myself forced to reflect on the educational process—its methods and goals. I would like to ask you to reflect with me on some aspects of being human that I have been attempting to enunciate in the context of European phenomenology and existentialism¹ and what these ideas can mean for educational theory and practice.

It seems to me that the human position is basically paradoxical. By "human position" I mean man's relation to the world or the situation, including his relation to his fellow men. One dimension of this paradox, which I would like to call "cosmopathy," appears as one realizes that a person always finds himself in some mood or other in relation to the world he perceives, which relation places him in immediate contact with the world. I conceive of a mood as an "attunement" between the feeling tone in oneself and the tone of the world to which one is sensitive. For instance, when one feels "low," the tone of the world is also "low." Since the tone in oneself is seldom in perfect harmony with the tone of the world, human expression can be viewed as the attempt to increase this harmony. The central argument here is that feeling, understood as mood, and perceiving, in which the model is seeing, are *co-primordial* in conceiving of man's relation to the world. This contention is in contrast with the view of Edmund Husserl, whom I interpret as taking perceiving to be primary. It is also in contrast with the view of Martin Heidegger who takes feeling or *Befindlichkeit* as primary. My view is that if one did not see or perceive, the world would not appear, and, if one did not feel at least alive, he himself would not appear as the subject of experience. Thus both kinds of experiencing are required for us to speak meaningfully of man's immediate relation to the world, of his cosmopathic position.

1 "Cosmopathy and Interpersonal Relations," to be published in Joseph Smith, Ed., *Phenomenology in Perspective*. Publisher to be announced.

Man, writes Professor Stein, is at once in contact with the world and other people and "outside" or beyond them, reflective and alone. Struggling with his paradoxical position, he experiences an inevitable and fruitful tension. Dr. Stein is concerned with ways of using this tension in the classroom—to help students grasp and advance their heritage, each in his own way. This article is based on a paper presented to the Southeastern Region of the Philosophy of Education Society in February 1968.

Reading the World However, as I continue to reflect on the human position, I find myself compelled to acknowledge another dimension, which I would like to call "extra-cosmopathy." It appears that there is a great deal of dis-harmony, not only between man and man, but also between man's grasp of his total situation and what this situation actually is. For instance, I frequently find my best-laid plans going awry simply because I did not "read" the world correctly. At the same time, the very fact that I am in a position to "read" the world at all, to reflect on my situation and to plan to affect it, indicates that I am outside of or beyond this situation and that the human position is not entirely one of immediate involvement. My conclusion, thus, is that man is not only subject to his situation and determined by his immediate, unreflective involvement in it, but that he is also simultaneously beyond this situation in a position to reflect on it and to control it or at least to affect it.

You will recall that Archimedes believed that if there were a place for him to stand *outside of* the earth, he could move it. To do so, I think that he also realized that he would have to make contact with the earth from this position outside of it, to place himself in touch with it at the same time as he assumed a distance from it. My contention is that the human position is metaphysically actually much like the physical position Archimedes envisioned. Man is both in the world in cosmopathic contact with it at the same time as he is outside of or beyond the world in a position of extra-cosmopathy.

This paradoxical position becomes particularly clear in the case of interpersonal relations. People are together, grasp one another as persons, sympathize and empathize with one another, in spite of some philosophers' endless disputes over the existence of other minds. At the same time, however, people do not understand one another completely and often feel frustrated in their attempts to communicate with one another. This indicates, it seems to me, that each man is both inescapably bound to his fellow men in a social milieu and at the same time isolated from them: in some respects he stands uniquely beyond all human contact in metaphysical isolation.

In summary, then, I would like to suggest that the human position is the paradoxical one of being simultaneously in the world and beyond it in the modalities of being absorbed in a situation and reflective, bound and free, with others and alone. The recognition of the full phenomenon of being human involves the recognition of this paradoxical position.

Existential Tension Now, if the above view has any merit in it, one can see that there is a tension involved in being human as man struggles to come to terms with his paradoxical position. I would like to call

this "existential tension." Further, if this paradoxical position is inherent to being human, it is also clear that existential tension cannot be eliminated. However, it can doubtless be denied or deadened so that to all intents and purposes the person is asleep, leading the zombie existence of a sleep walker. I am thinking of the person who passively does as he is told, absorbs all facts indiscriminately like a blotter, and never permits himself to be alone so that he could become aware of his isolation. Yet, once one recognizes the tension of existence, I believe that there is also a way of affirming this tension or of exploiting it that can facilitate the active setting and realization of human goals, including educational ones. It is this attitude toward the human position that I would like to explore with you a little further.

Why do I talk of "exploiting" existential tension? Because in the case of education at least, I agree with John Dewey that learning really takes place when there is a problem to be solved or a tension that demands relief. Thus he who can create an environment that involves tension but not paralyzing anxiety or fear can use the human position itself to advance the educational process.

What could be the goal of such a process? The answer to this, of course, involves a value commitment. At this point in my career and in the light of the conception of the human position I have been developing, I would suggest the following: the goal of any educational process is to equip the educated person with the means of realizing his own goals in the context of his cultural heritage in a way that at the same time creatively advances this heritage. The educated person, while often willing and able to adapt himself to the situation within which he finds himself, is also in a position to adapt the situation to himself when he deems it necessary, to revise his culture, and so to advance it. More specifically, the teacher's task is to confront the student with his heritage, give him the tools for grasping it, and, finally, give him the tools for advancing it creatively. And, as the teacher is aware of her student's extra-cosmopathic position, she recognizes that her duty is also to lead him into awareness of his own uniqueness so that he may set his own peculiar goals in the light of his needs, abilities, and particular situation. She must let him find a way to "move the world" at the same time as he enhances, rather than loses, himself. When the teacher is successful, the student becomes aware of the world into which he has been born and of his own paradoxical position in relation to it, finding that he can use the energy of this existential tension to create a style of life that is meaningful and satisfactory to himself and others.

Creating Classroom Climates

paper, I would like to elaborate somewhat on the general statements just made

and to suggest how a teacher can create a climate of useful existential tension in her classroom. These are intended as general suggestions in regard to attitude and not as specific techniques.

1. The first tension to be maintained, particularly in the student, is the tension of receptivity and activity in relation to the teacher and the subject matter. The student must be receptive to the teacher's presentation of the subject matter and be willing to learn from her. At the same time, he must engage in an active, critical dialogue with the textbook, the teacher, and with his fellow students. This means that the student must trust his teacher to present him with his heritage and yet be ready to challenge both the presentation and the heritage. Borrowing a term from Gabriel Marcel, this climate may be called one of "active receptivity" on the part of the student. It requires that the teacher present herself an authority who is usually reliable, and yet as an authority who is fallible and not final. The textbook should be taken in the same way so that at the end of the course the student feels that he has learned something at the same time as he realizes that there is still much that he himself either does not know or that has not yet been said about the subject.

2. This leads to the second attitude that the teacher can foster both in herself and in her students, which may be called an attitude of insecure openness. Both teacher and student should try to remember that no one has "all the answers" and yet recognize that there are some provisional answers that can be understood and that can provide a basis for action. He who is dogmatically sure that he knows closes the door to further inquiry. The door of inquiry is similarly closed to him who is skeptically certain that there is nothing that can really be known. These are both secure and comfortable positions that continually tempt the teacher and her students. To forge a path between these positions can provide the teacher with a real challenge. On such a path one both believes that one does not yet have the knowledge one desires and also that such knowledge is attainable. For he who lacks the security either of being sure he knows or of being sure that knowledge is impossible is in an insecure position in which learning relevant to his life can take place. The teacher should permit some closure, provide the student with the provisional answers she herself has found, and at the same time she should make him yearn for better answers as he remains awake to carry on his heritage of the love of wisdom or truth with its accompanying belief that truth is attainable. Nietzsche may have had a college classroom in mind when he said, "Blessed are the sleepy ones, for they shall soon drop off." The teacher's task is to stay awake herself along with her students and to remain genuinely alive with them to the challenges presented by their respective human positions.

3. The teacher should try to earn the trust of her students at the same time as she presents herself as a fallible person who has some "knowledge of the way" but would like to have more. At times a teacher may find it useful to foster awe toward herself or a certain charisma, but when this is done, there is always the danger that students will become dependent on her and cease to learn when separated from her. Fear of failing grades, of displeasing the teacher, of being ridiculed by one's fellow students probably do more to hinder learning by distracting from the value of the subject matter and by emotionally paralyzing the student. Just as a deer caught in the headlights of a car is paralyzed with fear and cannot act rationally or think straight, so a student imbued with fear of the classroom situation may panic and find that his mind "goes blank." Of course, this only occurs in extreme cases. Usually a student caught in such a situation simply mimics his teacher, presenting her with an inferior image of herself. Though I do not want to deny that memory work is at times necessary, even if at the time the student does not completely understand what he is memorizing, this should not be the central educational vehicle. The student is different from the teacher, I have been maintaining, standing in an extra-cosmopathic position in negative relation to her, so that an attempt to become her must always produce an inferior product. If one had a standard mold and standard materials in a classroom, as one does in a factory, one could produce a line of standard products. But precisely the exciting thing about being human and of dealing with human beings, is that one has no such final standard and that one's material varies infinitely. There are many possible good products, none of which is or can be a duplicate of any other.

This means, once more, that the teacher must respect her students as unique beings with interests and needs that are not hers. Such respect requires not only respect for their intelligence and for their view of the world, but also an honesty with them in the belief that they are willing to collaborate in the educational process, once they understand it. Of course, the teacher must attempt to assess the state of knowledge or ignorance of her students when they enter her class. But she must do more than this: at the same time as she wants them to trust her for guidance, she wants them to guide themselves, for each person to really find *his own* unique position in the world. This, it seems to me, is the central existential tension that a teacher must exploit if the cultural heritage is both to be assimilated and advanced. When Nietzsche's followers asked him, "How can we become your disciples?" he replied, "Follow you, not me." At the proper moment the teacher must be willing to let her students go. I would like to indicate a more specific technique for doing this very briefly here. In my introductory ethics class, I ask the students to review their written work periodically in an attempt to make explicit who they are in response to the sub-

ject matter as well as to determine the direction of their thinking and their lives. It is hoped that this periodic "recollection," to use another of Marcel's terms, will permit them to recognize their own extra-cosmopathic position and to distinguish themselves from the teacher and the text. The response of the students to this technique was at first mixed, partly, I believe, because this kind of recollection is most difficult and strange to many of them, so that they do not clearly understand what is expected; and possibly it is somewhat of an invasion of their privacy. However, by the end of the course almost all the students acknowledged that these attempts had proved valuable to them.

4. I would like to suggest one final way in which a teacher can exploit existential tension in her classroom when she is particularly interested in developing her students' creativity. On the one hand, she can foster an atmosphere of freedom to explore varied possibilities, to let oneself go, to give free reign to pre-conscious processes, to use one's imagination. She can accept all of her exploring students' more or less random products. On the other hand, she can demand discipline and guide her students into gaining control over the products of their unstructured explorations. By discipline, I mean that the teacher can provide her students with tools for putting their imaginative products into a form that is coherent and beautiful. These tools may be linguistic or mathematical, as well as the tools of the traditional arts. Part of this attempt at discipline also involves communicating to students that learning is not always fun and games, that it is often hard work that one must force oneself to undertake, and that things worthwhile are sometimes as difficult as they are rare. To be genuinely creative, one must, first of all, have a sensitive grasp of the total human situation in which one finds oneself and be able to see some of the possibilities in it. It is from this that one selects the subject matter of creation. Secondly, one must have a vision of an ideal that appears to be realizable. Finally, one requires the tools and the training for molding the selected subject matter to conform to one's ideal. Thus it is clear that mastering subject matter is necessary for having something to mold, that free exploration is necessary for determining possibilities and for establishing the ideal, and that discipline is necessary for molding the subject matter. A tension arises because these steps can seldom be undertaken consecutively or alternatively; rather, one must keep them all in mind in every teaching situation, though one phase or the other usually predominates. It is, of course, quite clear to me that every student does not have the intelligence, inspiration, or skill to be a great creator; yet it is equally clear to me that any person can increase his mastery over his own life and mold it into something more satisfactory when the potentialities he has for doing so are nurtured rather than suppressed.

Towards Collaboration When the attempt is made to foster the emotional climate suggested here, I think that the student and teacher can begin to define their respective roles in the educational process, about which definition there presently seems to be some confusion, particularly on college campuses. The classroom situation that I have been prescribing is neither an authoritarian nor a democratic one. Rather, it is one in which students and teacher are attempting to collaborate in a task in which both must be willing to change, though the explicit goal of the task is change in the student. The tension involved is not the tension of a power struggle in which the contest is to see whether the student or the teacher wins. Rather, it is the tension of becoming oneself in a world that is sometimes recalcitrant to one's efforts. Yet even more than this, it is the tension involved in exploring the world, understanding it as thoroughly as one can, and then of finding one's proper position in relation to it. Finally, it is the tension of staying constantly awake and of refusing to close the doors entirely to further exploration and discovery. When a teacher and her students become aware of what they are struggling about, they can enter into a genuine collaborative effort to attain these goals, and, like Socrates, direct their efforts at finding the truth.

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An Introduction

By **WILLIAM WIERSMA**, *University of Toledo*

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Strangers and Rebels: The Demands of Dissent

In this springtime of discontents, student protests are proliferating on all sides. Picket lines, sit-ins, demonstrations are daily occurrences; high school students, too, have been caught up in the surge of dissent. We have passed the point of surprise, the moment of shock. We know now that anything is possible among our young people; we are beginning to believe, with Margaret Mead,¹ that it is the adult who is the stranger in the new technological world. ("All of us," she says, "who grew up before the war are immigrants in time, immigrants from an earlier world...") We know that the "voluntary compliance" of which Horace Mann spoke,² the "voluntary compliance with the laws of reason and duty" which was to be made possible by the schools, is no longer accepted by young people as "the highest point of excellence attainable by a human being." This is because those "laws," which older generations consider

"given" and unarguable, are now scorned by the young as nothing more than received ideas. And it may well be, as Dr. Mead points out, that the traditional principles by which we who are teachers and parents have lived are truly nothing more than "outmoded forms," irrelevant in the altered world. The customary duties and the customary appeals no longer move the restless young. Yet their elders are still required to communicate with them, to teach them, to stimulate them to learn.

Outside the field of education, more and more people are becoming prey to fantasies because of what they hear and read. Listening to expressed fears of disorder and violence, we are reminded of some of the 19th century school reformers, who nourished a similar dread. The Boston schoolmasters who attacked Horace Mann for his desire to motivate by appealing to pupil interest put their primary stress on obedience to "rightful authority." The person who allowed deviations from obedience, they said, was a "disorganizer... weakening and dissolving the primal bond of civil society; and sapping the foundations of social order."³ But Mann, too, shared many of their visions: "They who refuse,"

1 Address presented to Teachers College Annual Alumni Dinner in February, 1969, and, as the 5th Man and Nature Lecture at the American Museum of Natural History, reported in *The New York Times*, March 16, 1969.

2 Ninth Annual Report (1845), in L. A. Cremin, Ed., *The Republic and the School*.

3 Quoted in Michael B. Katz, *The Irony of Early School Reform*. Harvard University Press, 1968, p. 143.

he wrote, "to train up children in the way they should go, are training up incendiaries and madmen to destroy property and life, and to invade and pollute the sanctuaries of society!"⁴ Ironically enough, these were used as arguments for properly administered common schools. Today, with an educational ladder second to none in the world, members of the public think they see the foundations being sapped and "incendiaries and madmen" roaming college corridors and blocking high school doors. Educators, it seems to us, now face an additional obligation: to counter irrational fears; to make sense.

We need to take stock, to clarify our own perspectives, to order and continue ordering the confused and churning "field." We need to and we can make distinctions, to discern positions and points of view. The problem is to discover a way of dealing cognitively, sensitively, and courageously with what is becoming a many-faceted social phenomenon as well as a particularly dramatic generational revolt. It is fruitless, we think, to talk about "conspiracy," or simply to blame what is happening on the permissiveness with which the "Spock generation" was reared, or to explain the unrest in psychopathological terms. Charles Frankel, in *Education and the Barricades*,⁵ says that the crisis on the campuses is the reflection "in a peculiarly sensitive mirror, of the larger crisis affecting American society." He goes on:

But certain things are plain. Plainest of all is the fact that in discuss-

ing university difficulties and university reform we are not discussing only higher education. The principles at issue affect the citizen's relation to government, the fundamental social experiences of subordination and super-ordination, and the very spirit and quality of personal relations.

Like Richard Goodwin, writing in *The New Yorker*,⁶ Frankel may have the "public unhappiness" in mind, the unhappiness Goodwin characterizes as rooted "in the malaise of powerlessness which has eaten its way into our society, evoking an aimless unease, frustration, fury..." In any case, it seems clear that the student revolt, whatever form it takes, cannot be understood in isolation from society's pervasive discontents.

This, however, need not exclude other approaches. Diana Trilling suggests, in her illuminating account of the crisis at Columbia University,⁷ the possibility of holding two ideas in mind simultaneously (like, for example, condemnation of a police action and disapproval of New Left obscenities). Sometimes the two ideas may appear to be contradictories, but even so the effort must be made. This is also the case with explanatory hypotheses which select out different components of a complicated situation. Dr. Mead's and Dr. Frankel's hypotheses do not cancel each other out; nor does the use of both make others untenable.

An interesting one has been presented by Joseph J. Schwab, in *College Curriculum and Student Pro-*

4 Mann, Tenth Annual Report (1846), in *The Republic and the School*.

5 W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1968.

6 "Sources of the Public Unhappiness," January 4, 1969.

7 "On the Steps of Low Library," *Commentary*, November 1968.

test,⁸ which attributes much of current student protest to the insufficiencies of the education young people have received, and to curricular neglect. Using a medical model, Dr. Schwab presents a series of diagnoses ("a poverty of models"; "privations of competence"; the fact that students are "starved of community"), an examination of curricular resources, and a set of prescriptions centering around "scope for recovery of meaning and relation, for education of perception and sensibility, in materials traditional to the traditional fields of learning." Concerned with the significance of inquiry, deliberation, and informed choosing, Dr. Schwab proposes a reordering of the teaching functions of the college and a reformulation of faculty roles with respect to them. He comes to a conclusion very like Dr. Frankel's discussion of "The Relevant University," in that he too appears to believe that a university "represents an act of faith, in which the society joins, that such things as intellectual discipline, mastery of fact, and refinement of taste are social instruments, resources that can be used to improve the human condition." The strength of the Schwab book, it seems to us, lies in its specific and often suggestive critique of college teaching and curricula. The Frankel book, brief as it is (and critical as it is of New Left "force and violence"), directs attention to the problem of communication among the diverse groups on campuses. Both books strike us as singularly optimistic; since both, basically, present student unrest as a response to poor educa-

tion and archaic planning or structuring. Neither one deals with the momentousness of the "gap" described by Margaret Mead. Neither one confronts the possibility that young people (poorly taught though they may have been) see both school and society with new eyes and have (in Mead's words) no "wise men to turn to" as they seek their still uncharted world.

We believe that, if we are to communicate effectively with the young, if we are to counteract the rising dread, we need to work for a new kind of wisdom. We have in mind the kind of wisdom which springs from self-confrontation and which is nurtured in heightened consciousness, in "care." Recognizing full well the need to rethink (probably in Schwab's terms) the nature of teaching and learning, we believe that it is necessary first of all to choose ourselves—as elders, teachers, strangers in an unfamiliar land.

Huston Smith, writing in Phi Beta Kappa's *The Key Reporter*,⁹ detects changes on the campus which render it alien to him; but he understands that "conflict is often the only way to break through the backward pull of the outgrown good." He attributes what is happening to the increased maturity and the richer experience of today's students, compared with those in the past. He notes the centrality of higher education in society today, the traumatic effects of the "black power movement," the prevalent "moral outrage" at what we are doing in Vietnam. And he talks about the available energy and resources in our country,

8 The University of Chicago Press, 1969.

9 "Like It Is: The University Today," Winter, 1968-69.

the growing capacity to solve whatever problems we choose to solve, and the terrible inequities and sufferings which persist.

We expect youth to be idealistic, but never has its idealism had such grounds for impatience, for never has the gulf between possible and actual been so great. So what previously passed for inability to improve the social order has come to look like unwillingness, an unwillingness anchored, in last resort, in the establishment's determination to hold onto privilege and power. So we go to the moon because this pumps public money into the industrial complex and scrap our poverty program which doesn't; this, at least, is how many students see it. Whether the fault lies with individuals or institutions seems secondary; one or the other badly needs changing.

This suggests to us the kind of wisdom educators need today. Professor Smith says the issue "is not educationally procedural, it is socially substantive." He also points out that our students "are forcing us to face the fundamental issue of how we can get the America we want." We think that we must face that issue wisely and authentically if our students are to believe we are in good faith. Only when we are in good faith, when we give up our apathy, our self-interest, our indifference, are we likely to be effective in instituting the kinds of reforms Joseph Schwab prescribes. Many of us need to keep reminding ourselves that students, not members of faculties, raised the issue of racial segregation in public places, challenged university involvement in war research,

raised questions about institutional responsibility to surrounding communities. Too many of us were leading what Camus described as "a mechanical life,"¹⁰ a life devoid of "consciousness." Others of us were functioning as what Noam Chomsky calls the "new mandarins,"¹¹ lending our abilities to high-level policy-making without regard for moral consequences, without concern for the young who had come to us to learn. It is because of our indifference and (too frequently) our complacency that young people feel they "have no wise men to turn to"; and it is these which must be counteracted if we are to become wise enough to make sense—and courageous enough to withstand regressive and repressive public fears.

We are not recommending a shift to a New Left position by those educators who are beginning to experience the "weariness tinged with amazement" which, according to Camus, comes at the end of a mechanical life. We are suggesting something far more difficult: an honest confrontation of our possibilities and our limitations as *individuals* free to choose ourselves. This not only means that we no longer take refuge behind our titles, our appointments, and the "humanist ethic" presumably implicit in what we do. It means a recognition that we, as elders and strangers, must continue to make particular choices in the historic situation in which we live and *act* upon the commitments we have made. To be conscious is to continue becoming. To consider oneself as fully defined,

10 *The Myth of Sisyphus*, Alfred A. Knopf, 1954.

11 *American Power and the New Mandarins*, Pantheon Books, 1969.

to treat oneself as a fine, righteous person because, say, one decided years before to take up teaching as a career, is to accede to a kind of death. It is to excuse oneself from taking positions on particular issues. It is, at length, to lack reflectiveness—to function mechanically, to acquiesce.

Those outside the field of education may, perhaps, be excused for oversimplifying and extrapolating from a finite number of instances to "sapping the foundations." Educators themselves, since they have specific responsibilities in specific and concrete situations, cannot be so easily excused. Continuing to become as teacher or administrator means continuing to identify oneself with respect to particular issues—and not only the issue of curriculum. To limit oneself to discussion of curriculum (or restructuring, or the exact degree of "student participation") is today to intensify one's alienation from the protesting student's world. One may indeed discover that one has finite limitations when it comes to dealing politically with the young; but that does not exempt one from the obligation to identify oneself with respect to the political and moral aspects of the situations in which one is inexorably involved.

Many educators, for example, have long identified themselves as "pragmatists" or "experimentalists" or even "instrumentalists"; but few have continued testing their beliefs in the crisis situations which now arise. Many, like Charles Frankel, will (often righteously) challenge the radical students' assumption of "the moral right to impose upon others." But it is not enough to challenge. It is not even enough to devote considered attention, as does Joseph

Schwab, to the role of deliberation in choice, to the hollowness of "sincerity" used as moral sanction, to the need for tentativeness. Important as such considerations are, the educator is likely to be in the position of the English teacher who teaches "about" literature if he does not himself confront what is *for him* involved in choosing. This means to us a conscious effort to take a position on a range of specific matters: the question of student participation in curriculum planning, the question of Black Studies Institutes, the question of Defense Department contracts, the question of "relevance." To say that "it is not my responsibility" is to opt for the kind of indifference which leads to automatism and lack of care.

We have written on other occasions about the importance of breaking through conventional modes of conceptualization, of becoming aware of the "fictions" by which we make sense of our lives. Various commentators on campus unrest have noted the "surrealistic" impact of what is happening or talked about the startling ruptures of the customary, the habitual patterns. It is as if many have become aware, *because* of student protest, of what Socrates called "the unexamined life"—and aware, too, that such a life is not worth living, at least for the person who wants to feel alive.

A reading of Herbert Marcuse's *One-Dimensional Man*¹² (a primary source of New Left inspiration) tells us that, for those radicals who share Marcuse's orientation, people can only be awakened to their lives by outside disruption. We are, the Marcusians tell us, so manipulated by the

technological society, so mechanized by it, that we are victims of "false consciousness," without the capacity for self-generated existential choice. They tend, in fact, to oppose what Marcuse calls "pure tolerance" because they consider real freedom impossible in our culture and respect for others' autonomy to be, in consequence, meaningless. They, therefore, claim the right to disrupt on behalf of others' existential welfare, in the name of what we "really" (without knowing it) want. Because many educators have been—and many more will be—faced with this sort of justification for disruption, we find in it another argument for self-awareness, self-consciousness, for choosing responsibly where we stand.

As we see it, human beings have the capacity to resist determinisms and manipulateness, indeed to rebel against them. We do not accept the view that we must be shocked into reflectiveness by arbitrary actions undertaken (often impersonally) by others. We prefer to believe that teachers and administrators have the capacity to arouse themselves to reflectiveness, once they choose to confront their freedom and to act upon it. There is a sense, we believe, in which we have made victims of ourselves and, in Margaret Mead's sense, aliens of ourselves. This may be the time for new commitments, for new definitions of liberalism and democracy, which too many of us have treated as clichés, frozen and finished, making no demands. We may need, in fact, to become rebels for democracy, with Albert Camus's image of the rebel in mind: "A man who says no, but whose refusal does not imply

a renunciation. He is also a man who says yes as soon as he begins to think for himself."¹³

In the March 15 "Talk of the Town" section of *The New Yorker*, there is an essay on snow fences on the seashore, fences which are buffeted all winter by the waves and rocks but which are sometimes found intact when spring arrives. "In the same way," we thought, "walking along the beach, ideas sometimes survive, and people who believed in them are found, after a winter of onslaught, shattered but still linked together." And then the writer recalls Robert Kennedy—"his vitality, his concern, his humor, his courage, his warmth." He talks about how much has been written about him and what might have been. And then: "For this bleak anniversary, it seems fitting to remember simply that once a most decent man was here, touching the lives of other people with hope and possibilities and generosity and love, and changing those people so that they would never again be precisely what they had been before." It does not matter what one feels about Robert Kennedy. The image of the decent man is what matters and what echoes in our mind. We continue to believe that each person who chooses himself to be an educator can be decent in this way, so long as he remains aware. We continue to believe that the teacher and the administrator can overcome alienation by means of decency and courage, that this springtime of discontents may make us wise at last.

MG

13 *The Rebel*, Alfred A. Knopf, 1954.

The Ides of March, 1969

I write in the sullen realization that we have again chosen as our president a man of no character. For another four years we seem stuck in controversial matters with government by indecision. The formula has become familiar: when faced with a confrontation, opt for neither this nor that, but for a cosmetic blend of both, carefully mixed to placate the powerful interests and to scotch the critics. This formula elevates weakness into the operative principle of government; it belies the real lack of authority in our so-called permissive society: authority has evaporated as men of high office have followed Machiavelli and confused the tricks of getting and keeping power with the duties of having and using power. Make no mistake: the tricks work by and large, at least so long as the moral capital of the community has not been completely consumed. Until then, there is strength in weakness; through perpetual indecision, small men can keep atop tremendous forces, and by systematic eclecticism, uninspired persons can win the consent of most of the nation.

Nevertheless, these practices suggest to a growing remnant that the nation cannot be governed. Public office is not a mere patriotic preferment, an honor that the people condescend to bestow on certain figures, as a schoolmarm gives out gold stars to reward docile comportment. No: public office is the receipt of the del-

egated authority to allocate and expend vast common resources; and the reception of this authority is incompatible with the principle of weakness, for once any allocation and expenditure has been made, it is final and irrevocable. The one-trillion five-hundred-billion dollars spent since the end of World War II for national defense have been consumed; other real opportunities and stirring possibilities have been passed by forever; and the money and intellect expended for arms cannot now be resurrected and devoted to upgrading our schools and universities or to conserving our countryside and humanizing our cities. Thus, in public affairs, time is implacable; and in history, indecision is decisive: it is—decidedly—a costly, wasteful drift.

Many wonder whether the men who receive the authority of public office can actually use it to direct the allocation and expenditure of resources. A nearly fixed, substantial proportion of our gross national product seems to be allocated automatically to arms production. Other concerns inevitably take the hindmost, for the military and their epigones in business, space, diplomacy, and government wield sufficient money and influence to prevent any other public function from receiving a priority higher than national defense. Many find it incredible that at this juncture sane governors could consider the expenditure of six to seven billion dollars on a doubtfully

effective device to protect a few intercontinental missiles to be preferable to an equivalent expenditure to lessen racial tension, environmental pollution, or overpopulation. No matter how slick a form the decision may be given, its substance engenders disbelief and incredulity in many.

Here is the reality behind that unfortunate phrase, the credibility gap. It is nothing so simple and remediable as ineffective public information policies or transparent efforts to manipulate opinion on important matters. The suspension of all belief occurs in those who have thought seriously about over-all national priorities, for they find that, in view of the problems and possibilities of the era, the allocation and expenditure of resources effected under the principle of weakness is irrational. The formula of neither this nor that councils politicians against facing the hard choices between incompatible possibilities in a manly manner. A credible decision on the ABM would have involved a comparison of the probable returns to the nation from spending six to seven billion dollars over the next four years on defensive missiles with the potential national benefits from equal investments in education, housing, health, transportation, foreign aid, food production, birth control, or conservation. Instead, like the Senate Armed Services Committee, Nixon docilely permitted the Pentagon to define his alternatives; and without looking at other national concerns, he chose the politically most palatable of the warriors' offerings. No matter how expedient, such procedures are irrational; and as long as high office holders use such procedures to escape the responsibility for making hard choices between

competing possibilities, rational men will not hold credible the policies of their irrational governors.

Hence, among the costs of costly non-decisions such as that on the ABM, we should reckon the fact that many are learning from the repetition of such absurdities to look on national government with complete cynicism and derision. The growing disgust includes, but is not characterized by, the voiced obscenities of the radical left; the disgust is more profound than surface show and the disengagement is more far reaching than paraded protest. For each vocal recantation, there are numerous silent abjurations in which sensitive, hard working men turn away from national affairs, withholding their talents, respect, and consent while they fulfill the outward forms. That this silent disengagement is becoming practically significant was shown in the difficulty Nixon had in recruiting his cabinet. More and more people believe the national government is functioning irrationally, and they consequently seek to avoid it as they would, when walking on a city street, pass by a drunken panhandler with a stiff stare.

This situation is not healthy, but like any disease, it will not be cured merely with anguished regrets. As long as indecision remains the stock decision of government, disgusted disenchantment will become more and more common. Honest error can always be constructively opposed; disengagement does not develop because people are left cold by erroneous decisions, but by the sense that no real decisions are being made, that perhaps with the muscle-bound condition of the nation significant decisions cannot be made. If the powers

that he can manage to become decisive, to begin again to exercise leadership towards some definite, demanding, distant goal without thereby committing political suicide, they may forestall the spreading disenchantment. But that seems unlikely; the signs suggest that Nixon's imagination is not commensurate with the tasks of his office and that his character is no more in keeping with his duties than was that of his predecessor.

If this inadequacy is real, then the critics of public affairs have before them a difficult, important choice to make: namely, whether nevertheless to seek primarily to enlighten the performance of the powers that be, or whether to try to lead the disenchanted towards some constructive alternative. To me, the latter course now seems the most important, promising, and responsible. Let those who find that America is no longer a dream set out to create a new one, and in doing so, let us draw inspiration from an observation that Emerson made when he reflected on "Politics":

We think our civilization near its meridian, but we are yet only at the cock-crowing and the morning star. In our barbarous society the influence of character is only in its infancy.

ROBERT OLIVER

*One nation, divisible,
with liberty and justice
for some?*

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What Educators Have to Learn from Existential Psychologists: A Symposium

Herman Dorsett
Teachers College, Columbia University

Dean Max Doe* Ladies and Gentlemen! — Ladies and Gentlemen!
Shall we begin? (Noise continues as consultants embrace
and greet each other; many have not seen each other in
ten years or so.)

Shall we begin? (Noise subsides.)

Colleagues. We are happy to have with us several prominent American scholars. In order to accomplish the aims and objectives of the symposium, let me give you an idea as to how we plan to structure the situation.

Dr. Abraham H.
Maslow

May I interrupt, Mr Chairman? I believe I am not alone in my desire to dispense with the *structuring* of the symposium. I would prefer—I'd feel more comfortable and believe we'd get more accomplished if we talked at random, if the sponsors of the symposium and the audience would pose questions and raise issues, and then have us respond to them. What do you say, Colleagues?
Dean Doe?

* Starred names are fictional—a Dean, a Department Chairman, a doctoral candidate, an undergraduate.

Herman Dorsett is a psychologist with a taste for parody—good humored parody, we think. Here he constructs a symposium involving real and fictional participants. The words of the real participants—Carl R. Rogers of the Western Behavioral Sciences Institute, Abraham H. Maslow of Brandeis, Arthur W. Combs of the University of Florida, Rollo May of the William Alanson White Institute, Clark Moustakas of Merrill-Palmer Institute, Edmund G. Williamson of Minnesota, C. Gilbert Wrenn of Arizona State, and Adrian Van Kaam of Duquesne—are derived from Mr. Dorsett's readings of their major works. We hope they enjoy this version of what they might have said.

- Dr. Carl R. Rogers I'm all for that, Abe. Rollo? What about you, Adrian? Colleagues? What's your thinking?
- Dr. Rollo May Okay. I believe we know the aims of the symposium and I also believe that we'll accomplish these aims if we move along existentially. Adrian? Ed? Clark?
- Dr. Adrian Van Kaam C₃ va!
- Dr. Edmund G. Williamson I'm going to dissent. We're paid to consult. Let's consult.
- Dr. Clark Moustakas We'll consult. Don't worry, Ed. If, at the end of the symposium, we haven't shed some light on the issues at hand, then let's return our honoraria. Okay?
- Rogers How does that feel to you, Max? Do you mind my calling you Max, Dean Doe?
- Dean Doe Well—uh! Max I don't mind, I guess. That we let the symposium drift, I don't know. I'm not . . .
- Dr. Arthur R. Combs Let's try it. Okay? If it seems that we're not getting anywhere, then you call the shots, Dean. Does that feel better? Is that all right with the participants and the audience?
- Dean Doe Okay! That should be fine, Dr. Combs, Dr. Rogers.
- Moustakas Let's forget the formalities—titles and so forth. Okay? Let's relate!
- Dean Doe First question. There seems to be a breakdown of the traditional values and faiths in our country. What can we, as educators, do about this? How can or should we approach this dilemma?
- Combs Do you mean *how* can we return to the traditional values? Whatever they are or might have been?
- Dean Doe Well—yes, I guess. I think so. What do you think?
- Van Kaam To be sure there is a breakdown in traditional values. But it seems to me that our tasks as educators should be to help young people acquire *new* values, *new* faiths, *new* ways of *relating* to the world.

Rogers

Yes—there does seem to be a loss of meaning in human existence. Or perhaps, we feel this way because of all the leisure time we have today. We have lots of time to think, to contemplate life. Many years ago, we had hardly any time to contemplate; we had to work hard to earn a living.

Man *can* do something about his existence. He *can* make choices. If we could only help our students to see that they *can* and perhaps *should* make choices. Each one can decide what type of person he wants to become. Clark, what do you think?

Moustakas

May I relate a personal experience? I had been taught, as a child, to stay indoors on stormy and blizzard-like days, *bad* winter days. One day, I became annoyed that I had to stay in. I wanted to *feel*, to experience the winter. In our terminology, I wanted an *encounter* with the winter. A growing inner feeling surged within me, I decided to face the wind. Immediately, I experienced an exhilarating and exciting feeling. The cold wind was inciting retreat and withdrawal at once. I was stung and pushed back. I held my ground; I pushed further.

I became alive, aware of myself, of the whole atmosphere. I felt *totally* unafraid. I walked forward! I walked forward in a world charged with electric fury. It was a moment of inspiration and victory over superstition and fear. For the *first* time in my life, I truly understood the meaning of a blizzard. The meeting with the wind revived me and restored to me my own resourcefulness. Adrian, perhaps this is what you'd call "engagé."

What I am trying to say is that man can find meaning *only* through experience, only through encounter, only through *living* life. Let's disband the restrictions we impose on our students, our children. Let them reach out on their own to find meaning. Let us not structure the educational and child rearing experience so that we present our values and meanings to them. Let us help our students to find their own values. Let's stop *controlling* everything—life, the curriculum, and the like.

- Williamson But, Clark, we cannot assume that values won't be perceived in any teaching situation, formal or informal. Values are inevitable. They are implicit in *every* action we take. We can, however, help our students and children to determine their *own* values.
- Moustakas Ed, we're not at odds! We're congruent—I think. We're both saying that we don't have any final, definite, irrefutable values—answers. We're both saying that we must let our students decide, to make choices. They *must* have the definite freedom of choice. For example, if a given 14-year-old girl wants to leave school, then let her leave. She must—if she's ever going to approach self-realization—experience her inner self, her own self. Perhaps some of you would not accept this entirely, but it seems to me that we have to let man *be! Be himself!* Whatever that self is.
- Mrs. Peters* May I interrupt? Don't we, as educators, have to set certain limits? Don't we have an obligation to society? Don't we have to socialize our students?
- Maslow To be sure! We do have an obligation to society. Our greatest obligation is to let our students—to let man—move in the direction of growth. Growth is progressive gratification of basic needs.
- Regarding limits, I can only say that man won't destroy himself. He will set his own limits, if only we give him the chance.
- Rogers May I inject this? Recently, I wrote an article for *American Psychologist*. The article was rejected, as many of you know. In the article, I tried to show that most of our graduate programs in psychology are meaningless, that they do not even *approximate* what research has indicated about the learning process. For example, we know, I think, that there are varied conditions which foster learning and mastery of material. Yet we seem to be unaware of it entirely when it comes to the curriculum. We require students to take meaningless courses; they are penalized severely when they express themselves. Don't mistake me—I am not saying that this kind of "nothingness" occurs in psychology departments

alone. I *am* saying that this kind of thing oppressively operates in almost *all* areas of instruction—elementary, secondary, and especially in university and graduate instruction. What a pity! We make it hard, oftentimes impossible, for our students to achieve, to become *free* as a result of knowledge.

Miss Stein* How can we be sure man won't destroy himself? How can we be sure that students get what we want them to get?

Williamson Miss Stein, do we *know* what we want them to get? Do we merely go through the motions of knowing? I suspect so!

Combs Man won't destroy himself. We construct *too many* barriers. In order to bring about an atmosphere conducive to the personal exploration and discovery of knowledge, teachers need to root out barriers which lie in the path of such exploration and discovery. Yet—we penalize exploration. This does not mean, Miss Stein, that we must get rid of *all* barriers.

Maslow What do you mean, Miss Stein, by being "sure"? Do you mean: How can we prevent man from doing this or that? My response would have to be that man is an active, *purposive*, *loving* being. He is *rational*; he has an *immense potential* for *living*—for *loving*. Man is *good*. He's a wonderful being! He's a lovely entity.

Dean Doe If I understand you correctly, gentlemen, what you say is that we, as educators, *don't* have to worry about the loss of traditional values. We should help students to acquire *new* ones of their own choosing. And we don't have to worry about controlling and setting up as many limits as we do for our students. Am I accurately summarizing your thoughts?

May What we're saying is that the "good life" involves a commitment to becoming an actualized self.

Maslow A self in the *process of actualizing*!

May Yes—thanks, Abe. Whenever I borrow from you, I always seem to not get you right entirely.

- Dr. Jones I understand you gentlemen—I think. But it seems to me that you are arguing a kind of moral nihilism.
- Combs I don't think so. Moral nihilism, in this instance, implies that students and people in general would work out radically different sets of values while in the process of defining and actualizing self; and this would, in turn, lead to a disorganized and chaotic society.
- But, we *are* saying, I hope, that there is *unity* in man. There is *goodness* in mankind; there are *continuity* and *commonness* in value patterns of man. With all this commonness there is still a great deal of uniqueness. This we *cannot* forget. This uniqueness won't lead to chaos and destruction, unless we so program man or force him into destruction.
- Williamson I deem it relevant that we would *again* emphasize that *our* values and *our* faiths—our faith systems—tell us that there is *continuity*, *goodness*, *commonsense*, and the like.
- Maslow You're right, Ed.
- Dean Doe Gentlemen! Shall we shift? One of the pressing problems we are encountering is that of teaching the "disadvantaged," the "deprived," the "alienated," and what-have-you. What are your reactions regarding teaching and reaching *those* people?
- Van Kaam My first reaction is that we should not label them as *those* people, *them*, *that* kind of person. They are us. Or is it they are we? What I'm saying is that we have to accept persons whose values, life styles, and behavior patterns are different from ours. Riessman, whom many of you know, says that we have to give the "deprived" respect—perhaps love. I say—be *all* for them. Be *with* them. The "them" is not meant to imply an external reference or "other-than-thou" type of reference.
- We have to remember and *internalize* the fact that the people of whom we speak now are *striving*. They are striving for increased self-definition. They are trying to find the *best* possible way (perhaps *ways*) of life. They (pardon, again the external frame of reference) have

been thwarted, they have been driven back. The patterns of behavior which we perceive are merely coping patterns, patterns of coping with intolerance, prejudice, bigotry, and thwarting.

Maslow Yes, Adrian. I think you're quite right. How else could such a child act except to disdain school when we imply in all our actions that he cannot achieve, that he cannot succeed?

Dr. C. Gilbert Wrenn Your concern is very real, Dean Doe. The disadvantaged child does earnestly need *something*. That something, it seems to me, is *acceptance* and *positive regard*. Mind if I borrow your term, Carl? We must accept the child *unconditionally*. We cannot and should not say or imply: I'll accept you, little dirty-faced boy, only if and when you wash your face. I, personally, would want him to feel that I care for him, that I respect him, that I see him as a positive being; a *real, good* person.

Dr. Jones But, isn't it hard to accept, love and respect something or someone whose life style you disdain?

Rogers One must—Excuse me. But I feel I really *must* respond now. Okay? One must be sure of the reason or the reasons he is rejecting another. Am I rejecting the child with a black face because I have needs which propel me to use the black-faced girl as a tension-reducer?

Combs Yes, Carl. To borrow Abe's term again—We must really like you, huh, Abe? (Smiles at Maslow.)

Abe I like me, too. (Laughs aloud.)

Combs You're so *real*, Abe. You're authentic. To borrow Abe's terminology again, I think one must discern whether his motivation for disliking, either overtly or covertly, the black-faced child or the Latin American child is deficiency-motivation. That is, are we motivated by deficits within ourselves?

Dean Doe I don't want to seem to be taking a position here, but—

May *Take* a position! What's *wrong* with that?

- Dean Doe But can we ever escape deficiency-motivation? Aren't you speaking of some sort of super-human being?
- Maslow I don't think so. I don't think we are—at least I'm not—speaking about a super-being. What I am saying is that if our motivation is excessively deficiency-generated, then we must do something about it. If something is done about it, perhaps we would be in a position to instruct others, to be teachers or mentors.
- May May I halt this flow of interchange at this point? How do you feel, Dean? How do you feel about us and the things we're talking about, Dr. Jones, Mr. Roombs, Miss Stein? Mrs. Peters?
- Miss Stein I'm feeling refreshed. I feel that my college studies have not really "turned me on." I feel that they have not been meaningful to me as a prospective teacher. I see all kinds of new horizons opening-up for me. I'm beginning to see my *real* role clearer now. You see, I have always appreciated the kinds of things—the points of view—presented by you distinguished men. Oh, why couldn't Riesman and Fromm be here, too? (With great emotion.) I'm enjoying it to no end!
- May Dean?
- Dean Doe Well—I don't know. My academic orientation, I guess, leads me to be skeptical. You see, I was trained as a biologist as an undergraduate and as an experimental psychologist as a graduate. And I can't help but—I can't reconcile the kinds of things you men are saying with the kinds of things I've been taught. I'm even more troubled!
- Rogers We have threatened you, haven't we?
- Moustakas Why *try*, Dean, to make these approaches to humanity *congruent*? Fight with them! *Fight* with these seemingly opposite points of view regarding the nature of man. Let there be ambiguity.
- Mr. Roombs* Well, I'm a follower of your school of thought, gentlemen. I don't feel incongruent. I feel *fine*.

Dr. Jones

Do you think we, as college professors, are too compulsive? Do you think we have too many requirements? Do we make students go through too much "gobble-de-gook"?

Maslow

To be sure! Without a doubt. We in the behavioral and social sciences, especially, have students come to us—students who want to find out about people. They want to understand *love, hate, hope, fear, happiness*, the meaning of life. What happens to them? I'll tell you! We make them feel ashamed of their interests; we make them feel that their interests are "unscientific." Thus we and they lose the fine impulses of youth, the fine impulses of striving. Creativity, unorthodoxy, humanistic dedication, and the thirst for knowledge are lost. Cynicism sets in and the student conforms; he settles down to being a member of the guild.

In the elementary and secondary grades, the same thing happens: We deprive them of *realness, hope, spontaneity*, dedication—life, in general.

(Passionately.) Oh—we're so guilty!

Dean Doe

But what about standards, excellence? What about accrediting agencies, employment agencies, professions, parents, and the like? What about those pressures? What about standards?

Van Kaam

Standards-smandards! We spend *too much time* worrying about the unimportant. Pardon me, Dean; I didn't mean to attack you. It's just that I become extremely annoyed when I hear the words "standards" and such other terms. It's a "thing" I have, I guess.

Why can't we organize a curriculum just as we would like? Why can't we trust, own, and accept our inner selves? Why must we always look to someone—some agency, association or the like—to lead us? Let's have the courage to seek *new* and more fulfilling pathways. Let's question our existence in terms of our own—and not somebody else's—values and beliefs.

- Rogers Have we shown you how we feel? Have we expressed *fully* our points of view? To your satisfaction, that is?
- Dean Doe I believe I understand what you men are saying.
- Dr. Jones So do I!
- Mr. Roombs I too, understand your points of view.
- Mrs. Peters I find it difficult—perhaps just as Dean Doe does—to integrate your view of man with notions I previously had.
- Maslow Don't try to integrate our points of view. If they fit, wear them. But be *sure* they fit. Because if they don't, then you'll have much trouble wearing them. Okay?
- Dean Doe Thank you. Thank you very much, gentlemen. As a chairman of a symposium, I would typically try to summarize or somehow tie-together the contents of the discussion. But—in this case, I find much ambiguity. I find that if I were to attempt to integrate your thoughts audibly, then I would do a very poor job. Nevertheless, I am sure we have gotten quite a few new and refreshing ideas from all of you. As for me, I think I'll request a leave of absence—I'd like to go to a quiet place and think, contemplate hard—*real hard*. I believe you men have stirred the minds of all of us. Now it's up to us to devise new ways of coping with the many problems we are confronted with in education. Are there additional questions or issues you would like to raise before the symposium closes?
- Miss Stein Only a comment, Dean. Why couldn't we have had such an encounter with these men much earlier in the game? That is, much earlier in our training?
- Dean Doe I truly hope this experience has been interesting to you, that it has been a truly learning experience, an awakening experience.
- Maslow My pleasure.
- Rogers 'Twas a privilege.
- May Fine!

Dr. Harold BENJAMIN

1893-1968

Teacher, Writer, Editor, Lecturer

*From a teacher in a one-room schoolhouse
in Minnesota in 1910 to Dean, College
of Education, University of Maryland.*

*Author of 15 books and advisory editor
for more than 200 books.*

*McGraw-Hill Consulting Editor
1936-1968.*

Education and Economic Planning: An Essay Review

James E. McClellan, *Temple University*

Educational Requirements for the 1970's: An Interdisciplinary Approach

Stanley Elam and William P. McLure. New York: Frederick A. Praeger for Phi Delta Kappa, 1967.

Education and Training for Full Employment

Seymour L. Wolfbein. New York: Columbia University Press, 1967.

Everyone is acquainted with the dictum that war is too important to be left to the generals. But it may not be so generally recognized that that truism is only Clemenceau's corollary to the more fundamental Principle of Professionalism: Any human activity sufficiently important and complex to justify a profession (in the full sense of the term "profession") is too important and complex to be left to the professionals. The terms "important" and "complex" are culturally relative, of course. Witchcraft, for example, is in some societies a fully professional concern, which means that the entire society has to be concerned with the policies and practices of witches. Among us, witches may pursue their craft without let or hindrance so long as they do not violate (as apparently they did in *Rosemary's Baby*) ordinary civil and criminal laws. Or take astrologers: we'll allow *anyone* to claim that he can forecast the future by consulting the stars. If he can induce people to pay him for his forecasts, he can sell that service *sans* license, certificate, or social sanction. The same is true of prophets, seers, augurers, and gypsy fortune-tellers. Not one of them is a professional in the full sense; we establish special policies to regulate none of these occupations.

Is it that knowing the future is either so unimportant or so simple that we don't need a socially sanctioned profession for it? On the contrary: weather-forecasting, just to take one example, is of great social concern and we have developed a full profession for it, complete with scientific theory at its base and a governmental agency to transmit its findings to the public. Or astronomy: navigators have to know *exactly* where the visible stars will be at any given moment; a publicly supported and regulated professional service will provide them that information. We have not yet developed an adequate theoretical understanding of the composition of the earth's interior to enable a truly professional service of predicting earthquakes and volcanic

eruptions, but in principle we could have it; and surely it would be of some human value to be able to make those predictions with a probability at least as great as weather forecasts'.^{1*} We shall achieve accurate seismological predictions by employing not mystic diviners but rather physical geologists. The former are free because fruitless; the latter are constrained because consequential.

When we turn our attention to human affairs, we find that we stand on the border between a true profession and a bunch of star-gazers. The first condition for a profession is rapidly being met: just about everyone with any responsibility for public affairs has come to recognize that it's significant, indeed crucial, to have forecasts for a social future more reliable than tomorrow-will-be-like-today.² (Even though, in most respects on most days, tomorrow *will* be like today.) Scarcely any reader of the *Record* would deny the importance of social forecasts. Indeed, it is a tautology to say that the future suffuses the consciousness of every reflective educator, for it's precisely the capacity to see the future foreshadowed in the present which earns a teacher the designation 'reflective' and distinguishes him from his merely (even competently) routine colleague.

But the other condition—complexity—has not been sufficiently recognized among those who would practice or employ social prediction. (Nor have the necessary social sanction and control that should attend any truly professional enterprise been extended to the making of social forecasts. But I'll return to that point at the end of this essay.) For a social future is a matter of what we now *decide to do* as well as a prediction of what will *happen to us*. The two are very different things. Let me illustrate with a trivial case. Anyone may predict whether I will go to my office tomorrow, and that prediction is on the same footing as a prediction of whether it will rain tomorrow. That is to say, as a prediction of the future it is justified by the evidence now available; when its time rolls 'round, it is verified or falsified by comparing it with a true description of what happens. But only I can *decide* whether I will go to my office tomorrow. My decision has nothing to do with evidence of any kind. There can, of course, be overwhelming evidence that I *ought* or *ought not* to go, but there is not even a grammatical way of talking about evidence that, what?—that I decide to go? It doesn't make sense. Nor can my decision be verified or falsified. Suppose I decide to go but in the event don't go. Then I've changed my mind, or forgotten, or been prevented. But that doesn't mean that my *decision* was false.

I may, of course, not only decide but also predict whether I'll go to my office. And they may not agree: "Yes, I've decided to go to my office tomorrow though I doubt, what with the impending Revolution, that I'll ever get there." If it turns out that way, then the prediction proved true and the decision inoperative. Or to take an example which doesn't depend on external events, a man may decide to stop smoking and still, knowing his own weakness of will, not be able to predict which cigarette will actually be his last.

Granting that my very simple statement above ignored certain complica-

* Footnotes are at conclusion of article.

tions that could be raised, one must still agree that there is a very clean distinction between predicting one's own behavior and deciding what one will do. Ordinarily we don't have to worry about that distinction just because a person very seldom predicts his own behavior. What usually happens is this: A man predicts what's going to happen, and that includes (for him) predicting what other people will do. On the basis of those predictions he decides what *he* will do. And then, depending on the circumstances, he either does it or doesn't. It is only when he has reason to doubt that he will or can carry out a given decision that he comes to predict his own behavior. To revert to the former example: I predict that the trains will run according to schedule, that the books and people I wish to see will be in their appointed places, that I will be able to accomplish certain purposes by a trip to the office. On those predictions (which I would make consciously as predictions only if I had some reason to doubt them), I decide to go in. Knowing my sloth, poor memory, and the unsettled state of the world, I might still doubt my actually showing up.

That degree of complexity in distinguishing prediction and decision in a trivial case attends *a fortiori* a serious matter like predicting future states of the political economy and framing present educational decisions to prepare members of that future political economy. I examine the two recent works under consideration here from a very particular perspective. I believe and will try to prove that in the present primitive state of the art, economic forecasts are worse than useless in projecting possible futures. I also believe but do not argue here that the capacity to frame and carry out educational decisions on the basis of a forecast of the future is totally (and in the light of the first point fortunately) lacking to us. I return at the end of this essay to the point that the complex relation between predicting and deciding a social future has yet to be given serious thought where it matters, i.e. where consequential economic and educational decisions are made. Before arguing the general case, let me describe the two books briefly.

The Elam and McLure volume emerged from a symposium sponsored by the Phi Delta Kappa Commission on Education, Manpower, and Economic Growth. Like all reports from PDK symposia, this one contains not only the papers presented but also transcripts from the discussions. No indication of editing is given, but considering the sentence structure in the printed version, editing must have been severe. The discussions always contain a superfluity of irrelevance, but an occasional gem of an insight balances it off. I should think the editors owe us a frank description of how the words moved from mouth to page. Perhaps an editing of content as well as form would also be of help. But all in all, printing the discussions seems a useful device which I hope PDK will continue.

There were many interesting lines of thought opened in the symposium which cannot be pursued in this essay. Solon Kimball, an anthropologist, introduces a fascinating question about "congruency" between the school's social structure and the emerging class structure of this country. Fred L. Strodbeck, a social psychologist, demonstrates in a very dramatic fashion

our need for social indicators, i.e. measures of quality of life in "an economically developed society" to be placed alongside our quantitative measures of goods produced and consumed. But the central thrust of this "interdisciplinary approach" clearly came from the economists and manpower specialists. The title of the volume is significant: only an economist would talk about "requirements"; only he would have goals so sacrosanct that education is *required* to fulfill them.

Most of the arguments center on issues raised by Leonard Lecht's "Manpower Needs, National Goals, Educational Policy" and Arthur M. Ross's "Full Employment: The Role of Government and Education." The former presents a summary of Lecht's classic study of the costs of our projected national goals and his preliminary thoughts about how educational policies can be adjusted to meet those requirements. Ross takes our commitment to the goal of full employment (as expressed somewhat ambiguously in the Employment Act of 1946) to set certain reciprocal obligations among education, government, and private employers. Assuming government to do its part by maintaining a healthy economy of high aggregate demand for goods and services, schools and employers still have a tremendous obligation to develop "effective institutions linking school and work." Somewhat as a gloss on these two texts, Gerhard Colm's "Educational Policy and National Goals" expounds on both the new possibilities for education that will emerge from our achieving a high and stable rate of economic growth as well as the requirements that that increased level of technology will place on educational policy. Some attention is given to the problem of educational policy in economically underdeveloped nations in an essay by Hector Correa. And John K. Folger makes a valiant attempt to summarize selectively in a concluding essay entitled "Social Change and Educational Planning." Folger makes the case for the economists clearly and fairly; yet he neither accepts that case fully nor does he tell us in any detail why he doesn't accept it. Perhaps his unspoken objections are similar to mine.

Seymour Wolfbein's *Education and Training for Full Employment* is in fact three separate treatises, bound together in hard cover. Each of these entities is quite worthwhile in its own right, and they do complement each other in contiguity. But it's a bit difficult to see how the one title adequately covers the lot. But that's quibbling: Wolfbein is a gifted writer, capable of expressing a highly controversial point of view with persuasiveness, capable of telling a complex story simply and movingly. His long and highly successful career in the Department of Labor has not (Why do we feel it might have?) weakened his compassion for those denied the goods our society has to offer. When he writes: "... high levels of economic activity are sterile if they do not permit a reduction in differentially high levels of unemployment and poverty . . . , or if . . . not accompanied by advances in the quantity and quality of education and training to make . . . living meaningful" (p. 30), he has the solid credentials of achievement to prove that he is not mouthing ceremonial pieties. He means it where it counts—in action.

The first of his three related treatises is entitled "The Three Matching Revolutions." It's a grand thesis in macro-economics. We have, Wolfbein

maintains, solved the three most desperate economic problems that have beset our century. The problem of sustained economic growth has been licked as we have both learned how and also acquired the power to use governmental action—monetary policy and fiscal policy—to control indirectly the private sector of the economy. Belatedly we have solved the problem of manpower allocation by governmental support of educational and training programs geared to sustained economic growth. Finally we are on the verge of solving the problem of income distribution by freeing ourselves from the myth that income *must* be directly proportional to economic productivity, thus enabling governmental action to insure that no family falls below that minimum required for decent quality of life. Wolfbein insists that these “revolutions,” euphemistically so-called, are interrelated; thus only when we have truly solved the problem of income distribution will we have a total aggregate demand in the economy sufficient to guarantee its continued, sustained growth. Etc.

The second treatise, “A Decalogue of Training,” is a wise and witty how-we-did it as well as how-to-do-it manual for those who must carry through the second “revolution” mentioned in the first essay. Probably the most significant document in the book is the third, “The First Years.” This tells the story of how the Manpower Development and Training Act, first “signed by President Kennedy on March 15, 1962,” gradually emerged from the cocoon of bureaucracy to become a powerful force guaranteeing *everyone* access to training and employment. It’s doubtful, after the victory of Mr. R. M. Nixon in November, 1968, that future historians will have the same optimistic picture of this venture that Wolfbein had in 1967. But his will forever be the story of what might have been.

These, then, are two very interesting and important books for educators. But often their interest and importance lie less in the truth of what they say than in their quite fundamental errors. Let me anticipate the conclusion of the argument of this section: the economists’ projections are necessarily false because they violate physical laws. Harrumph!

Every economist in these books, with very few exceptions every economist in the *world*,³ bases his projections on the assumption that sustained economic growth is necessary, probable, and desirable. And what, you may ask, is wrong with that? Wouldn’t we all enjoy more goods and services? And how are we going to have full employment without economic growth? Hear Wolfbein: “Only with a sustained period of economic and job growth is there a reasonable prognosis for success for manpower programs. . . .” Or Ross: “We may turn now to specific government policies for promoting full employment. . . . Prevalent theory and techniques are addressed primarily to promoting and sustaining high activity in the . . . economy” (Elam and McLure, p. 108). Respecting not only our egoistic motives for more personal consumption but also our altruistic interest in seeing that *everyone* have access to employment, income, and dignity of life, we recognize that economic growth is the sine qua non for a viable United States of America.

Given this universal agreement on the need for economic growth, conflicts between radicals and conservatives become marginal differences, mainly on the question of how to distribute the costs of continuing economic growth. Here, *right here, lies the foundation for consensus politics*. The most spectacular success of consensus came in the tax cut of 1964: reduction of taxes early in 1964 raised the total national income so much that tax receipts were higher (for the next two years) than they would have been without the cut, bringing about a more nearly balanced budget and wage-price stability (thus pleasing trilobitic conservatives), while so stimulating activity in the private sector that unemployment reached its lowest point since the Korean war (pleasing to labor and liberals), while allowing government expenditures for killing people to continue to rise without serious political opposition (pleasing to the substantial minority in our economy whose business is killing people), while having at least a promise of public attention to poverty, pollution, and other assorted blemishes on our national scutcheon (pleasing to the unsubstantial minority who are interested in *that* sort of thing). Politics in the United States will never be the same since then; any government in power, even that of Mr. R. M. Nixon, will be looking to its economists to find that magic combination of monetary and fiscal policies which will bring about a high (4% plus constant dollars) rate of economic growth, wage-price stability, low rates of unemployment, and a strong position for the dollar in the international monetary market—all without any threat to the *established order in society*. And we may be perfectly sure that the economists, in turn, will be looking to us for that combination of educational and training programs which will create the human capacities for production and consumption to make so high a level of economic activity possible.

Again, you may ask, what is wrong with that? Whatever *your* goals (*vide* Mr. Lecht's list, Elam and McLure, p. 153), they can be achieved only if economic growth (as qualified) continues through the 1980's. And why shouldn't it continue? What constraints are there to hold it back? Well, we might run out of raw materials. Not likely. There is no natural material possessing a particularly necessary physical property that is in so short supply that it cannot be effectively allocated or else simulated by the transmutation of some other natural material.⁴ Well, any transmutation (say salt-water to fresh water) takes a lot of energy. We might run out of energy. Again, not unless we're stupendously stupid. Ignoring a lot of other interesting possibilities, we can take comfort from the fact that the energy exchange between our planet and its environment allows us to store and use a *very* much greater proportion of solar energy than we've used in the past—when it's been harmlessly and uselessly radiated back into space. The ratio of energy translated into a form that humans can control and release at discretion to energy received from the sun is maybe 1 to a hundred billion, give or take three orders of magnitude. The sun is going to continue to radiate energy at about its present level for another fifteen billion (don't panic, it's billion, not million) years. Unless we're so stupid as to use up our stored hydrocarbon energy completely—which would take us, even

with an accelerating rate of consumption, a couple of hundred years—before we can establish ways of regulating our energy exchange with the extraplanetary environment, we're not likely to run out of energy.

But, you say, won't our pollution problems be insoluble? With sufficient energy available, you can always get rid of garbage. The surface of the moon, for example, seems a quite appropriate place to park junked automobiles. But what about energy pollution, especially thermal and radiation pollution? Aye, there *is* a rub, perhaps there is, perhaps there is not, some getting around it. Anyway, *we know, on a priori grounds, that there had to be a rub somewhere*: No system can accelerate exponentially, say 4% plus *per annum*, indefinitely; a system either achieves equilibrium of some sort, in relation to a larger system, or else it disintegrates. It's no good yearning for a technological breakthrough which will obviate that fact: unless there were certain inductable facts of nature, including the second law of thermodynamics, technology would be impossible. It has to stop somewhere.

Thus *the economists are asking us to gear (the metaphor is apt) educational programs to a social goal which is physically impossible to achieve, viz. continuous economic growth*. That statement is literally and indisputably true. But its form is apparently vitiated by the disparate time sequences. The economists are talking about decades, the physicists about aeons. Oh sure, *eventually* we must achieve a "stable, closed-cycle, high level technology."⁵ But that's for "The Future." For the moment, our problem is simply to continue our economic growth without excessive inflation or a balance-of-payments deficit or some other purely economic disorder.

I wonder. When you consider that the United States, with about 6% of the earth's population accounts for over half the earth's total energy expenditure, when you consider the rate of population growth on the planet and in the United States, when you see the constantly accelerating rates of technological change in all the rich nations of the world ... you begin to ponder the following question: At what level of population, technology, space utilization, and (most crucially) energy expenditure will the planet Earth cease to be a fit habitat for its evolutionary creature, mankind? The fact that I do not know the answer is unimportant. The fact that our economists, those whom we most specifically charge with the social responsibility for planning the future, are utterly, totally, entirely unconcerned with that question *is* important. At some point it becomes a matter of life and death.

Nothing in the argument preceding or following hinges on the romantic assumption that economic values are crass and material, and therefore opposed to "human" values. Nor that economists as a group are less altruistic and humane than other members of the human species. But one fact is clear. While economic analysis has been growing enormously and variously in influence outside the academic community, its most spectacular success has been in penetrating the inmost chambers where national policies are formed. (Though it may be more than coincidence that the classic work laying the

foundation of economics was entitled *The Wealth of Nations*.) It may not be equally obvious that all modern national states, whether ostensibly socialist or capitalist, are *structurally* committed to the policy of internal economic growth. Nor equally obvious that the national interest in education is essentially an economic concern. But it is obvious to those who've considered the matter closely. According to Walter W. Heller, whose qualifications for speaking on matters "suffused with a national interest" are unquestioned: "Education is a case in point ... an essential instrument for carrying out functions that are a direct Federal responsibility. Education is an investment in human brainpower from which we reap positive gains in the form of higher productivity, more rapidly advancing technology, a better informed foreign policy, and a stronger national defense. In this light, one might add, Federal support of locally operated and controlled public education is no act of charity or largesse ... Federal funds simply mean that the national interest in the results will be matched by a national effort in financing them."⁶ It follows, by the logic of *raison d'etat*, that education so financed will be an economic investment to achieve those four goals.

But consider the ecological problem of human survival on a planet transformed by human beings into a bio-chemical environment to which the species cannot adapt. *That* problem is not national but global. There is simply *no* reason to believe that a planet-full of educational systems, each structurally committed to advancing the economic interest of a nation state, can or will relate citizens of The Future in any significant way to the problem of human survival on Earth. (There is, as a matter of fact, little reason to believe that the educational system of any highly modernized society can or will serve as an effective "instrument" for achieving even those economic and political goals cited by Mr. Heller. Rather, it seems, when the goals which adults hold out to youth are patently vicious or absurd, youth tend to reject the whole idea of organizing life around the achievement of goals, social *or* personal. It's a reasonable response, even if tragic.)

We should have to face the question whether educational planning is to relate to economic planning or to ecological planning—except the latter is presently non-existent. And that is the first priority in establishing a social concern in the prediction of the future. The short-run, nationalistic interests represented in economic projections and policies are real and authentic.⁷ But there are other equally real and authentic interests which ought to be present (not merely represented) in such deliberations. A social concern with the future, whether a decade or a half-century or a millennium away, should balance those interests with which the economist can and does concern himself against those long run, global interests with which, at present, he has little to do.⁸

The next priority derives from the logical complexity of any thought about the future. It is to establish social mechanisms by which we can *decide*, individually and collectively, whether we, i.e. the species euphemistically designated Homo Sapiens, want a future and if so, of what physically possible sort. Such mechanisms are obviously impossible within the confines of national states. A moment's—well, anyway, a few hours'—serious reflec-

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Elizabeth Simpson, "A Consideration of the Humanities"

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Edward Ducharme, "M.A.T.s Meet *Hamlet*"

Ronald Gerlach, "Law and the Social Studies: An Appraisal"

Gerald Paake, "Violence and Delinquency: A Review of the Literature"

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tion on the future would make a revolutionist out of Spiro Agnew, if, as seems to be the case, Mr. Agnew has children and concern for them. And that's a warning for Mark Rudd and Mao Tse-Tung: The coming Revolution is too important and too complex to be left to professional revolutionists.

- 1 This way of talking may seem callous in light of the tragic disasters which occurred in Turkey and Iran as recently as the fall of 1968. The principle still holds even though those events give high priority to our search for accurate geological predictions.
- 2 The literature on the future is growing at a phenomenal rate; one wonders at the future of the future. Just for starters, see Daniel Bell, Ed., "Toward the Year 2000: Work in Progress," *Daedalus*, Summer, 1967. (An interim report of the Commission on the Year 2000 of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Mr. Bell, chairman.) Bertrand de Jouvenel. *The Art of Conjecture*. New York: Basic Books, 1967. (M. de Jouvenel, internationally prominent as a political philosopher, is the leader of *Futuribles*, a Ford-financed research organization in Paris. *The Art of Conjecture* is an indispensable source for the history of "the future.") Bertram M. Gross, Ed. *A Great Society*. New York: Basic Books, 1968. (The Great Society Seminar of Syracuse University, in which Lyndon B. Johnson and eleven social commentators—from Herbert Marcuse to Sydney Ratner (!)—present their questions, forecasts, and hopes for the future.) Herman H. Kahn and Anthony Wiener. *The Year 2000*. New York, 1967. Despite an infuriating preoccupation with military power, an essential book for understanding the logic of statements about the future. This work introduces the "scenario," the "surprise-free projection," and many other now standard techniques for thinking about the future. To bring matters a bit closer home, the U.S. Office of Education is now sponsoring two and planning more centers for long-range, i.e. future-oriented, policy studies in education. The techniques of future studies emerging in the books described above are being applied fully in at least one of those centers, that at Syracuse University under the direction of Thomas F. Green.
- 3 Dr. Robert Wolfson of Syracuse University tells me there are maybe a half dozen exceptions. Mr. Robert Lekachman, when I asked him, could think of none.
- 4 Most of the factual data I rely upon in this section comes from various articles in the Twentieth Century Fund's monumental *American Needs and Resources: The Next Twenty Years*. New York, 1955. The date is important; later evidence might change some of the conclusions. But the principles seem timeless.
- 5 Kenneth Boulding. *The Meaning of the Twentieth Century*. New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1964, p. 149. Boulding is among the half dozen economists, cited by Robert Wolfson, who have seriously considered the relation of economics and ecology. But even Boulding places his hopes (when he has any) on the continuation of economic growth, at least for the foreseeable future.
- 6 Walter W. Heller. *New Directions of Political Economy*. New York, 1967, p. 122. It took me a long time to find someone like Heller making

the point in exactly this way. When I wrote (in *Toward an Effective Critique of American Education*, p. 48) that—the “Federal government is already committed [to the policy of economic growth and to the use of education as an essential instrument to carry out that policy]; I do not mean this or that administration or political party but the organized social system we call government”—I was writing what was obviously true but exceedingly difficult to document. Heller’s agreement doesn’t *prove* the point, but it helps shift the burden of proof to the contrary case.

- 7 It’s impossible here to dispute the economists’ disclaimer that they are technicians whose expertise extends only to calculating possible allocation of resources to satisfy interests, an activity quite different from deciding whether those interests ought to be satisfied. That dispute becomes very interesting but quite technical and complex. See Adolph Lowe. *On Economic Knowledge*. New York, 1965, especially Part Four. For the “hard” line, see Joan Robinson. *Economic Philosophy*. London, 1962.

But that dispute is quite distinct from the point here, *viz.* that as practiced in the decision-making agencies of government, industry, and (alas) education, economic planning concentrates on certain interests and ignores their opposites. Just to consider one: short run versus long run. An economist who should offer a prediction of the employment picture of 1975, in sufficient detail that educational programs can be built on it, would rightly be thought quite daring, and his projections would have a relatively low probability. (See Folger’s comments in Elam and McLure, p. 253. It’s interesting that in neither of the books reviewed here does anyone describe, and you wouldn’t believe! how such projections are *actually* made.) But the children entering school in 1969 will be about thirty-seven years old in the year 2,000, i.e. only reaching their period of maximum productivity in the market. Economists, literally, have no more idea what the market will be in the year 2000 than does the present first grader who will be on the moon that year. In the long run, as John Maynard Keynes rightly noted, *we* will all be dead. But our students will still be alive—suffering or enjoying the educational planning we did for them.

- 8 Which, again, is not to say that economics is prohibited from playing a vital role when other sorts of interests are at stake. Ernert van den Haag put it rather fancifully: “The apparatus of economics could be used almost as well in an ascetic or Zen Buddhist society. But historically, economics has stressed production for the sake of accumulation and ultimately of consumer satisfaction by means of external goods and services,” in Sidney Hook, Ed. *Human Values and Economic Policy: A Symposium*. New York, 1967, p. 183. It may well be, however, that if we survive, i.e. if we move to establish human production and reproduction on a sustained-yield (“closed cycle”) basis with the rest of the bio-structure of this planet, we *will* come to resemble an ascetic or Zen Buddhist society and we *will* need desperately the techniques and skills of economic analysis. Are the economists ready to play that role?

110 Livingston Street

David Rogers. New York: Random House, 1968.

Sociologist David Rogers' study of education politics in New York City is a major contribution to the growing body of literature about education decision making in American public school systems. His main thesis is that recent school controversies in the city stem from "bureaucratic pathology" within the school system, particularly the impotence of the lay board and superintendent, contrasted with the rebelliousness of the system's professional staff which is comprised of powerful veto groups. He documents rather convincingly the extent to which implementation of desegregation policies drawn up by the lay board in the last decade was obstructed by headquarters and field administrators. Rogers concludes that the system is leaderless, undercontrolled (from the point of view of policy formation, not administration which is characterized by mountainous red-tape) and unresponsive to its clients' demands. His policy recommendations include far-reaching decentralization of decision-making powers from the central Board of Education to local community school boards, and an increased role for the mayor in education policy-making, including farming out to city agencies responsibility for making some education policy decisions previously made by the central Board.

The principal criticism that can be made of Rogers' work is that his explanation of the causes of the bureaucratic pathology he so well describes is inadequate and does not provide a sound basis for policy recommendations. His principal analytic tool, an organizational model, focuses attention primarily upon the New York City school bureaucracy, leaving the impression that the "sickness" of the bureaucracy was purely a homegrown malady attributable mainly to power-seeking education professionals. A different analytic approach suggests there are other trouble spots besides the machinations of education professionals. A political system model, for example, would focus attention on all the decision centers at the city and state levels—not only those within the city education bureaucracy, assessing the distribution of authority among them and how it may influence the decision-making capacity of the Board of Education. Analysis of the political system of the New York City public schools highlights several features of the system to which Rogers should have attached greater significance in evaluating the causes of the pathology he describes.

Firstly, the zeal of professionals may not have been the only impediment to the Board's incapacity to resolve conflict. A lay board which did not represent all sectors of the school community may be another important factor. It is clear that many of the decision structures of education political systems in the American states are deliberately insulated from city and state political processes, and therefore can have difficulty resolving political issues about education policy into compromises considered legitimate by all parties. A lay board (such as New York City's prior to the 1968 mandate of the State Legislature) need not be responsive to the mayor who appoints

it, or to all sectors of its lay constituency when its members are nominated by a select group of city civic associations, and can be removed only with difficulty. In addition, state regulation of local school affairs may also limit the participation of interested citizens and officials on the local level, and impede the Board's capacity to reconcile diverging interests that arise locally. Although the operation of the schools is a local responsibility, the state department of education can have a large role in making decisions for local school districts in some policy areas, since education is a state function which the state legislature delegates to the state department and local lay board. Legally speaking, school board members are agents of the state charged with carrying out its mandates.

Another factor to be considered is that authority within the system may be dispersed rather than concentrated in the hands of education professionals. There appear to be numerous decision centers and decision-makers on the state and local level with authority to make decisions for the city schools. Contrary to the impression gained from Rogers' study (and Marilyn Gittell's *Participants and Participation*) that professionals control the system because they have power to obstruct and veto some policy decisions, it can be seen that there are some policy areas in which they do not participate in making decisions. Not only are the state legislature and state department of education central political arenas where many decisions are made for the city schools, but city government agencies also participate in the decision-making process. The education budget, zoning and construction are among some of the decision areas in which city officials participate.

It is this perspective of the political system of the New York City schools which permits us to explain the over-weening position professionals have obtained within the system. It is not simply that they are such villainous characters that they have subverted the goals of the organization. Rather they have profited, like other groups, from the multiplicity of political arenas that belong to the city school system. The locus of authority for educational decisions in the State Legislature (and for many specific regulations, in the State Department of Education) has provided a political arena outside the city where well-organized interest groups have lobbied for special privileges and legislation. These include blue-ribbon city civic groups, teachers organizations, and associations of school professionals. A select group of civic organizations is specifically designated by state education regulations to compile a list of candidates from which the mayor chooses members of the lay board. Teachers' organizations have placed many favorable personnel provisions in the State Education Law, and school administrators are protected by extensive Civil Service regulations and in particular by the Board of Examiners, whose prerogatives are stipulated by State statute. Composed of tenured professionals appointed from within the school system, the Board has traditionally formulated and administered most city school personnel policies, including job classification, recruitment, promotion, and tenure. State regulations have even created special interests. Provisions governing the actual operation of the schools have created

numerous autonomous departments and officials within the city school bureaucracy, whose policies are not subject to review by the superintendent or lay board, and cannot therefore be subordinated to other policy decisions.

Thus we concur in Rogers' description of the system as a pathological bureaucracy that is undercontrolled and incapable of responding to demands of some client groups, particularly on the race issue, with policies recognized as legitimate. But the problem is larger than simply the role of professionals in the New York City schools. It pertains to the distribution of authority within the total educational political system and its impact upon the decision-making capacity of the city Board of Education. A principal issue to be resolved is whether state regulation has not deprived the city school district of the authority and discretion it has needed to resolve policy questions it has faced in the last decade. A related issue is whether special interest groups have not over-extended the authority of certain roles within the system, especially professionals but also city civic groups. The conclusion that can be drawn from Rogers' study is that another study needs to be done which will examine all the major roles in the education political system, including not only the professionals, but the superintendent, lay board, parents and community groups, state education officials, and the state legislature and city government. These must be analyzed to ascertain what role they play in the system, the role they have traditionally played, and what roles it might be desirable for them to play. There is evidence that not only the role of professionals requires reconsideration, but that there continues to be *disensus* among the superintendent, lay board, and professionals about the decisions each should legitimately be responsible for. In addition, recent controversy in the city has centered around the prerogatives of parents and community groups vis-a-vis the central Board, which is yet another factor to be considered regarding a desirable division of labor in the education political system. A related issue requiring study is the extent to which the state, which has plenary power over education, can or should relax its responsibility for producing a minimum "homogenization" of its children through their schooling to permit expression of diverging cultural aspirations on the local level.

Thus while it is not difficult to agree with Rogers that the power of professionals in the system needs to be cut back, it is difficult to agree this is the only ill which ails the system. Since his major policy recommendation deals only with the professionals, it cannot but be considered an inadequate panacea. Rogers himself criticized the system as being leaderless and undercontrolled. Are there not greater chances of promoting leaderlessness through the balkanization of the system he suggests? Would not under-control be reinforced by the delegation of decision-making powers to two or three dozen local community school boards? Rogers' own observations and some of the insights suggested by consideration of the political system of New York City schools suggest a contrary solution. What may be needed is more control rather than less. Wouldn't a more promising alternative be to recentralize authority democratically in an expanded,

elected (by district, not at-large) board of education with increased power—especially over its own administrative staff, so that it could adopt and implement city-wide policies? Decentralization of the type proposed by Rogers would be tantamount to admission that no structures could be devised that could reconcile diverging viewpoints into viable city-wide policies. It would certainly indicate failure to recognize and deal with the other problems plaguing the system, such as the impact of the state and multiple decision centers upon the decision-making capacity of the city system, and the role of special interest groups in the policy processes through which city school decisions are made. Twenty or thirty districts would still have to face these problems, but separately, and without the resources to restructure the system or redesign the roles of these decision-makers.

Nancy Bordier
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Human Nature in American Historical Thought

Merle Curti. Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1968. 118 pp. \$2.50.

Merle Curti, Frederick Jackson Turner Professor of History, Emeritus, University of Wisconsin, is one of the most creative authorities in the history of American education, but perhaps too few younger specialists in the field appreciate this fact. If they have missed his remarkable and still timely work, *The Social Ideas of American Educators* (1935), I suggest that they begin to catch up by reading his Paul Anthony Brick Lectures, Seventh Series, delivered at the University of Missouri in 1968, for they will discover that the author is still as much the pioneer that he was forty years ago. The sweep as well as meticulousness of this brief book provides not only an important if unintended contribution to American educational history; it is clairvoyant of what, let us hope, will eventually become a major work on the larger theme.

Dr. Curti shapes his complex subject around three topics: "The Limitations of Man's Character"; "Emphasis on Man's Potentialities"; and "The Commitment to Scientific Explanation." In each of the three, he selects outstanding historians ranging from the earliest to the contemporary period. Under the first topic, he surprisingly (to this reader, at least) selects Reinhold Niebuhr as "a major figure in contemporary historical thought." The central contention is that Niebuhr, although usually classified as a theologian, has consistently elaborated a central argument ever since his early provocative *Moral Man and Immoral Society*—a work maintaining that man's moral conduct is constricted socially even if his personal conduct often is not.

Treatment of the second theme—man's potentialities—has at least two unusual features. One is the introduction to Samuel Williams, an eighteenth-

century professor of mathematics and natural philosophy at Harvard, whose manuscript on "knowledge and ideas in science, social relations, and theology" Professor Curti himself discovered. Its inevitable publication will be a landmark in the history of American ideas. The other is a brief but vigorous treatment of Charles A. Beard, whose work has in recent years suffered from attack by various younger critics. It is apparent here that Beard is by no means judged to be an outmoded figure; rather, one receives the impression that we may soon be redeveloping some of the Beardian hypotheses with fresh understanding and appreciation of human nature as a creative power in the making and remaking of history.

The fact that the current mood is contrary to that of Beard and others is surely attributable, in part at least, to the attempt of fashionable schools of American history to imitate the "scientific" approach to "objectivity" and "neutrality" that permeates so much of the social sciences and that also reflects the current philosophic fad of linguistic analysis and its allies. Yet in developing this third theme it is enlightening, certainly to a non-professional historian, to find from Professor Curti that the foremost precursor of this approach was no less than the author of *History of the United States* and *The Education of Henry Adams*. Guided by characteristically deft qualifications, we learn that Adams was the first outstanding American historian to regard human nature in terms of a "fairly consistent commitment to psychological determinism." In doing so, he was, of course, reflecting the influence of the natural sciences but thereby also anticipating many of the frailties of this influence that have since become chronic among lesser scholars.

Despite its brevity, Dr. Curti's book sparkles with direct and indirect relevance for educators. By no means is it limited, moreover, to the figures chosen for mention in this review. Rather, it exemplifies the kind of fruitfulness that has characterized this superb intellectual historian throughout his long professional career. It exemplifies, also, what too much pedestrian writing, particularly in the history of education, decidedly is not.

Theodore Brameld
Boston University

Black Voices—An Anthology of Afro-American Literature
Abraham Chapman, Ed. New York: New American Library. Paper, \$1.50.

Dark Symphony—Negro Literature in America
James Emanuel and Theodore Gross, Eds. New York: The Free Press. Paper, \$4.95.
613 pp.

Sensibility, or the quality of independent judgment, is the prime virtue of an anthologist, just as his cardinal sin is a tendency to cannibalize his predecessors. In the long line of anthologies of Afro-American literature,

we have seen more than enough of the latter tendency. It is refreshing to encounter two collections that are marked by boldness and originality, as well as a responsible sense of literary worth.

The Chapman book is organized by genre. There are four sections, devoted respectively to fiction, autobiography, poetry, and literary criticism. The sequence is curious, given the editor's comment in his introduction: "The real achievements in imaginative writing follow an initial period of expository, autobiographical, religious, and political writing." Perhaps Professor Chapman violates the historical progression in the interests of a fast take-off. Perhaps, too, the category of literary criticism is unnecessarily restrictive of the full range of black expository writing.

The selections in the field of fiction are on the whole admirable. Especially to be commended is the choice of Richard Wright's "The Man Who Lived Underground," which is by any standard a minor masterpiece. Paule Marshall's story, "To Da-duh, In Memoriam," displays her talent at its most impressive. One may question, however, the inclusion of Charles Chesnutt's "Baxter's Procrustes," an amusing but trivial satire, at the expense of the best stories in *The Wife of His Youth*. One may also wonder why the editor has chosen to represent Ralph Ellison by the Prologue to *Invisible Man*, when he has written some eleven stories, among which are several examples of his finest work.

The section on autobiography is particularly strong, with selections from Frederick Douglass, James Weldon Johnson, Richard Wright, and Malcolm X, among others. The poetry section is less satisfactory because insufficiently discriminating. There are too many minor figures like W. E. B. DuBois, Fenton Johnson, Frank Davis, and Lerone Bennett, distracting us from the major achievement of our black poets. It is good to see, as counterweight, a whole section from Melvin Tolson's *Harlem Gallery*.

As for the concluding section on literary criticism, it provides us with a broad sampling of Negro literary scholarship. But a clear sense of tradition, of successive generations, does not emerge. Thus James Baldwin is encountered before Arthur Davis and Saunders Redding, two of the pioneering generation which included Alain Locke and Sterling Brown. It is good to see Blyden Jackson accorded some of the exposure he deserves, and to become better acquainted with such younger men as Sterling Stuckey and Darwin Turner.

Chapman's introductory essay is a disappointment, because of the disparity between the quality of his ideas and the lack of organization with which he presents them. He has some compelling things to say about cultural pluralism, ethnic individuality, and literary racism. But these nuggets are buried in a jumble of historical and theoretical materials, pedagogical concerns, and aesthetic speculations. The essay rambles on without plan or design, so that the reader achieves some isolated insights, but is left without a satisfying sense of form.

Dark Symphony is organized chronologically by periods, except for a shift in *medias res* to the principle of major figures. Thus we have four sections: Early Literature (1890-1920), The Negro Awakening (1920-1930),

Major Authors (Langston Hughes, Richard Wright, Ralph Ellison, James Baldwin), and Contemporary Literature (1930 to the present).

This structural pattern (A,A,B,A), which amounts to a kind of jazz "break," is very effective in establishing a sense of proportion. It is marred, however, by the differential treatment accorded to the four major figures. Twelve pages of headnotes are devoted to Hughes, five to Wright, five to Ellison, and four to Baldwin. The resulting disproportion has less to do with relative artistic merit than the fact that one of the editors has done a book-length study of Langston Hughes.

The selections of Emanuel and Gross are generally sound. In the early period, one would question only their inclusion of that old Chesnutt, "The Goophered Grapevine." The *Conjure Woman* stories are impressive, but the best of Chesnutt will be found elsewhere. The achievement of the Negro Renaissance is substantiated by the essays of Alain Locke and Sterling Brown, the fiction of Jean Toomer, and the poetry of Countee Cullen and Claude McKay.

Three of the four major writers are well served by this collection. Langston Hughes puts his best foot forward with a scattering of poetry and fiction. Ralph Ellison is represented by two remarkable stories, "Flying Home" and "King of the Bingo Game," and by the brilliant essay, "Hidden Name and Complex Fate." James Baldwin is at his best in "Notes of a Native Son" and "Sonny's Blues." Richard Wright, however, is the loser with "The Man Who Killed a Shadow." This story is more a re-working of material fully exploited in *Native Son* than a solid work of fiction in its own right.

It is in the section on contemporary literature that the editors outdo themselves. In the field of fiction there are notable selections from the work of Albert Murray, Paule Marshall, Ernest Gaines, and William Melvin Kelley. Among the poets represented are Melvin Tolson, Robert Hayden, Gwendolyn Brooks, and James Emanuel, who is himself a careful craftsman. The presence of Nathan Scott among the literary critics may come as a surprise, for few have known that this prolific and incisive scholar is a Negro.

The scholarly apparatus of *Dark Symphony* is on the whole superior to that of *Black Voices*. The headnotes are fuller and the bibliography is longer and more complete. The historical essays, however, which serve as introductions to the various periods, are uneven in quality. Those that deal with the early literature and the Negro Awakening are adequate enough, but the long piece which surveys the contemporary scene is little more than an extensive catalogue of names and titles.

The source of the difficulty is a misconception of the chronological limits of the Negro Renaissance. If one takes too narrow a view of this period, defining it as co-extensive with the decade of the twenties, then one is left with the awkward prospect of describing all Negro writing since 1930 as part of the contemporary scene. The editors have not succeeded in resolving this dilemma. There is a sharp disparity in the fourth section between the actual selections, which are truly contemporary, and the introductory essay, which surveys a vast body of material dating from 1930.

I am forced to conclude on a note of qualified praise. In both of these anthologies the level of taste and sensibility is superior to the standards of editorial writing. But at this moment in our cultural history, the availability of good literature for classroom use is no doubt the important thing. On this score we owe a substantial debt to the editors of *Black Voices* and *Dark Symphony*.

Robert Bone
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An Introduction to The Child's Conception of Geometry and An Introduction to The Child's Conception of Space

G. E. T. Holloway. New York, New York: Humanities Press, 1967.

The interest in the work of Piaget and the Geneva Group has expanded during the last decade in the United States from a small circle of devotees in child developmental psychology to include those in subject fields who are concerned with how children master concepts. Not only have more of the Piaget books been translated into English to satisfy the needs of this growing number of investigators but the commentaries and reports of further research now form a voluminous literature. So it is that the explications of two of Piaget's books by G. E. T. Holloway are a welcome addition to books such as Flavell's and Berlyne's in assisting one's overall understanding of stages of growth in children.

There are many ways in which the two small paperbacks prepared by Mr. Holloway can be of service. In the first place, since they are inexpensive, they might be the initial purchases by a beginning research student in acquiring a library on Piaget-type investigations. Each book summarizes the principal results of two series of investigations carried on by Piaget and his co-workers two decades ago. The description of the tasks used in the studies and the clear presentations of the resulting stages of growth enunciated by Piaget can only help such a student. Of course, it is still necessary to study the source—Piaget's books—the more detailed accounts already mentioned, and the careful research that has been done since 1948 in various parts of the world. But for an overview of the works on a child's conception of geometry and a child's conception of space Mr. Holloway's books serve in excellent fashion.

Supplementing existing films and providing readable correct information, these paperbacks can be used in preservice teacher training courses. It often happens that an instructor wishes to give his students more detailed information than can be obtained from the films, good as they are. Mr. Holloway's publications fill this gap. Doctoral candidates of the writer who are well along in their investigations have found both volumes helpful. Time

spent with the two introductions under review results in discussions among them, informal seminars that can only add to their understanding of Piaget.

Thus, Mr. Holloway has provided books that can be used in several ways to acquaint those who should be or are interested in the learning stages of children with relevant and readable material. He describes them as introductions, an apt description. But introductions are just what are needed for one who is beginning to dip into the literature on Piaget-type research.

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The People and the Police

Algernon D. Black. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1968. \$6.95. 238 pp.

The life and death of police review boards are part of our history that can be traced more than 750 years to the Magna Carta of June 15, 1215. Historians have not stressed the fact that a substantial portion of that epochal document was concerned with the regulation of the police of those days—the justiciars, bailiffs, sheriffs, and constables. Not satisfied with King John's promises, the barons demanded an effective control over the King and his policemen, and chapter 61 granted them what they were seeking. It was, as far as we can tell, the first civilian review board, consisting of 25 elected barons.

61. ... if we or our justiciar, or our bailiffs, or any of our servants shall have done wrong in any way toward any one, or shall have transgressed any of the articles of peace or security; and the wrong shall have been shown to four barons of the aforesaid twenty-five barons, let those four barons come to us or to our justiciar, if we are out of the kingdom, laying before us the transgression, and let them ask that we cause that transgression to be corrected without delay....

It was prophetic of things to come that the machinery of chapter 61 never was implemented. In fact, this provision was completely omitted in the 47 confirmations of the charter during the next 200 years.

A similar pattern has recently recurred in many of the cities in the United States where police review boards have been established: Philadelphia in 1958, Minneapolis in 1960, York, Pa. in 1960, Rochester in 1963, Washington, D.C. as presently constituted in 1965, and finally, New York City in 1966. Every board has been shut (or shot?) down with the exception of the one in Washington, and that is moribund.

The political struggle to dissolve the New York City Review Board was the most dramatic and significant in terms of revealing the rise of new alignments and power blocs, among which we must assign a leading role

to the New York City Police Department. The short unhappy life of the board had been sullied and distorted by propaganda and ideology, until the appearance of *The People and the Police*. Algernon D. Black has devoted his life to the pursuit of justice and human rights, and he served with distinction as the chairman of the police review board that lasted from July to November 1966. He has written a fair and clear account of the "affair" together with his thoughts on police-community problems.

I found the third chapter, "The Gap Between," particularly absorbing. His cogent and sympathetic insight into the crux of the relation between white policemen and black civilians is worth careful study.

Police action and attitudes do the worst damage when law officers touch a Negro man's relationships to his womenfolk and his children. One of the worst things anyone can do is to treat a man in ways which lessen his sense of his own manhood in the presence of those closest to him. He must not be humiliated in front of his wife or the woman he loves or his children. He must not be devalued in the presence of his neighbors and the community. Any man will seek to avoid this if he can. But to be insulted and humiliated and devalued by police ... is a destructive experience of the worst kind (p. 31).

There is no doubt that the author has been rounding out his own considerable experience and knowledge by interviewing policemen. For example, in the section on off-duty policemen he discusses their concern for the safety of the revolver that they are required to have in their possession at all times. It is hardly likely that members of the force would volunteer this "inside" information as part of a formal hearing. The average citizen does not realize what a headache that weapon can be, especially when there are many little "cops and robbers" turning the policeman's house upside down.

When he gets home, what shall he do with it? Where shall he hide it? He doesn't want his children to get at it. He doesn't want it stolen. . . .

At a party how can an off-duty policeman conceal his weapon? How can he dance without it being evident? . . . (p. 153).

However, in the succeeding paragraph he states that a policeman at the beach will conceal his "38" in his swimming trunks. This is highly unlikely, if not impossible.

The most valuable part of the book is his account of the facts in the review board drama. The demand for better grievance machinery for civilian complaints against the police reached a crescendo in 1964, and "the fear, distrust, and hostility of minority groups to the police were a social reality" (p. 72). For that reason a bill calling for a civilian review board was introduced into the City Council, although it was defeated. In 1965 our city was unnerved by race riots growing out of the Gilligan case in which an off-duty police lieutenant was alleged to have shot and killed a fifteen-year-old Negro boy who had attacked him. Recognizing the ominous temper of those times, Mayor Lindsay during his campaign promised that if elected, he would establish a civilian review board. To accomplish this, the

Mayor appointed Howard Leary as commissioner to replace Vincent Broderick who strongly opposed the concept of an external review board. Soon after assuming office, Police Commissioner Leary promulgated General Order No. 14 creating the Civilian Review Board effective June 30, 1966, to consist of three members of the police department and four civilians appointed by the Mayor from outside the city government.

Even before the board was appointed, the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association had drawn up a petition to force a referendum in the form of an amendment to the City Charter. In a passage that is eloquent for what he did not say explicitly, Black lists the organizations that joined together in the campaign to defeat the review board: Patrolmen's Benevolent Association, The Fraternal Order of Police, The Conservative Party, The American Nazi Party, The Renaissance Party, The Birch Society, The Brooklyn Tablet, and The Daily News (p. 210).

The enemies of the board were completely unrestrained. They aggravated fears of race and rape, communism and crime. It was difficult in that impassioned atmosphere to understand the legitimate objections to the board, if there were any. For that reason it is instructive to look at Philadelphia where at the same time a similar attack against the Police Advisory Board in that city had finally reached the courts. The complaint submitted by the Fraternal Order of Police of Philadelphia seeking to terminate the board presents the legal argument.

The complaint against the review board charged a waste of time and effort, a shortage of police personnel, an impairment of recruiting and efficiency of police and an increase of crime since the Board's creation. It averred that the Police Commissioner could have determined more efficiently than the Board the cases heard by the Board; that the creation of the Board was an improper delegation of duty; that the Board, sitting in a judicial rather than in an advisory capacity, infringed the legal rights of policemen, lowered their morale, and hindered law enforcement; that in entering the field of personnel administration it was usurping functions of the Civil Service Commission (Transcript, Philadelphia Court of Common Pleas No. 9, June Term 1965, No. 6330, p. 3).

Another objection is that the board singles out the police department, but not the other civil service agencies.

The demise of the review board had wide repercussions. It signalled the rise of a new power in city politics, as the police department with its allies was able to overcome the opposition of three of the most influential political figures in the country: Senator Jacob Javits, Senator Robert Kennedy, and Mayor John Lindsay. A white backlash against the Negro and Puerto Rican communities was for the first time in New York City clearly delineated. The connection between rightist groups and the police was brought out into the open. Racial friction within the police department became overt. Finally, the people of the ghetto lost faith in the formal legal institutions, and this provided momentum for the militants preaching violence.

The unhappy experience of review boards in our major cities gives dismal proof that they are more utopian than viable in our embattled urban environment. They lack the political strength needed for continued existence, and therefore, must make way for more realistic alternatives. At present the trend seems to favor the appointment of an ombudsman to serve as the intermediary between the people and the police department. Unfortunately, bureaucracy in America has made an art of the seduction and cooptation of so-called neutrals, and there is reason to believe that they would convert an ombudsman into a paper tiger. Not long ago Nassau County experimented briefly with an ombudsman until he faded away.

A more practical method of handling civilian complaints has been operating successfully for several years in Great Britain and Japan, as one of many services offered by the Citizen's Advice Bureau. In New York City there is a lively tradition of store front agencies helping the people in depressed neighborhoods, and their right to exist has been conceded in a *de facto* sense by the police. No new legislation would be required. Thus, they would be relatively free from legal attack; and financing from federal funds or foundation grants is a distinct probability. One division would contain a staff of experts prepared to process civilian complaints against all city departments, including the police.

The fact is that neither the internal nor the external review of civilian complaints against the police has proved satisfactory in the past. However, in a democracy the public service agencies cannot "take the fifth." They must be accountable to the people, and the quasi-fiduciary relation demands more than the publication of a self-serving annual report giving a breakdown of civilian complaints. Because of this moral obligation, because of the well-known veil of secrecy surrounding the police system, and because of the inevitable tendency in any large bureaucracy to protect the inept, and even the guilty, out of a sense of organizational loyalty, it follows that a substantial part of the grievance machinery should be external.

Black expresses the same principle:

The complaint review agencies—the idea of an outside and an inside audit—constitute a development which is necessary, desirable, and inevitable in a just and democratic society (p. 229).

The review board deserved a better fate. Its members were fitted admirably by education and experience to perform their task. They brought devotion and integrity to the work. The legal procedures were eminently fair, including the innovative conciliation program. Black shows that at no time was there any split into police and civilian factions. He is modest enough to admit that the board was never meant to be a panacea, but it did have something to contribute to the easing of tension between the people and the police.

Already there are indications that the police won a Pyrrhic victory when they killed the review board. They reinforced the feeling in the ghetto that the police are truly an army of occupation, and that it would be useless, and probably dangerous for a ghetto resident to enter a police station to

register a complaint against a member of the force. Without the review board there are no external channels where civilian complaints might end with conciliation. Left to fester, complaints threaten the possibility of direct attack against the police.

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The World of Education: An Introductory Text

Rena Foy. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1968. 372 pp.

A work which can tell us that Christianity came about because the "world was emotionally ready for a new orientation that promised to satisfy felt needs of an exalted type of self-realization" can't be all good. Indeed, little of it is. This, the latest of the book industry's products made to hit the Introduction to Education market, deserves a quick demise. There need be no mourning at the remaindering.

What is supposed to set this product off from its myriad of predecessors is that it is a synthesis of educational history, current educational problems and comparative education. For what end this is done is not fully clear. The book has no succinct statement of purpose, but the jacket does tell us that the reader will be led to understand the "essential fluidity and malleability of education" and thus be "encouraged to question, to challenge, to innovate."

Indeed, little really seems to hold the book together other than its format, and that's a shoddy structure. Under the rubric of asking five big questions, such as "WHY IS EDUCATION IMPORTANT?", "WHO SHOULD BE EDUCATED?" and "WHO SHOULD PAY?", the author's intent seems to be to show how each question was answered in selected periods in the past, what problems it gives rise to currently in America, and how it is being dealt with in other modern countries. But one can't depend even on that. Under the first question mentioned above, for example, Europe, Asia and Africa are dealt with at great length; but under the latter question they are barely mentioned. More's the pity, for as long as the author is simply describing foreign educational systems she is generally interesting—even if her interpretations at times make Henrietta Stackpole sound like an internationalist.

Again and again one questions the author's standards for importance and relevance. She can spend pages in elaborating the obvious or ridding herself of a commonplace, i.e., school enrollments are rising, and yet pass over the greatest of complexities in a sentence or two. The entire progressive movement, for example, is dismissed in two or three sentences as having been "largely repudiated in the last decade." Indeed, in a book two-thirds of which deals with American education, one is at a loss to explain how John Dewey deserves only two paragraphs and Robert Raikes and Joseph

Lancaster can get two pages. One can only conjecture from the paucity of the bibliography. It is no mean feat these days to write a book dealing so largely with American and comparative education and pass over all mention of Kilpatrick, Cremin, Curti, Butts, Bailyn, or Kandel.

For all of its stated orientation to the future one can read this book and find little on racial problems in our schools and nothing on growing teacher and student militance. There is no room to mention the American Federation of Teachers, but we do learn the lengths of the American school year through the decades.

But this is all minor compared to the tone, the attitude, the opinions, the interpretations, and the use of language in the book. At one moment we have a kind of innocent, simplistic, evangelistic, Victorian boosterism ("In the human emotional system trouble gives birth to hope"), and the next moment a straw bogeyman might be set up for a round of petulant editorializing larded with heavy-handed irony ("A few years ago they [certain unnamed college faculty types] deplored the advent of paperbacks and, having lost that battle, they are marshaling their efforts for war on the use of 'new media' that threaten to disseminate learning promiscuously. Higher education must be kept exclusive").

We also find the gamut run from what Bailyn has called a "condescension toward the past" to an occasional smug, chauvinistic, slightly demeaning attitude toward other cultures of the present ("Yet the cold, hard reality is that advanced nations did not build their industrial power on a two-hour siesta, job preferment for relatives and a relaxed tempo of work").

But finally it is the language—the jargon, the clichés, the questionable cause-and-effect relations, the half-truths, the faulty use of metaphor, the imprecision, the wordiness (e.g., "in terms of dollars," not "in dollars")—that is the hallmark of the work. A few examples will suffice.

While contradictions exist from chapter to chapter and from page to page, it is particularly vertiginous to find them within a single sentence. When the author writes, "The modern elementary school usually does a creditable job in teaching the basic principles of citizenship," and then concludes, "but it frequently fails to build a sense of personal worth and dignity, to develop high principles of personal conduct and to teach respect for property," one begins to wonder, at the least, what she means by "citizenship."

In an example of her use of metaphor, one does not know what to decry first, the attitude which likens modern man to a rat in a maze, or simply the ludicrous mix: "There was no joy in taking the correct corridor in the maze unless one had the vision of a good cheese at the end of it. Man, floundering in a troubled educational sea, found himself groping for first one bit of debris, then another—not climbing Jacob's ladder."

One final specimen, out of hundreds available, should be enough to support my general caveat:

Educators must direct their efforts to propelling the capable students to the areas where the action is—to the individual creativity that is the cut-

ting edge of social progress. If American education merely closes its gaps, American culture can be nothing but mass culture—a stagnant ocean. If there are a constant advance of creativity by the most brilliant students and a consistent effort to move the main body into the channels they have cut, American culture will flow with dynamism instead of decomposing.

Faced with language like this, one can only agree with Mr. Orwell on the typical modern prose writer. "[He] either has a meaning and cannot express it, or he inadvertently says something else, or he is almost indifferent as to whether his words mean anything or not."

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Commitment to Welfare

Richard M. Titmuss. New York: Pantheon Books (Random House), 1968. \$6.95. 272 pp.

Professor Titmuss is probably the most universally accepted spokesman for an articulated social policy and the concept of the welfare state. He is a socialist, an economist, a scholar, a humanist; and to most people in his field of social welfare, he is the London School of Economics. His current book is a collection of 21 essays written for conferences and other occasions, and this may be its only fault. One finds it a little overwhelming, and finally annoying, to read that the particular meeting that made possible a particular speech is a highlight, a special opportunity to . . . etc. It is difficult to remain on the peak of excitement as Professor Titmuss goes all over the world presenting his splendid ideas. A direct result of this persistent hiatus is a certain repetitiveness which he himself comments upon in the preface. The collected essays were never intended to be grouped into a comprehensive book, so one finds themes repeated, and in fact whole sentences, statistics and arguments appearing again and again. While this is an annoyance, it is the only real criticism one can make of the book, because it provides an opportunity to see in one place the wide-ranging intellectual accomplishments of a twenty-first century thinker.

For the reader who is a non-specialist in social welfare matters, the book will do two things. It will provide a quick but thorough glimpse at practically all of the issues that exist in that field. Also, for the reader who wants to make connections with his own field of expertise, the book will challenge his ability to draw analogies and transfer concepts to his own practice.

The book is divided into four sections, and while it may seem that they address very technical subjects, such a view would depend upon the writing and the universality of the subject. It is nice to be able to report that on both of these counts, Professor Titmuss' book is readable for all aware and

interested citizens of the modern world, and most particularly for teachers, social workers and doctors.

In the first section, entitled *Social Administration: Teaching and Research*, the educator speaks eloquently. He makes the compelling point that teaching administration is not a matter of teaching techniques of management, but of providing administrators with a broader, historical understanding of institutions and systems affecting their operations. Professor Titmuss argues convincingly that it is not to be assumed that education directed towards action is necessarily specific and technical, but that it can be developed abstractly and imaginatively. He sees the pitfalls of over-teaching information and under-teaching the "excitements" of unifying perspectives and principles. But let the professional beware; the author does not suffer professionalism gladly.

In part two of the book, *The Health and Welfare Complex*, the reader will find the most meaningful and substantive material. Naturally, Professor Titmuss is instructive when he discusses social security and social service programs, but the careful reader also will find an almost emotional stimulation upon discovering that Professor Titmuss knows that down deep, the educator shares with the physician and the social worker the common welfare aim of improving the lives of children. The secret weapon in this book is the author's very broad interpretation of welfare; that is what makes it a book for us all. He is aware that teachers must teach and doctors must doctor etc., but he combines all professional aims as being directed toward the highest level of intellectual, social and physical functioning for all individuals. In the course of his excellent development of the social values he holds dear, he has a few scathing things to say about formal organizations, fragmentation of services, over-specialization, and always, self-serving professionalism.

The third part of the book is really the heart of Professor Titmuss' philosophy; it is called *Issues of Redistribution and Social Policy*. This section might have a little more technical content than the usual reader who is not working in social welfare might want to have. However, in a chapter entitled *Choice and The Welfare State*, one will find the most interesting of all the ideas presented throughout the book. Here, the author comments rather fully about something all teachers know a great deal about these days. He makes the point that equality of access (to opportunities) is not the same as equality of outcome, and that educators "are the arbiters, the key-holders of outcome." He must mean by this that children in our schools, for example, may have the chance to reach for good education, but that things converge upon them and contribute to disenabling them from making use of it. Professor Titmuss views the teacher as the bridge between opportunity and fulfillment for that child and probably for his family. That is quite a challenge, but Professor Titmuss is a very serious man when it comes to the provision of social welfare, education and health care for all citizens.

The fourth part of the book is called *Dilemmas in Medical Care*. This may sound like too specific a subject to interest the general reader, but it

is in this section that Professor Titmuss seems to express himself fully. He is particularly interested in medical care, but he is always the generalist, and he uses this subject to expand on his favorite notions about over-specialization, over-professionalism and over-private interests. This section of the book will stretch the reader's mind which will undoubtedly wander to other fields where professional and moneyed interests tend to overtake the welfare of people at large.

Despite the fact that Professor Titmuss writes from his particular socialist, welfare state and English vantage point, his book will have relevance for the wide range of readers who want to know about life in an unself-conscious welfare state. His themes are mainly about social policy, but his boundaries are very flexible; he would be the first to say that educators are the chief communicators of social policy, and that they along with social workers and doctors are the ones who must see to it that social welfare becomes everybody's right.

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Beatrice Webb: A Life, 1858-1943

Kitty Muggeridge and Ruth Adam. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968.

This sparkling biography of the mother of the welfare state is co-authored by her niece, who is the wife of the critic Malcolm Muggeridge, and Ruth Adam, an English novelist and journalist, but the collaboration betrays none of the filiopietistic tendencies that one might expect. It is a witty, balanced, well-organized, and—with one major fault—almost entirely satisfactory recounting of Beatrice Webb's vigorous life. Indeed, if the authors have succeeded at anything, it is not at touching up Mrs. Webb's features.

This is a personal, not a political, biography. For a detailed history of the Fabians and of the Beatrice-Sidney collaboration, one should consult a good history of British socialism. Of course, the basic events are there—the Poor Law campaign of 1908, the founding of the London School of Economics and of the *New Statesman*, the tracts on economics and labor, the infatuation with Stalin's Russia—but there is no room in this biography for detailed analyses of program and ideology. We see the Fabians not as an organization of tough-minded reformers, but as a collection of eager romantics, egotists all, whose social as well as political activities revolved around Beatrice's salon. Shaw was something of a boyish bouncer; H. G. Wells was an eccentric whose main issue was free love; and the Webbs were puritanical moralists and elitists.

Most fascinating is the jumble of contradictions that were the warp and the woof of Beatrice Webb's life. This self-professed socialist lived largely off the income of the bequest of her father, who made a killing on timber

used in Crimean War hospitals. Her early intellectual guide was her father's friend, the philosopher Herbert Spencer, but she eventually overwhelmed his rationalism with a deep mysticism that confounded socialist associates to whom she recommended prayer as the universal panacea. She was a true Spencerian individualist, but she bitterly opposed the Poor Law of 1908, for which she was partially responsible, because it did not place the poor under the mandatory guidance of the state. And, despite her socialistic orientation, she inherited the uniting faith of nineteenth century charity, that immorality—not economics—brings about poverty and debasement.

The theme repeated in each of these contradictions is that of worldly skepticism versus pietistic security. It is repeated in the most massive mistake of her career and the ultimate contradiction of her life, her and her husband's intense infatuation with the Soviet Union in the late twenties and early to mid thirties. Not even the tortures of a trip through Russia, and certainly not the pleadings of their friends, could quiet the enthusiasm that produced a book about the New Civilization having as an unnamed co-author the Soviet Ambassador to Britain. Mrs. Webb's biographers follow her cue in writing this disaster off to old age. But this was a time of crisis in Britain, when the fascism of Mrs. Webb's aristocratic friend Oswald Mosley could vie with the extreme socialism of her wealthy nephew, Stafford Cripps. Beatrice Webb's response to the crisis seems entirely consistent within the framework of her lifelong-held self-righteousness, elitism, and puritanical moralism.

But this is not the major fault with the book. The authors seem to have an incomplete conceptualization of their subject's attributes. Her femaleness has no color, no shape; it is as though she were a man with a woman's name. There is little concern for the demands made upon upper-class women by Victorian society, little feeling for the role of the female intellectual and activist, and no discussion of Mrs. Webb's self-perception as a woman. The hard contradiction drawn between her love affair with Joseph Chamberlain and her peculiarly passionless relationship with her husband is puzzling. We are told that she married Sidney Webb only to set up shop as a social analyst, that she considered marriage to be "the waste-basket of the emotions." Why, though, did she feel obligated to marry this ugly, poor intellectual at all? We are told that she worshipped chastity, and this, too, indicates a moral ambiguity about her role as woman and wife. Her opposition to woman's suffrage only further confuses the issue.

The authors make no attempt to handle this problem, and they should. It is quite possible that in carving out her niche in male-dominated political Britain, Beatrice Webb was forced to make a sacrifice greater than her gain—she was forced to obliterate her femaleness.

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Pygmalion in the Classroom

Robert Rosenthal and Lenore Jacobson. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968. \$3.95. 240 + xi pp.

The enterprise which represents the core of this document, and presumably the excuse for its publication, has received widespread advance publicity. In spite of anything I can say, I am sure it will become a classic—widely referred to and rarely examined critically. Alas, it is so defective technically that one can only regret that it ever got beyond the eyes of the original investigators! Though the volume may be an effective addition to educational propagandizing, it does nothing to raise the standards of educational research.

Though it may make for a dull review, I feel I must dissect the study to point out some basic defects in its data that make its conclusions (though they may possibly be true) in no sense adequately supported by the data. The general reasonableness of the "self-fulfilling prophecy effect" is not at issue, nor is the reported background of previous anecdote, observation, and research. The one point at which this review is directed is the adequacy of procedures (of data gathering and data analysis) and the appropriateness of the conclusions drawn from the study that constitutes the middle third of the book.

Before we can dig beneath the surface, we must outline briefly on a surface level what was done and what was reportedly found. In May, 1964, the SRA-published Tests of General Ability (TOGA) were administered by the classroom teachers to all pupils in kindergarten and all six grades of a school. The test had been presented to the teachers as a test that "... will allow us to predict which youngsters are most likely to show an academic spurt." The following September each teacher was given a list of names of pupils (actually selected by a table of random numbers) who were alleged to be the ones likely to show a spurt.

The children were tested again in January 1965, May 1965, and May 1966. The authors assert that the results support the proposition that the teachers' expectancies influenced the mental development of the children.

The main results of testing in May 1965 (from the authors' Table 7-1) are as follows:

Grade	Control		Experimental		Difference
	N	Gain	N	Gain	
1	48	+12.0	7	+27.4	15.4
2	47	+ 7.0	12	+16.5	9.5
3	40	+ 5.0	14	+ 5.0	0
4	49	+ 2.2	12	+ 5.6	3.4
5	26	+17.5	9	+17.4	-0.1
6	45	+10.7	11	+10.0	-0.7

Thus, to all intents and purposes, the alleged effect of the "prophecy" appears in 19 children in grades 1 and 2. If we are to trust the results, and the large edifice of further analysis and speculation built upon them, the findings for these two grades must be unimpeachable. Let us examine them.

TOGA has two subtests, one consisting of oral vocabulary and one of multi-mental ("which one doesn't belong") items. For the K-2 level of the test, the one used in the pretesting and posttesting of grades 1 and 2, the two parts of the test contain respectively 35 and 28 items. Let us look first at the pretest data for six classrooms, three tested in kindergarten and three in the first grade. The results, from Appendix Tables A-2 and A-3 were (expressed in numbers that are always spoken of by the authors as "IQs"):

Class	N	Experimental		N	Control	
		Mean Verbal	Mean Reasoning		Mean Verbal	Mean Reasoning
1A	3	102.00	84.67	19	119.47	91.32
1B	4	116.25	54.00	16	104.25	47.19
1C	2	67.50	53.50	19	95.68	30.79
2A	6	114.33	112.50	19	111.53	100.95
2B	3	103.67	102.33	16	96.50	80.56
2C	5	90.20	77.40	14	82.21	73.93

On the Reasoning Test, one class of 19 pupils is reported to have a mean "IQ" of 31! They just barely appear to make the grade as imbeciles! And yet these pretest data were used blithely by the authors without even a reference to these fantastic results!

If these pretest data show anything, they show that the testing was utterly worthless and meaningless. The means and standard deviations for the total first- and second-grade classes were (calculated by combining sub-groups):

	First Grade		Second Grade	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
Verbal	105.7	21.2	99.4	16.1
Reasoning	58.0	36.8	89.1	21.6

What kind of a test, or what kind of testing is it that gives a mean "IQ" of 58 for the total entering first grade of a rather run-of-the-mill school?

Unfortunately, nowhere in the whole volume do the authors give any data expressed in raw scores. Neither do they give the ages of their groups. So it takes a little impressionistic estimating to try to reconstruct the picture.

However, it would not be far off to assume an average age of 6.0 for May of a kindergarten year. An "IQ" of 58 would then mean a "mental age" of 3.5. So we go to the norms tables of TOGA to find the raw score that would correspond to a "mental age" of 3.5. Alas, the norms do not go down that far! It is not possible to tell what the authors did, but finding that a raw score of 8 corresponds to an "M.A." of 5.3, we can take a shot at extrapolating downward. We come out with a raw score of approximately 2! Random marking would give 5 or 6 right!

We can only conclude that the pretest on the so-called Reasoning Test at this age is worthless. And, in the words of a European colleague, "When the clock strikes thirteen, doubt is cast not only on the last stroke but also on all that have gone before!"

Another look at one of the Appendix tables (A-6) shows that the 6 pupils in class 2A who had been picked to be "spurters" have a reported mean and standard deviation of posttest "IQ" of 150.17 and 40.17 respectively. This looks a little high! What does it mean in raw score terms? Again, we must turn detective with somewhat inadequate clues. Not knowing pupil ages, let us assume $7\frac{1}{2}$ as probably on the low side for May in the second grade. An "IQ" of 150 implies, then, a mean "M.A." of 111. Back to our TOGA norms to find the corresponding raw score. Alas, the highest entry is 10.0 for a raw score of 26! We must once more extrapolate, and the best we can do from the existing data is to get 28+. (Remember, there are only 28 items in this sub-test.) The mean of the 6 represents a perfect score! But the standard deviation is 40 "IQ" points. What of those who fall above the mean?

When the clock strikes 14, we throw away the clock!

In conclusion, then, the indications are that the basic data upon which this structure has been raised are so untrustworthy that any conclusions based upon them must be suspect. The conclusions may be correct, but if so it must be considered a fortunate coincidence.

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